GAZETTEER

OF THE

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

VOLUME I. PART II.

HISTORY OF THE

KONKAN DAKHAN AND SOUTHERN MARÁTHA COUNTRY.

UNDER GOVERNMENT ORDERS.

BOMBAY:

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1896.

KONKAN DAKHAN AND S. M. COUNTRY.

This Volume contains the Articles named below:

I.—HISTORY OF THE KONKAN. By the Reverend Alexander Kyd Nairne, Late of the Bombay Civil Service.

II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE DAKHAN DOWN TO THE MAHOMEDAN CONQUEST. By Professor Rámkrishna Gopál Bhandárkar, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

III.—*THE DYNASTIES* OF THE KANARESE DISTRICTS OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY from the earliest historical times to the Musalmán Conquest. By John Faithfull Fleet Esquire, Ph.D., C.I.E., of H. M.'s Indian Civil Service.

IV.—DAKHAN HISTORY, MUSALMÁN AND MARÁTHA, A.D. 1300 - 1818:

PART I.—Poona Sátára and Sholápur.

PART II.—Khándesh Násik and Ahmadnagar.

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V.—HISTORY OF THE BOMBAY KARNÁTAK, MUSALMÁN AND MARÁTHA, A.D. 1300-1818. By the late Colonel E. W. West, I.S.C.

JAMES M. CAMPBELL.

29th May 1896.

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BY THE

REVEREND ALEXANDER KYD NAIRNE

LATE OF THE

BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE.

"Hills with peaky tops engrailed,
and many a tract of palm and rice."
Tennyson.

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Note—The references to Faria y Souza are either to the Summary of his book in Briggs' History or to that in Kerr's Voyages.

INTRODUCTION.

Introduction.

The Konkan is now held to include all the land lying between the Western Ghâts and the Indian Ocean, from the latitude of Daman on the north to that of Terekhol on the Goa frontier, on the south. This tract is about 330 miles in length, but varying in breadth of thirty to sixty miles, and is divided into the British districts of Thâna, Kolâba and Ratnâgiri, and the Native States of Janjira, Sâvantvâdi and [illegible]. The Pant Sachiv of Bhor in Poona has also a group of villages below the Ghâts.

The word Konkan is of Indian origin and of considerable antiquity, but its meaning as the name of a country is not clear, and has never been satisfactorily explained, although various interpretations of it have been given. The tract of country known under the name appears to have had very different limits at different periods. The seven Konkans of Hindu mythology are mentioned in a Hindu history of Kashmir, and are said by Professor H. H. Wilson[1] to have included nearly the whole of the west coast of India. Grant Duff[2] considered the Konkan to extend along the coast from the Tapti to Sadashivgad and inland as far as the upper plains of the Dakhan; and he thus included in it part of both the plains and highlands of the country above the Ghâts. The latter he called Konkan Ghât-mâtha as opposed to Tal-Konkan or the lowlands; and he inferred that the Musalmans were the first who limited the name to the low country.[3] Ferishta[4] also speaks of the Konkan under the name of Tal-Ghât, and Khâfi Khân calls it Tal-Konkan. This inclusion of the hilly district above and near the edge of the Ghâts is very reasonable: for any one who passes from west to east will see that the country immediately above and immediately below the Ghâts is of exactly the same character, although so different in elevation, while it is a few miles further east that the great bare plains which characterize the Dakhan begin. This narrow district above the Ghâts is made up of the Mâvals, the Khores, and the Mâchis, but it should be stated that neither the name Konkan-Ghât-Mâtha,

[1] [illegible] ... Asiatic Researches, XV. 47.

[2] History, I. [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

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[1] As the Sávantvádi state has always been closely connected with Kolhápur, the main part of its history must be looked for in the account of Kolhápur and not in this work. [2] Asiatic Researches, XV. 47.
[3] History, 3. [4] History, 33. [5] Briggs, II. 338.

Introduction.

nor the meaning of the words describing its divisions is now generally known.[1] As opposed to this extended interpretation of the Konkan, Bird states that according to Sanskrit writers the Konkan stretched only from Devgad to Sadáshivgad (that is a distance altogether of only about ninety miles), from the Tápti to Devgad being Abhir, or the country of the shepherds: that the divisions of Abhir were Berbera or Marátha from the Tápti to Bassein, Virát from Bassein to Bánkot, and Kirát from Bánkot to Devgad.[2] It is curious that the limits thus assigned to the provinces of Virát, Kirát, and Konkan should exactly coincide with those generally given for the districts of the Parbhus, Bráhmans, and Shenvis respectively.

Whatever the old signification of the word may have been, the name Konkan is now used in the sense first mentioned, and the modern division of the district is into North and South Konkan, meaning the parts north and south of Bombay.[3] The boundary between the North and South Konkan is, however, sometimes considered to be the Sávitri river, which divides the Habshi's territory from Ratnágiri, as, for some years after the English conquest, the district of the North Konkan included the sub-divisions as far south as the Sávitri.

Of this district it may be said generally that the parts near the coast are fertile, highly cultivated, and populous, and the inland parts rocky and rugged, not much favoured by nature nor improved by man. Compared with other parts of India the climate is moist, the rainfall being very heavy, and hot winds but little felt. Although enervating it is much more equable than that of the Dakhan: and the district, especially the southern part, may be called decidedly healthy. North of Bombay the coast is low and sandy, containing in many places great expanses of salt swamp, the rivers few and shallow, and the harbours insignificant. South of Bombay the coast is bold with a line of hills often bordering the sea, never receding more than two or three miles from it; there are many navigable rivers and commodious harbours, and in most parts deep water near the shore. At various places along the coast are small rocky islands, generally within a quarter of a mile of the mainland, and which

[1] The meaning of *Mával, Khora*, and *Murha* has been thus explained to the writer: The *Murhás* are the comparatively level parts of the Ghát country found at the top; the *Khorás* the narrow gorges and ravines (*Khora* being similarly used throughout the Konkan) stretching towards the bottom; and the *Mávals* (the word meaning west) the lowest slopes of the hills extending quite into the Konkan.

[2] History of Gujarát, 8.

[3] Grant Duff, 168.

were in earlier times, and especially under the Maráthás, fortified and highly valued. Such are Arnála, Kolába, Dánda-Rájápur, and Suvarndurg. At Málvan, besides one or two islands of this sort, there are a great number of smaller rocks and reefs, and the whole sea between that port and the Vengurla rocks (formerly called by the Portuguese Ilheos Queimados, and thence shown in old English maps under the name of 'The burnt rocks')[1] is made dangerous by rocks of all sorts and sizes. Passing inland, the North Konkan is less rugged, and contains far more arable land though a thinner population than the South Konkan, which is, speaking generally, a rocky plateau slightly elevated, and from want of soil exceedingly sterile. But it is intersected by many great rivers and arms of the sea, and the valleys through which these and their tributary streams flow, partly make up by their fertility for the barrenness of the surrounding plateaux. The North Konkan is still in most parts well wooded, and in the coast districts the palmyra and the date palm spring up spontaneously in every direction. Parts of the Southern Konkan are also well covered with trees, though, from the nature of the soil, many parts are bare. On this part of the coast neither palmyra nor date tree is seen, but their place is better supplied by great groves of cocoanut trees planted along all the sandy parts of the coast and the banks of the creeks. The villages throughout the Konkan are almost invariably shaded with trees, and wherever there is room enough the houses stand in their own compounds, while in many of the inland districts they are found in scattered hamlets, several of which go to make up a village.

"The Konkan in early times seems to have been a thinly inhabited forest, from which character it has even now but partially emerged."[2] The last remark is at the present day true of part of the North Konkan only, the South possessing a population very thick compared with its arable area. It may be considered certain, however, that the whole was to a comparatively late period a district "where beasts with man divided empire claimed." The population Elphinstone considers to have been always Marátha,[3] but there is a great difference between the inhabitants of the northern and those of the southern half. In the latter the population is purely Marátha, and the castes are few and very exactly defined; but in the north there are large tribes more or less aboriginal, several somewhat

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[1] From their colour and ruggedness. De la Valle, III. 143.
[2] Elphinstone, 220. [3] Elphinstone 220.

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mixed castes, and, except for comparatively recent settlers, a total absence of pure Maráthás and Bráhmans. The whole tract is agricultural, the largest town having little over 14,000 inhabitants. Until the accession of the British Government the population had always a distinctly warlike character, and the South Konkan still supplies so great a number of recruits to the Bombay Army, that there are as many military pensioners in this district as in the whole of the rest of the Presidency. Besides this, all castes of the South Konkan are much more in the habit of seeking their living abroad than the natives of other parts, though they almost invariably return home to end their days. Both coast and interior are remarkable for the number of forts, so that it is little exaggeration to say that in some parts every rock and promontory, mountain and hill, were fortified. These forts are now all in ruins, but the beauty of the creeks and hills and valleys remains, and in many cases the forts themselves

> "As stately seem but lovelier far
> Than in the panoply of war."

Though the Konkan can scarcely be called historically famous, its long coast line and convenient harbours, together with its comparative nearness to the Arabian coast, made it known to the earliest travellers, while the natural strength of the country and the character of its inhabitants gave it in later days much greater importance than its wealth or extent would have justified. The Buddhists and after them the Bráhmans chose Sálsette for one of their greatest monastic establishments, and in other parts of the Konkan their cave temples are remarkable. The descendants of immigrant Pársis Jews Abyssinians and probably Arabs are still found in considerable numbers. The Musalmáns had two or three famous marts on this coast, and when the Portuguese began to make settlements in India the coast of the North Konkan was one of their early acquisitions; and in the South Konkan, factories of the English Dutch and French were established early in the seventeenth century. A little later the great founder of the Marátha empire chose a Konkan hill-fort as his capital. And when, after two or three generations, the pure Marátha dynasty lost its power, the Konkani Bráhmans better known as Konkanasths or Chitpávans inherited it and extended the Marátha conquests over the greatest part of India. Thus, though the Konkan has never been more than a province of some inland kingdom, it has many famous associations. And if, as geographically it does, the island of Bombay be considered

to belong to it, the Konkan may be said to possess also one of the greatest centres of modern commerce. But the history of Bombay does not come within the scope of this memoir, and it must be admitted that the Konkan generally has for the last hundred years lost the greater part of such importance as it formerly had, and, except for its nearness to Bombay, would be even less regarded than it is. The Thána district has, indeed, benefited by both the railways which end at Bombay, and roads run through almost every part of it. But it is only within the last few years that roads fit for wheeled vehicles have been commenced in any of the districts south of Bombay, and many parts of the south, as well as the whole of the Jawhár and Janjira states, are still without cart roads. The Gháts separate the Konkan like a wall from the great plains of the Dakhan, and in the whole length of these mountains there are but eight cart roads leading from the Dakhan to the coast, and of these the two principal have been to some extent superseded by the railways that run close to them. In fact, none of the influences which have spread wealth over the rest of the Presidency in the last few years have affected the Konkan, except as regards a comparatively small part of the northern half. The interest of the country must depend therefore on the beauty of its scenery, its past history, and the character of its inhabitants, and in these respects it need not fear comparison with the more favoured and celebrated provinces of India.

Note 1.—Owing to the Konkan, though geographically so distinct, having been from the earliest times divided, and its various parts attached first to one kingdom and then to another, no history of it either by a Native or European author is known to exist. This accounts for the great number of references to the works of historians and travellers which will be found in this short sketch.

Note 2.—In the Second Section (Antiquities and Traditions) great additions have been made to Mr. Nairne's narrative for which he is not responsible. These refer in some cases to discoveries made since Mr. Nairne left India.

NOTE.

With regard to the present state of the districts as given in the Introduction and at the end it should be remembered that the time referred to is the year 1884.

ADDENDA AND ERRATA.

Page 2, line 19, Sir H. Yule (Hobson-Jobson, Art. Choul) confidently identifies Semulla of Ptolemy and Saimur of the old Arab Geographers with Choul.

Page 7, for "the last section" read Vol. XI. page 85.

Page 45, line 7 from bottom, for "1608" read "1508."

Page 62, note 3, is part of page 63, note 4.

Page 87, line 21, after "attacked Colába but failed," add "and the *Shoreham* Man-of-War was lost on the rocks."

Page 88, line 12 from bottom, after "principal station," add "In February 1754 Angria's fleet burnt or captured three Dutch ships, one of 50, one of 36, and one of 18 guns; and having set on the stocks two ships, one of which was to carry 40 guns, he boasted that he should soon be superior to whatever could be brought against him in the Indian seas." These particulars are from Cambridge's "Account of the War in India from 1750 to 1761," 2nd Ed., London, 1762, in which there are plates of the attacks on Suvarndrug and Gheriah.

Page 92, para. 1, at end, enter inverted commas;
para. 2, at beginning, remove inverted commas.

Page 94, para. 1, at end, enter inverted commas;
para. 2, at beginning, remove inverted commas.

Page 95, para. 1, at end, enter inverted commas;
para. 2, at beginning, remove inverted commas.

SECTION I.

EARLY TRAVELLERS.

Section I.
Early Travellers.

The earliest certain mention of the country now called the Konkan is in the geography of Ptolemy about A.D. 150, and in the Greek work called "The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," the authorship of which is uncertain, and the date variously calculated from A.D. 66 to A.D. 240. Ptolemy makes of this part of the coast two provinces, Larika (Sk. Lâṭaka or Lâṭadesh[1]) which is identified with Gujarát and part of the North Konkan, and Ariaka which includes the rest of the Konkan.[2] The author of the Periplus does not mention Larika, but applies the name of Barugaza or Broach to this province as well as to the port of Broach, and states that Ariaka included "the land of the pirates."[3] This is the first mention of the pirates, who down to the present century were the terror of the coast between Bombay and Goa. With reference to them Rennell about 1780 wrote: "Few countries with so straight a general outline are so much broken into bays and harbours. The multitude of shallow ports, an uninterrupted view along the shore, and an elevated coast favourable to distant vision, have always fitted this tract of country for piracy. The land and sea breezes blow alternately and divide the day, so that vessels sailing along the coast are obliged to keep within sight of land."[4] The pirates of Suvarndurg are also mentioned by Strabo.[5] Vincent in collating the various descriptions of the coast assigns to Ariaka the limits from Goa to the Tápti, and of course includes in this the land of the pirates, and he considers that as the province can thus be identified with tolerable certainty, it is of little use to try to ascertain the exact position of the different ports named, most of which were places of only local trade.[6] The two identifications, however, which he makes without any doubt are Kalyán (Kalliéna) and the Vengular rocks, the first a port which was already decayed in the time of the Periplus, as Sandanes the king admitted no Egyptian vessels, and if any entered the harbour by accident or stress of weather he compelled them to go to Broach. The Vengurla rocks are mentioned as islands off the southern extremity of Ariaka and called Sesekrienai.[7] The ports given both by Ptolemy and in the Periplus between Broach and these islands are Oopára or Sopára near Bassein where interesting Buddhist remains of about A.D. 50 were discovered in 1882,[8] Semulla, Mandagora, Palaipotamai (Balapatna in Ptolemy), Melizigara, and Toparon

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[1] Compare Bombay Gazetteer, XII. 57 note; XIII. Part II., 112, 431, 435 & note 4.
[2] Heeren, II. 239; Tod, 187. [3] Vincent, II. 418. [4] Memoir, xxx.-xxxviii.
[5] Vincent, I. 178. [6] Vincent, II. 428. [7] Vincent, II. 422, 432.
[8] Bom. Gaz. XIV. Sopára.

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of the Byzantians (Byzantium) in Ptolemy.[1] Besides the Ptolemy alone mentions the river Binda between Sopára an Semulla, Hippocura south of that, and the islands calle Heptanesia.[2] These last are identified by Lassen with the islanc of Bombay and Sálsette.[3] Semulla he puts at Bassein, Balipatn about Cheul or Dánda Rájápur, and Manadagora a little furthe south. Melizigaris, called by Pliny Zizerus, he puts at Suvarndurg Vincent at Jaygad. Ptolemy calls this place an island, Pliny river and a port, and the author of the Periplus a place on th continent. A tolerable agreement can be found between thes three apparently contradictory descriptions if it is remembere that the Arabic word Janjira, which may be evidently traced in th two names given, is still used not only for the rocky island of Dánda-Rájápur, but also for the similar rocks at Suvarndurg and Málvan, either of which places, with the towns on the mainland which they protect, might then be identified with Melizigara or Zizerus.[4] Byzantium Lassen puts at Vijaydurg. And Nitrias, mentioned by Pliny as a chief station of the pirates, Rennell identifies with Nivti, between Málvan and Vengurla.[5]

The identification of all these places is an interesting study for those who are well acquainted with the district, and there are certain resemblances of names which will probably strike every reader; but the speculations made by different geographers are almost endless, and the means of ascertaining the real situation of the places mentioned are so small, owing to Ptolemy's mistake of making the coast from Broach to the Ganges run almost due east, and to no manuscript of the Periplus being known to exist, that it seems useless to go deep into the subject. Except Kalyán the places mentioned in the Periplus are all given as country ports frequented only by the natives.[6] From Barugaza (Broach) and Ariaka to the coast of Africa were exported corn, rice, butter, oil of sesame, coarse and fine cotton goods, and cane-honey (sugar). And ships with these cargoes sometimes went on from the African to the Arabian ports.[7] Whether this African trade was in the hands of Arabs or of the natives of India is doubtful, but all writers are agreed that the traffic from the west coast of India to the Red Sea was mainly in the hands of the Arabs.[8] The trade of the ancient Egyptians with India is to be looked on as previous to history and a matter only of speculation.[9] The Greeks from Egypt may occasionally have gone across the Indian Ocean, but in general they contented themselves with getting Indian goods from the

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[1] Vincent, II. 427, 431. [2] Liber, VII. Cap. I. Bom. Gaz. XIII. Part II. 414.
[3] Map to Indische Altherthumskunde. [4] Vincent, II. 430.
[5] Memoir, 31; Vincent, II. 449; Bom. Gaz. XV. Part II. 336. The similarity of the name and position suggest that Mandagora is Mandangad, a lofty and prominent hill close to Mahápral, a village on the Bánkot creek, to which large native craft still pass.
[6] Vincent, II. 428. Compare Bom. Gaz. X. 192; XI. 136, 137, note 6; XIII. Part II. 414 - 418; XV. Part II. 78 and note 1. [7] Vincent, II. 282, 423.
[8] Heeren, II. 301; Elphinstone 166; Vincent, I. 43; II. 35, 119; Robertson, 38.
[9] Vincent, I. 281.

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Arabs in the ports of the Red Sea.[1] Authorities differ as to whether the Romans ever traded with this coast at all.[2] As regards the ports of the Konkan in the earliest times it may be taken as proved that the larger ones were frequented by the Arabs and the smaller ones by the natives who carried on the coasting trade.[3] The author of the Periplus also mentions that Muziris, which is generally identified with Mangalore, was a great place of resort for vessels from the Konkan.[4]

The conclusion is that, notwithstanding the pirates, this coast was not devoid of trade or shunned by foreigners in the earliest times of which we have any record, though it had no place of such importance as Cambay, Broach, or the ports of Malabár; and that the exports were not very different from what they now are, cotton cloth, muslin, indigo, chintz, spices, and sugar.[5] It must also be mentioned that the metropolis to which Ariaka was subject was Tagara, a place formerly identified with Divgiri or Daulatabad, about which there is now a difference of opinion.[6]

After the author of the Periplus no authority can be mentioned until Cosmas, a Greek merchant of the sixth century, who described India, though it is very doubtful if he had visited it himself.[7] He speaks of Calliana as a place of great trade, and states that the return cargoes from there to Ceylon consisted of native brass, sesamum, wood, and articles of clothing.[8] He also speaks of a king of Calliana, and of there being a bishop's see and a Christian community at Kalyán subject to the Persian metropolitan. In these respects Kalyán was not different from the other considerable ports of India, most of which were frequented by Persian traders.[9] The conjecture has been made, though the evidence is certainly weak, that the Buddhist priest Fa Hian at the end of the fourth century and Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century both visited the Buddhist caves of Kanheri, and that the latter on his return embarked at Kalyán or Bánkot.[10]

After Cosmas there is a long break before any other European writer mentions this part of India, but the gap is supplied by several Arabian geographers, by whom the name is variously given as Kemkem, Komkam, Kankan, Konkan, and Konkan-Tana, which last compound is given by Ibn Batuta (1340), and is conjectured by Colonel Yule to have been the proper name of the province. The compound is reproduced by an Italian writer of the fourteeth century

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[1] Vincent, II. 119, 35; Priaulx, 84. [2] Priaulx, 234. [3] Elphinstone, 166.
[4] Vincent, II. 448. [5] Elphinstone, 169.
[6] Wilford in Asiatic Res. I. 373; Vincent, II. 403, 414. Compare Bom. Gaz. XIII. Part II. 423 note 4; XVI. 181 note 2; XVIII. Part II. 211 note 2; Fleet's Dynasties of the Kánarese Districts, 99 - 103. [7] Priaulx, 226.
[8] Heeren, II. 442. Heeren's sesame and wood should probably be *sisu* or blackwood.
[9] It must be acknowledged that the description here given by Cosmas seems to point rather to Quilon than Callian, and some writers have also considered the Kalyán of the Periplus to be Quilon. See Paulini a S. Bartolomeo in India Orientalis Christiana. Vincent's account of the whole coast, however, renders this supposition untenable. [10] R. A. S. Journal, VI. 329; Cunningham, I. 554.

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as Cocintana. It appears in what is called the Catalan map of 1375 as Cocintaga.[1]

Reinaud[2] gives an extract from an Arab writer named Beladori to the effect that in A.D. 636 the Khalif Omar sent an army to Tanna and he thinks that this was probably our Thána. But he acknowledges that the diacritical marks of the initial letter are wanting and he gives no other particulars. In the travels of the merchant Suleiman written in A.D. 851 the country of Komkam is given as part of the kingdom of the Balhára.[3] But Alberuni, of whom Colonel Yule says that "in Indian matters he knew what he was talking about a great deal better than other old Arabic writers," says nothing of Balhára. He mentions a kingdom of Konkan with its capital at Tálah and gives the itinerary along the coast as Broach, Sindan 50 parasangs, Soubarah 6 parasangs, Tana 5 parasangs. Then the country of Láran and in that Djymowr, Malyah, Kandjy; then the Dravira which Reinaud says is the Coromandel Coast. Alberuni also mentions the plains of the Konkan as containing the animal called Scharan, a quadruped with four extra legs standing up above its back.[4]

Rashid-ud-Din about A.D. 1300 mentions Konkan, of which the capital is Tana on the sea-shore. But further on he mentions Gujarát as a large country within which are Cambay, Somnát, Kankan, 'Tana and several other cities and towns;' and again 'Beyond Gujarát are Kankan and Tana, beyond them the country of Malabar.'[5] The question as to the dependence of the Konkan on Gujarát will be considered in the next section. It is sufficient here to say that the above extracts prove that the Konkan was a separate province with a capital called Thána, which is mentioned as a town on the coast by the traveller Al Masudi who died in A.D. 956.[6] By Al Idrisi in the twelfth century the following itinerary of the coast is given: "From Baruk (Broach) to Sindhábur[7] along the coast four days. From hence to Bana (Thána) upon the coast four days. This is a pretty town upon a great gulf where vessels anchor and from whence they set sail."[8] Gildemeister has no doubt that the ancient and modern places are the same, and thinks that Thána is the only port known to the Arabs between Broach and Goa of which the situation can be exactly ascertained.[9] When it is considered that, at no very distant time, the sea must have filled the whole space between the hills on the east of the Thána creek and those on the west of it, and must have flowed also over a very wide expanse of country between Thána and Bassein, it seems that these descriptions may have been tolerably correct for the Thána of eight hundred years ago. The last of these early Arabian

[1] R. A. S. Journal (New Series), IV. 340; Yule's Cathay, I. ccxxx.
[2] Fragments, 1826.
[3] Elliot, I. 4.
[4] Yule's Cathay, I. clxxxiv; Reinaud, 109, 121.
[5] Elliot, I. 60, 67.
[6] Elliot, I. 24.
[7] There is some confusion among travellers as to Sindábur. Colonel Yule thinks it was Goa, but that Al Idrisi and others confounded it with Sanján. Indian Antiquary, III. 116.
[8] Elliot, I. 89.
[9] De Rebus Indicis, 46.

travellers is Ibn Batuta in the fourteeth century, who did not visit the Konkan, but mentions Thána as one of the ports from which great ships used to go to Aden.[1] But this last traveller was later in date than the famous Venetian Marco Polo (1290). His description of this part is unfortunately rather vague, nor does he mention the name Konkan. But he divides all this coast into the kingdom of Tanna and the kingdom of Lar. Of the latter his account is very indefinite, but Tanna he calls "a great kingdom with a language of its own and a king of its own, tributary to nobody; many ships and merchants frequent the place." He mentions leather, buckram, and cotton as the exports, and then he comes to the pirates, and their custom of giving up all the horses they take to the king, and keeping the rest of the plunder to themselves. With so much specified it is not difficult to assume Lar to be the Larika of Ptolemy, and to have included the northern part of the Konkan and part, at all events, of Gujarát. Colonel Yule adds that all the sea, west of this coast, was in early times called the sea of Lar.[2] The account of the martyrdom of the four friars at Thána, which is believed to have taken place on the Thursday before Palm Sunday 1322, is so curious that it cannot be omitted. It is given by the Friar Odoricus who himself visited Thána, and, though full of wonders anachronisms and absurdities, seems from some of the local details to be founded on fact. It is not clear whether the friars ever received the official beatification of Rome, but they appear as Beati in the Acta Sanctorum and are commemorated in one of the churches at Goa.

The account given by Odoricus is as follows: "I passed over (from Ormuz) in 28 days to Thána, where for the faith of Christ four of our minor friars had suffered a glorious martyrdom. The city is excellent in position, and hath great store of bread and wine, and aboundeth in trees. This was a great place in days of old, for it was the city of king Porus who waged so great a battle with Alexander. The people thereof are idolators, for they worship fire and serpents and trees also. The land is under the dominion of the Saracens, who have taken it by the force of arms, and they are now subject to the Emperor of Delhi. Here be found sundry kinds of beasts, and especially black lions in very great numbers, besides monkeys and babcons and bats as big as pigeons are here. There be also rats as big as are our dogs called *scherpi*. In this country there are trees which give wine which they call *loahe*, and which is very intoxicating. And here they do not bury the dead but carry them in great pomp to the fields, and cast them to the beasts and birds to be devoured. And they have here very fine oxen which have horns a good half pace in length, and have a hump on the back like a camel. And it was in this place called Tanna that the four minor friars suffered a glorious martyrdom for the sake of Christ."

They hired a ship at Ormuz to take them to Polumbum, but it took them to Thána instead. "Here there be fifteen houses of

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[1] Travels, II. 177. [2] Yule's Marco Polo, II. 230, 302.

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Christians, that is to say, of Nestorians, who are schismatics and heretics." The friars were apparently hidden in one of these Nestorian houses, and the Kadi accidently heard of it, and sent for them, and Friar Thomas of Tolentino, Friar James of Padua, and Friar Demetrius a Georgian lay brother "good at the tongues" went, but Friar Peter of Sienna was left at home to take care of their things. There they began to dispute, and Friar Thomas confounded the Saracens as to Christ. Then the Kadi and the Saracens urged them to say what they thought of Mahomet. So, after trying to evade the question, Friar Thomas at last said, "Mahomet is the son of perdition, and hath his place in hell with the devil his father." Then the Saracens tied the friars up in the sun, that they might die a dreadful death by the intense heat. But after six hours they were cheerful and unscathed. So then they selected to burn them, and kindled a great fire "on the maidan, that is the Piazza of the city," and threw in Friar James first, and it blazed so high and wide that they could not see him, but they heard him invoking the Virgin. And when the fire was spent there he was unhurt. Then they made a much larger fire, and stripped him naked, and covered him and the wood with oil and threw him in again, while Thomas and Demetrius prayed fervently. But he again came out unhurt. Then the Malik (or podesta) tried to rescue them, and conveyed them "across a certain arm of the sea, that was a little distance from the city where there was a certain suburb," and there they were received into the house of an idolater. But the Kadi overpersuaded the Malik, and sent four men to kill the friars, and caused all the Christians to be imprisoned; and after talking in a friendly way to the friars, the four men cut off the heads of Thomas, James, and Demetrius. And the air was illuminated, and there was wonderful thunder and lightning, and the ship the friars had come in went to the bottom. And next day they found Friar Peter and tried to convert him, and on his refusing tortured him and then hung him up to a tree, and as he came down unhurt they clove him asunder and in the morning no trace of him could be found. Then a vision appeared to the Malik which disturbed him so much that he released the Christians, and "caused four mosques to be built in honour of the Friars, and put Saracen priests in each of them to abide continually." But the Emperor of Delhi sent for the Malik and put him to death, and the Kadi fled.

"Now in that country it is the custom never to bury the dead, but bodies are cast into the fields, and thus are speedily destroyed and consumed by the excessive heat; so the bodies of these friars lay for fourteen days in the sun and yet were found quite fresh and undecayed as if on the very day of their glorious martyrdom." So the Christians buried them. Afterwards Odoric came, and took their bones which worked various miracles.[1]

[1] The above description is from Yule's Cathay, I. 57. There is another account not much differing from this, but taken from a Latin manuscript in the preface to Yule's Mirabilia Descripta, page ix., and another differing as to dates and other particulars in Hakluyt's Voyages, II. 160.

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It cannot escape notice that among all these later travellers no mention is made either of Kalyán, which had been so frequently mentioned in earlier times, or of Dábhol and Cheul, which are spoken of as great places very shortly afterwards. Ample time had certainly elapsed for Kalyán to have decayed, nor is it likely that two cities of any great pretensions should at the same time have flourished in such proximity as Kalyán and the modern Thána. The absence of any mention of Dábhol and Cheul is more difficult to explain; but until any account of their rise can be found it may perhaps be assumed that they emerged from obscurity only when the Musalmáns took possession of the Dakhan and required sea ports. It is also an allowable conjecture that Cheul did not rise to importance until the gradual drying up of the shallow waters around it Thána rendered less advantageous as a seaport.

The Arabs are said not only to have monopolised the early carrying trade between Arabia and Malabár, but also to have made many settlements on the Malabár and Konkan coasts.[1] Although some of these colonies in Kánara and Malabár are well known,[2] nothing certain can be adduced as to any in the Konkan. Still, in treating of the different races and castes of the district, reasons will be given for believing the very distinct class of Mahomedans known in Bombay as "Konkani Musalmáns" to be descended from the old Arab settlers. It is also stated, but the authority is not given, that the Abyssinians had planted colonies along the whole western coast of India from Cape Comorin upwards at a very early period of the Christian era, of which Rájpuri is one of the last remaining.[3]

The Muhammadan conquest is so distinct an era in all Indian history that it has seemed better to bring together all the descriptions of the country up to that period. In the same way the next section will contain all that can be made out as to its government and territorial divisions up to the Musalmán conquest; but this seems the best place in which to mention the immigration of two parties of foreigners from across the sea. The first of these were the ancestors of the interesting people called the Bene-Israel who are found scattered over the northern parts of the Kolába Collectorate and are believed to have arrived in India from Yemen during the sixth century of the Christian era.[4] Unfortunately no record ancient or recent of their history remains. Still the Jews of Cochin say that they found the Bene-Israel at Rájpuri when they first came to India, and their distinct position among the various native races taken with their partial adoption of Hindu usages points to a very ancient occupation. A further account of their present condition will be found in the last section.

The other immigrants who in India first found a home in the Konkan were the Pársis. They are believed to have arrived about

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the end of the eighth century. It is certain that after living for some years at Diu they first settled on the continent of India at Sanján, now an utterly insignificant village, but which is believed then to have extended nearly to the sea coast.[1] Here they were permitted to settle by the Rána, who is called Jáde, and whom Dr. Wilson believes to have been Jayadeva, a chief subordinate to the Rajput kings of Chámpáner or Pátan. In the next three hundred years they were dispersed through Hindustán; but the places mentioned as receiving them are all north of Sanján, which agrees with the present facts of their settlements, for it is about Dáhánu, twenty miles south of Sanján, that Pársis begin to be found in considerable numbers, and not merely as settlers for purposes of trade. Tárápur, ten miles south of Dáhánu, has also a large settlement of Parsis; but Kalyán is the only place south of that where their settlement is believed to be of earlier date than the British occupation of Bombay. Nargol, at the mouth of the Sanján creek, is still one of their largest villages, but Sanján itself does not now contain a single Pársi resident.

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[1] Wilson's Sermon to Pársis, 6; Bom. R. A. S. Journal, I. 170. Compare Bom. Gaz. XIV. 506-536.

Section II.
Antiquities.

SECTION II.

ANTIQUITIES AND TRADITIONS.

In this section will be collected the little that is known of the history of the district previous to the Musalmáns coming to it at the beginning of the fourteenth century. And as the greater part of that little is to be found in cave temples and in inscriptions on copperplates and stones, the section will be in great part occupied by a description of these antiquarian remains. To this will be added some traditions bearing on the history of the district.

The large number of cave temples in the Konkan, especially in Sálsette, give the district a very high interest from an antiquarian point of view. But until a connected history of all the cave temples of Western India is written it is impossible to come to any satisfactory conclusion about those of the Konkan. Here nothing more can be done than to mention all that have been hitherto found, with all that is known as to their age and purpose, and the general purport of the inscriptions which still exist in them.

In the small island of Sálsette in the neighbourhood of Bombay, which is about eighteen miles long with an average breadth of ten miles, there are five groups of caves; at Kanheri, Kondivte, Jogeshvari, Mandapeshvar, and Mágáthan.[1] In the island of Ghárápuri are the well-known caves of Elephanta. In the neighbouring island of Karanja are also some small caves. In the Thána district north of Sálsette there are small caves at Jambrug, Kondáne, and Chandansár. In the Kolába district are the caves of Pál near Mahád and the large series of Kuda. In the Ratnágiri district there are caves at Chiplun, Khed, Dábhol, Sangameshvar, Gavháne-Velgaum, and Váde-Pádel. By far the greater part of these are small and apparently of no significance, having neither sculpture nor inscriptions, and may properly be called hermit's cells, generally two or three together. The caves of Elephanta have been so often and so thoroughly described[2] that they need no further mention here, for they are in no respect so remarkable as those of Kanheri which until Elura and Ajanta became so easily accessible were among the chief objects of interest on this side of India. Of them Bishop Heber wrote: "They are in every way remarkable from their number, their beautiful situation, their elaborate carving, and their marked connection with Buddh and his religion." Even to those who have visited Elura and Ajanta there are points of interest at Kanheri which the others want. "The excavations in Sálsette, especially those at Kanheri, are probably the most perfect specimens in India of a

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[1] Dr. Wilson, 2, 3; Journal, II. 130.

[2] Bom. Gaz. XIV. 59 - 97.

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genuine Buddhist temple, college, and monastery. The great temple is not equal in beauty to that of Kárle in Poona but it exceeds that called Vishvakarma at Elura, and every other on this side of India."[1] "It is not only the numerous caves that give an idea of what the population of this barren rock must have been, but the tanks the terraces and the flights of steps which lead from one place to another."[2] The caves of Kanheri indeed are not a mere series of temples and halls without any trace of the existence of the worshippers who should have filled them, but the excavations include arrangements such as were required for a resident community. There are here in close proximity several *vihárs* or monasteries for associations of devotees, a great number of solitary cells or *grihás* for hermits, with *shálás* or halls for lectures and meetings, and *chaityas* or temples with relic-shrines not out of proportion in number or size to the dwelling-places. Outside the caves are reservoirs for water, a separate one for each cell, and couches or benches for the monks to recline on, carved out of the rock like everything else, while flights of steps and paths worn in the rock lead like streets from one series of caves to another; for the excavations are not only at different elevations in the face of the same hill, but also in several different hills and ravines. Here

"All things in their place remain
As all were ordered ages since,"

and the effect is that of a town carved out of the solid rock, which, although "life and thought here no longer dwell," would, if the monks and worshippers returned, be in a day or two as complete as when first inhabited.

The excavations are 102 in number, besides a good many now fallen in or choked with rubbish. They are all distinctly Buddhist, and contain fifty-four inscriptions, which vary in date from the first to the ninth century.[3] Only two of the inscriptions, however, contain dates, *Shak* 775 (A.D. 853) and *Shak* 779 (A.D. 877). They belong to the Silhára kings of the Konkan who were tributaries of the Ráshtrakutas of Málkhet.[4] These inscriptions have been all more or less completely deciphered. Except the Pahlavi inscriptions in cave 66, two, in caves 10 and 78, in Sanskrit, and one in cave 70 in peculiar Prákrit, the language of all is the Prákrit ordinarily used in cave writings. The letters, except in an ornamental looking inscription in cave 84, are the ordinary cave characters. As regards their age, ten appear from the form of the letters to belong to the time of the Ándhrabhritya or Shátakarni king Vasishthiputra (A.D. 133-162), twenty to the Gotamiputra II. period (A.D. 177-196), ten to the fifth and sixth centuries, one to the eighth, three to the ninth or tenth, and one to the eleventh. Three inscriptions in caves 10 and 78, bear dates and names of kings and three in caves 3, 36, and 81 give the names of kings but no dates. The dates

[1] W. Erskine in Bom. Lit. Trans. III. 394. [2] Lord Valentia, II. 198.
[3] Details of the Kanheri caves are given in Bom. Gaz. XIV. 121-190.
[4] See below page 11.

of the rest have been calculated from the form of the letters. Though almost all are mutilated, enough is in most cases left to show the name of the giver, the place where he lived, and the character of the gift. Of the fifty-four inscriptions, twenty-eight give the names of donors, which especially in their terminations differ from the names now in use. In twenty-one the profession of the giver is mentioned; the majority were merchants or goldsmiths, some were recluses, and one was a minister or leading officer of the state. Except seven women, four of whom were nuns, all the givers were men. The places mentioned in the neighbourhood of the caves are the cities of Kalyán Sopára and Chemula, and the villages of Mangalsthán or Mágáthan, Sákapadra probably Sáki near Tulsi, and Saphád. Of more distant places there are Násik, Pratisthán or Paithan near Ahmadnagar, Dhanakot or Dharnikot near the mouth of the Krishna, Gaud or Bengal, and Dáttámitri in Sindh. The gifts were caves, cisterns, pathways, images, and endowments in cash or land. Of the six inscriptions which give the names of kings, one in cave 36 gives the name of Madhariputra and one in cave 3 gives Yajnashri Sátakarni or Gotamiputra II. two Ándhrabhritya rulers of about the first or second century after Christ. Of the two, Madhariputra is believed to be the older and Yajnashri Shátakarni to be one of his successors. Madhariputra's coins have been found near Kolhápur and Professor Bhándárkar believes him to be the son and successor of Pudumáyi Vasishthiputra who is believed to have flourished about A.D. 130 and to be the Śri Pulimai whom Ptolemy (A.D. 150) places at Paithan near Ahmadnagar. Yajnashri Shátakarni or Gotamiputra II. appears in the Násik inscriptions and his coins have been found at Kolhápur, at Dharnikot near the mouth of the Krishna the old capital of the Ándhrabhrityas, and on the 9th April 1882 in a stupa or relic mound in Sopára near Bassein. Two of the other inscriptions in which mention is made of the names of kings are caves 10 and 78. These are among the latest inscriptions at Kanheri both belonging to the ninth century, and the names given are of Siláhára kings of the Konkan. They are interesting as giving the names of two kings in each of these dynasties as well as two dates twenty-four years apart in the contemporary rule of one sovereign in each family. Kapardi II. the Siláhára king, the son of Pulashakti, whose capital was probably Chemula, was reigning for the twenty-four years between 853 and 878, and apparently Amoghvarsh ruled at Málkhet during the same period. This Amoghvarsh is mentioned as the son and successor of Jagattung; Amoghvarsh I. was the son of Govind III. one of whose titles was Jagattung; and he must have ruled from 810 to 830. Amoghvarsh II. was the son of Indra himself who may have borne the title of Amoghvarsh and he succeeded Jagattung about 850.

The nearest caves to Kanheri, those of Mandapeshvar and Mágáthan, are Bráhmanical. This may be attributed either to the Bráhmans, after the overthrow of Buddhism in Western India, having taken a pride in attempting to rival the works

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of their predecessors,[1] or to the fact that in the early years of our era Bráhmans and Buddhists lived at peace with one another, and were equally favoured and protected by the reigning sovereigns.[2] In accordance with this view Colonel Sykes records of the Chálukya kings that, though mostly votaries of Shiv, they extended the most perfect toleration to other creeds.[3] The caves at Mandapeshvar are rendered more curious by their having been occupied by the Portuguese, who called the place Mont Pezier, and erected a church and college on the hill in which the caves are, and set up an altar in the caves, so that they became, as it were, a crypt to the church above.

The caves of Kuda are purely Buddhist, and form a large series of twenty-six. Almost all of them are plain and, except in size, much alike. Five of them, one unfinished, are *chaityas* or temple caves containing the secred relic-shrine or *dághoba;* the other twenty-one are dwelling caves or *lenás* as they are called in the inscriptions. These *lenás* generally consist of a veranda with a door and window opening into a cell or cells in which are rock-cut benches for the monks to sleep on. The doors are almost all grooved for wooden frames. The walls of almost all the caves were plastered with earth and rice chaff and on several of them are remains of painting. There are in all twenty-four inscriptions, six of them in one cave, the sixth, which is the only cave with sculpture. Five of these six inscriptions belong to the fifth or sixth century after Christ; all the rest are in letters of about the first century before Christ and record the names of the giver and the nature of the gift, whether a cave, a cistern, or both. Several of the figures are women and one of them is a Bráhman's wife. It is worthy of note that the name Shiv forms part of the name of several of the givers. The caves in the neighbourhood of Mahád are mere cells. One group of twenty-nine of about the first or second century after Christ are at Pále about two miles north-west of Mahád, and two groups of the same age at Kol, about a mile to the south. The Pále group has one inscription of about A.D. 130 and the second Kole group has three short inscriptions of about the same time. There is a third group of a few cells and cisterns in a hill to the north-east of Mahád, and one cell in a hill to the south near the road leading to Nágothna. In the hills above the old port of Cheul are ten caves of about A.D. 150, all plain and much ruined. It is probable that, besides those mentioned above, many other small caves exist in hills and other places not generally accessible, and one such may be mentioned in the hill-fort of Asheri.

The conclusion undoubtedly is that Sálsette and a part of the Konkan south of Bombay were strongholds of Buddhism. It is not so certain that this would involve any considerable degree of civilization. On the contrary it is known that the Buddhist leaders inclined to establish their great monasteries in places remote

[1] Dr. Wilson in Bom. R. A. S. Journal, III. 6.
[2] Dr. Stevenson in Bom. R. A. S. Journal, V. 41. [3] R. A. S. Journal, IV. 18.

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from cities, and chiefly remarkable, as Kánheri undoubtedly is, for beauty of situation. Here indeed we may believe that to many "the calm life of the hermit seemed a haven of peace where a life of self-denial and earnest meditation might lead to some solution of the strange enigmas of life."[1]

It should be mentioned that when the Portuguese took possession of Sálsette they found the Kánheri caves inhabited by *Jogis*, about whom as well as about the caves themselves the early historians made many wonderful statements. Thus the cells exceeded 3000 in number, each with a cistern supplied by one conduit; the chief *Jogi* was 150 years old; and from the caves at Kanheri an underground passage some said to Cambay, some to Agra, in which a number of Portuguese explorers travelled for seven days without seeing any sign of an outlet, and so were obliged at last to turn back.[2] The elephant at Elephanta was the work of a king in whose time a shower of golden rain fell for three hours.[3] Even to an English traveller of the sixteenth century it seemed scarcely incredible that the water there ran uphill in order to supply the wants of the monks.

Of considerably later date than that given to the Kanheri and other cave inscriptions are the inscribed stones and copperplates which have been found in the Konkan in considerable numbers, and which from the ninth century downwards afford some evidence as to the civilization and divisions of the country.

A copperplate found by Dr. Bird in 1839, in a relic mound at Kanheri in front of the great chapel cave No. 3 is dated in the 245th year of the Trikutakas, a dynasty of kings who, about the fourth or fifth century, appear to have held Central and South Gujarát and the North Konkan.[4] From the form of the letters, which seem to belong to the fifth century, Dr. Burgess considers the era to be the Gupta commencing in A.D. 219 and thus makes the date of the plate A.D. 464.[5] Two hoards of silver coins bearing the legend, "The illustrious Krishnarája the great lord meditating on the feet of his mother and father" were found in 1881-82, one in the island of Bombay the other at Mulgaon in Sálsette. This seems to show that the early Ráshtrakuta king Krishna (A.D. 375-400), whose coins have already been found in Báglán in Násik and Karhád in Sátára, also held possession of the North Konkan.[6]

About the middle of the sixth century kings of the Maurya and Nala dynasties appear to have been ruling in the Konkan. Kirtivarma (A.D. 550-567), the first Chálukya king who turned his arms against the Konkan, is described as the night of death to the Nalas and

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[1] Rhys David's Buddhism. [2] DeCoutto, VII. 238. [3] DeCoutto, VII. 261.

[4] A copperplate of the Trikutaka king Darhasena was in 1884 found in Párdi in the Surat district.

[5] Trikuta or The Three Hills is mentioned by Kálidás (A.D. 500) as a city on a lofty site built by Raghu when he conquered the Konkan. The name is the same as Trigiri the Sanskrit form of Tagar, and Pandit Bhagvánlál identifies the city with Junnar in west Poona, a place of great importance on a high site, and between the three hills of Shivneri, Ganeshlena, and Mánmodi.

[6] Compare Cunningham's Archæological Survey Report, IX. 30; Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 31 note 2.

Mauryas.[1] And an inscription of Kirtivarma's grandson Pulikeshi II. (A.D. 610-640) under whom the Konkan was conquered, describes his general Chanda-danda, as a great wave which drove before it the watery stores of the pools, that is the Mauryas. The Chálukya general with hundreds of ships attacked the Maurya capital Puri, the goddess of the fortunes of the western ocean.[2] A stone inscription from Váda in the north of the Thána district shows that a Mauryan king of the name of Suketuvarma was then ruling in the Konkan.[3]

During the reign of the great Naushervan (531-578), when the Persians were the rulers of the commerce of the eastern seas, the relations between Western India and Persia were extremely close.[4] On the Arab overthrow of Yezdejard III. (638) the last of the Sassanians, several bands of Persians sought refuge on the Thána coast and were kindly received by Jádav Rána, apparently a Yádav chief of Sanján.[5] In the years immediately after their conquest of Persia the Arabs made several raids on the coasts of Western India; one of these in 637 from Bahrein and Oman in the Persian gulf plundered the Konkan coast near Thána.[6]

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1 Ind. Ant. VIII. 244.

2 Dr. Burgess' Archæological Survey Report, III. 26. Puri has not been identified. Bom. Gaz. XIV. 401-402.

3 Dr. Bhagvánlál Indrâji. Compare Bom. Gaz. XIII. Part II. 420 note 8; XIV. 372-373.

4 Yule (Cathay, I. 56) notices that about this time the lower Euphrates was called Hind or India, but this seems to have been an ancient practice. Rawlinson in J. R. G. S. XXVII. 186. As to the extent of the Persian trade at this time, see Reinaud's Mémoire Sur l'Inde, 124. In the fifth and sixth centuries, besides the Persian trade, there was an active Arab trade up the Persian gulf and the Euphrates to Hira on the right or west bank of the river, not far from the ruins of Babylon. There was also much traffic with Obollah near the mouth of the joint river not far from Basra. Reinaud's Abu-l-fida, ccclxxxii. Obollah is also at this time (A.D. 400-600) noticed as the terminus of the Indian and Chinese vessels which were too large to pass up the river to Hira. (Ditto and Yule's Cathay, lxxvii. 55.) So close was its connection with India that the Talmud writers always speak of it as Hindike or Indian Obillah (Rawlinson in J. R. G. S. XXVII. 186). According to Masudi (915) Obollah was the only port under the Sassanian kings (Prairies d'Or, III. 164). McCrindle (Periplus, 103; compare Vincent, II. 377) identifies it with the Apologos of the Periplus (A.D. 247) which he holds took the place of Ptolemy's (A.D. 150) Teredon or Diridotus. Reinaud (Ind. Ant. VIII. 330) holds that Obollah is a corruption of the Greek Apologos, a custom house. But Vincent's view (II. 355) that Apologos is a Greek form of the original Obollah or Obollegh seems more likely. In Vincent's opinion (Ditto, II. 356) Obollah was founded by the Parthians. At the time of the Arab conquest of Persia (637) Abillah is mentioned as the port of entry at the mouth of the Euphrates (J. R. A. S. XII. 208). In spite of the rivalry of the new Arab port of Basrah, Obollah continued a considerable centre of trade. It is mentioned by Tabari in the ninth century (Reinaud's Abu-l-fida, ccclxxxii.): Masudi (913) notices it as a leading town (Prairies d'Or, I. 230-231); Idrisi (1135) as a very rich and flourishing city (Jaubert's Ed. I. 369); and it appears in the fourteenth century in Abu-l-fida (Reinaud's Abu-l-fida, 72). It was important enough to give the Persian gulf the name of the Gulf of Obollah (D'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale, III. 61). According to D'Herbelot when he wrote (about 1670) Obollah was still a strong well peopled town (Ditto). The importance of the town and the likeness of the names suggest that Obollah is the Abulamah from which came the Persian or Parthian Harpharan of Abulamah who records the gift of a cave in Kárli inscription 20. This identification supports the close connection by sea between the Parthians and the west coast of India in the centuries before and after the Christian era.

5 See above page 8.

6 Elliot and Dowson's History, I. 415, 416. As the companion fleet which was sent to Dibal or Diul in Sindh made a trade settlement at that town, this attack on Thána

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No further notice[1] of the North Konkan has been traced till the rise of the Siláháras, twenty of whom, so far as present information goes, ruled in the North Konkan from about A.D. 810 to A.D. 1260, a period of 450 years.

So far as at present known, the family tree of the Thána Siláháras was:

(1) Kapardi.
(2) Pulashakti.
(3) Kapardi (II.) named Laghu or the Younger, (*Shak* 775 - 799, A.D. 853 - 877).
(4) Vappuvanna.
(5) Jhanjha (A.D. 916). — Lasthiyavva (married Bhillama the fourth Chándor Yádav King).
(6) Goggi.
(7) Vajjadadev.
(8) Aparájit (*Shak* 919, A.D. 997).
(9) Vajjadadev (II.).
(10) Arikeshari (*Shak* 939, A.D. 1017).
(11) Chhittaráj (*Shak* 948, A.D. 1026).
(12) Nágárjun.
(13) Mummuni (*Shak* 982, A.D. 1060).
(14) Anantdev (*Shak* 1003 and 1016, A.D. 1081 and 1094).
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(15) Aparáditya (*Shak* 1060, A.D. 1198).
?
(16) Haripáldev (*Shak* 1071, 1072, and 1075, A.D. 1149, 1150, and 1153).
?
(17) Mallikárjun (*Shak* 1078 and 1082, A.D. 1156 and 1160).
?
(18) Aparáditya (II.) (*Shak* 1106 and 1109, A.D. 1184 and 1187).
?
(19) Keshidev (*Shak* 1125 and 1161, A.D. 1203 and 1238).
?
(20) Someshvar (*Shak* 1171 and 1182, A.D. 1249 and 1260).

Who the Siláháras were has not been ascertained. The name is variously spelt Siláhára, Shailáhára, Shrilára, Shilára, and Silára; even the same inscription has more than one form, and one inscription has the three forms Silára, Shilára, and Shrilára.[2] Lassen suggests that the Siláháras are of Afghán origin, as Silár Káfirs are still found in Afghanistán.[3] But the southern ending Ayya of the names of almost all their ministers and the un-Sanskrit names of some of the chiefs favour the view that they were of southern or Dravidian origin.[4]

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was probably more than a plundering raid. The Kaliph Umar (634 - 643), who had not been consulted, was displeased with the expedition and forbad any further attempt.

[1] Hiuen Tsiang's (642) Konkanapura, about 330 miles from the Drávid country, was thought by General Cunningham (Anc. Geog. 552) to be Kalyán, or some other place in the Konkan. Dr. Burnell (Ind. Ant. VII. 39) has identified it with Konkanhalli in Mysore.

[2] Ind. Ant. IX. 33, 34, 35; Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XIII. 2, 3, 5.

[3] Lassen's Ind. Alt. IV. 113.

[4] It seems probable that Siláhára and Shailáhára are Sanskritised forms of the common Maráthi surname Selar. The story of the origin of the name is that Jimutváhan the mythical founder was the son of a spirit or Vidyádhara, who under a curse became a man. At this time Vishnu's eagle, Garuda, conquered the serpent king Vásuki and forced Vásuki to give him one of his serpent subjects for his daily food. After a time it came to the lot of the serpent Shankhachuda to be sacrificed. He was taken to a stone, *shila*, and left for the eagle to devour. Jimutváhan resolved to save the victim, and placed himself on the rock instead of the serpent. When Garuda came, Jimutváhan said he was the victim and Garuda devoured him except his head. Meantime Jimutváhan's wife came, and finding her husband slain, reproach-

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The Siláháras seem to have remained under the Ráshtrakutas till about the close of the tenth century A.D. 997, when Aparájit assumed independent power.[1] The Thána Siláháras seem to have held the greater part of the present districts of Thána and Kolába. Their capital seems to have been Puri,[2] and their places of note were Hamjaman probably Sanján in Dáhánu, Thána (Shristhának), Sopára (Shurpárak), Chaul (Chemuli), Lonád (Lavanatata), and Uran.[3] As the Yádavs call themselves lords of the excellent city of Dvárávatipura or Dwárka and the Kadambas call themselves lords of the excellent city of Banavásipura or Banavási, so the Siláháras call themselves lords of the excellent city of Tagarapura or Tagar. This title would furnish a clue to the origin of the Siláháras if, unfortunately, the site of Tagar was not uncertain.[4]

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ed Garuda, who restored him to life and at her request ceased to devour the serpents. For this act of self-sacrifice Jimutváhan gained the name of the Rock-devoured *Shiláhlára*. J. R. A. S. (Old Series), IV. 113. Tawney's Kathá Sarit Ságara, I. 174-186. A stanza from this story forms the beginning of all Siláhára copperplate inscriptions.

[1] See below page 18. The early Siláháras, though they call themselves Rájás and Konkan Chakravartis, seem to have been only Mahámandleshvaras or Mahásámantádhipatis, that is great nobles. In two Kanheri cave inscriptions (Arch. Sur. X. 61, 62) the third Siláhára king Kapardi II. (A.D. 853 to 877) is mentioned as a subordinate of the Ráshtrakutas. Of the later Siláháras Anantapál, A.D. 1094, and Aparáditya, A.D. 1138, claim to be independent. Ind. Ant. IX. 45.

[2] The Siláhára Puri, if, as seems likely, it is the same as the Maurya Puri (Ind. Ant. VIII. 244), was a coast town. Of the possible coast towns Thána and Chaul may be rejected, as they appear under the names of Shristhának and Chemuli in inscriptions in which Puri also occurs (As. Res. I. 361, 364; Ind. Ant. IX. 38). Kalyán and Sopára may be given up as unsuitable for an attack by sea, and to Sopára there is the further objection that it appears in the same copperplate in which Puri occurs. (Ind. Ant. IX. 38.) There remain Mangalpuri or Mágáthan in Sálsette, Ghárápuri or Elephanta, and Rájápuri or Janjira. As neither Mangalpuri nor Rájápuri has remains of an old capital, perhaps the most likely identification of Puri is the Moreh landing or Bandar on the north-east corner of Ghárápuri or Elephanta, where many ancient remains have been found. Compare Bom. Gaz. XIV. Places and Appendix A.

[3] Other places of less note mentioned in the inscriptions are Bhádán, Padgha, and Bábgaon villages, and the Kumbhári river in Bhiwndi, Kanher in Bassein, and Chánje (Chadiche) village near Uran.

[4] Tagar has been identified by Wilford (As. Res. I. 369) with Devgiri or Daulatabad and by Dr. Burgess with Roza about four miles from Daulatabad (Bidar and Aurangabad, 55); Lassen and Yule place it doubtfully at Kulburga (Ditto); Pandit Bhagvánlál, as already stated, at Junnar; Grant Duff (Maráthás, 11) near Bhir on the Godávari; and Mr. J. F. Fleet, I. C. S. (Kánarese Dynasties, 99-103) at Kolhápur. Prof. Bhandárkar observes: 'The identification of Tagar with Devgiri is based on the supposition that the former name is a corruption of the latter. But that it is not so is proved by its occurrence as Tagar in the Siláhára grants (A.D. 997-1094), and in a Chálukya grant of A.D. 612, the language of all of which is Sanskrit. The modern Junnar cannot have been Tagar, since the Greeks place Tagar ten days' journey to the east of Paithan. On the supposition that Junnar was Tagar, one would expect the Chálukya plate issued to a Bráhman of Tagar to have been found at or near Junnar. But it was found at Haidarabad in the Dakhan. The author of the Periplus calls Tagar "the greatest city" in Dakhinabades or Dakshinápath. The Siláhára princes or chiefs, who formed three distinct branches of a dynasty that ruled over two parts of the Konkan and the country about Kolhápur, trace their origin to Jimutváhan the Vidyádhar or demigod and style themselves "The lords of the excellent city of Tagar." From this it would appear that the Siláháras were an ancient family, and that their original seat was Tagar whence they spread to the confines of the country. Tagar therefore was probably the centre of one of the earliest Aryan settlements in the Dandakáranya or 'forest of Dandaka,' as the Dakhan or Mahárásthra was called. These early settlements followed the course of the Godávari. Hence it is that in the formula repeated at the beginning of any religious

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Besides the Siláhára references, the only known Sanskrit notice of Tagar is in a Chálukya copperplate found near Haidarabad in the Dakhan and dated A.D. 612.[1] As has been already noticed, the references to Tagar in Ptolemy and in the Periplus point to a city considerably to the east of Paithan, and the phrase in the Periplus,[2] 'That many articles brought into Tagar from the parts along the coast were sent by wagons to Broach,' seems to show that Tagar was in communication with the Bay of Bengal, and was supported by the eastern trade, which in later times enriched Málkhet, Kalyán, Bidar, Golkonda, and Haidarabad.

From numerous references and grants the Thána Siláháras seem to have been worshippers of Shiv.[3]

Of Kapardi, the first of the Thána Siláháras, nothing is known except that he claims descent from Jimutváhan. Pulashakti his son and successor, in an undated inscription in Kanheri Cave 78, is mentioned as the governor of Mangalpuri in the Konkan, and as the humble servant of (the Ráshtrakuta king) Amoghvarsh. The third king, Pulashakti's son, Kapardi II. was called the Younger *Laghu*. Two inscriptions in Kanheri Caves 10 and 78, dated A.D. 853 and 877, seem to show that he was subordinate to the Ráshtrakutas. The son of Kapardi II. was the fourth king Vappuvanna, and his son was Jhanjha the fifth king. Jhanjha is mentioned by the Arab historian Masudi as ruling over Saimur (Cheul) in A.D. 916.[4] He must have been a staunch Shaivite, as, according to a Siláhára copperplate of A.D. 1094, he built twelve temples of Shambhu.[5] According to an unpublished copperplate in the possession of Pandit Bhagvánlál, Jhanjha had a daughter named Lasthiyavva, who was married to Bhillama the fourth of the Chándor Yádavs.[6]

The next king was Jhanjha's brother Goggi, and after him came Goggi's son Vajjadadev. Of the eighth king, Vajjadadev's son

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ceremony in Maháráshtra, the place where the ceremony is performed is alluded to by giving its bearing from the Godávari. People in Khándesh use the words '*Godávárya uttara tire*' that is 'on the northern bank of the Godávari,' while those to the south of the river, as far as the borders of the country, use the expression '*Godávarya dakshine tire*' that is 'on the southern bank of the Godávari.' If then Tagar was one of the earliest of the Aryan settlements, it must be situated on or near the banks of the Godávari, as the ancient town of Paithan is; and its bearing from Paithan given by the Greek geographers agrees with this supposition, as the course of the Godávari from that point is nearly easterly. Tagar must therefore be looked for to the east of Paithan. If the name has undergone corruption, it must, by the Prákrit law of dropping the initial mutes, be first changed to Taaraura, and thence to Tarur or Terur. Can it be the modern Dárur or Dhárur in the Nizám's dominions, twenty-five miles east of Grant Duff's Bhir and seventy miles south-east of Paithan?

[1] Ind. Ant. VI. 75. [2] McCrindle, 126.

[3] The most marked passages are in a copperplate of A.D. 1094, where the fifth king Jhanjha is mentioned as having built twelve temples to Shambhu, and the tenth king Arikeshari as having, by direction of his father, visited Someshvar or Somnáth, offering up before him the whole earth (Ind. Ant. IX. 37). The Kolhápur Siláháras appear to have been tolerant kings, as one copperplate records grants to Mahádev, Buddha, and Arhat (Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XIII. 17). Compare Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 103. [4] Prairies d'Or, II. 85. [5] Ind. Ant. IX. 35.

[6] The text is, "*Bháryá yasya cha Jhanjharájatanayá shri Lasthiyavváhvyá.*" A short account of the Chándor Yádavs is given in the Násik Statistical Account, Bom. Gaz. XVI. 185.

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Aparájit or Birundakarám, a copperplate dated 997 (*Shak* 919) has lately been found at Bher, about ten miles north of Bhiwndi.[1] It appears from this plate that during Aparájit's reign, his Ráshtrakuta overlord Karkarája or Kakkala was overthrown and slain by the Chálukyan Tailapa, and that Aparájit became independent some time between 972 and 997.[2]

In a copperplate of A.D. 1094, recording a grant by the fourteenth king Anantdev, Aparájit is mentioned as having welcomed Gomma, confirmed to Aiyapdev the sovereignty which had been shaken, and afforded security to Bhillamámmamanambudha?[3] The next king was Aparájit's son Vajjadadev. The next king Arikeshari, Vajjadadev's brother, in a copperplate grant dated A.D. 1097, is styled the lord of fourteen hundred Konkan villages. Mention is also made of the cities of Shristhának, Puri, and Hamyaman probably Sanján.[4] The eleventh king was Vajjadadev's son Chhittarájdev. In a copperplate dated *Shak* 948 (A.D. 1025) he is styled the ruler of the fourteen hundred Konkan villages, the chief of which were Puri and Hamyaman.[5] The twelfth king was Nágárjun, the younger brother of Chhittarájdev. After him came Nágárjun's younger brother Mummuni or Mámvani, who is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1060 (*Shak* 982).[6] The fourteenth king was Mummuni or Mámváni's son Anantpál or Anantdev, whose name occurs in two grants dated A.D. 1081 and 1096.[7] In the 1096 grant Anantpál is mentioned as ruling over the whole Konkan fourteen hundred

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[1] The copperplate records the grant at Shristhának or Thána, of Bhádáne village about eight miles east of Bhiwndi for the worship of Lonáditya residing in (whose temple is in) Lavanatata (Lonád), on the fourth of the dark half of *Ashádh* (June-July) *Shak* 919 (A.D. 997), as a *Dakshináyan* gift, that is a gift made on the occasion of the sun beginning to pass to the south. Aparájita's ministers were Sangalaiya and Sinhapaiya. The inscription was written by Sangalaiya's son Annapai. The grant was settled in Thána, *Tachcha Shristhánake dhruvam*. [2] Pandit Bhagvánlál Indraji.

[3] Ind. Ant. IX. 36. Of Gomma and Aiyapdev nothing is known; of the third name only Bhillam the son-in-law of Jhanjha can be made out.

[4] Asiatic Researches, I. 357-367. This grant was found in 1787 while digging foundations in Thána fort. Arikeshari's ministers were Vásapaiya and Várdhapaiya. The grant consists of several villages given to a family priest, the illustrious Tikkapaiya son of the illustrious astrologer Chchhinpaiya, an inhabitant of Shristhának (Thána) on the occasion of a full eclipse of the moon in *Kártik* (October-November) *Shak* 939 (A.D. 1017) Pingala *Samvatsara*. The grant was written by the illustrious Nágalaiya, the great bard, and engraved on plates of copper by Vedapaiya's son Mándhárpaiya.

[5] Ind. Ant. V. 276-281. His ministers were the chief functionary *Sarvádhikári* the illustrious Náganaiya, the minister for peace and war the illustrious Sihapaiya, and the minister for peace and war for Karnáta (Kanara) the illustrious Kapardi. The grant, which is dated Sunday the fifteenth of the bright half of *Kártik* (October-November) *Shak* 948 (A.D. 1026) Kshaya *Samvatsara* is of a field in the village of Nour (the modern Naura two miles north of Bhándup) in the *táluka* of Shatshashthi (Sálsette) included in Shristhának (Thána). The donee is a Bráhman Amadevaiya the son of Vipranodamaiya, who belonged to the Chhandogashákha of the Sámved.

[6] Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XII. 329-332. In this inscription, which is in the Ambarnáth temple near Kalyán, he is called Mámvánirájadev and his ministers are named Vinta(paiya), Nágamaiya, Vakadaiya, Jogalaiya, Padhisena, and Bháilaiya. The inscription records the construction of a temple of Chhittarajdev, that is a temple, the merit of building which counts to Chhittarájdev.

[7] The A.D. 1081 grant was found in Vehár in Sálsette and the 1096 grant in Khárepátan in Devgad in the Ratnágiri district. The Vehár stone was found in 1881 and

villages, the chief of which was Puri and next to it Hanjamana probably Sanján, and as having cast into the ocean of the edge of his sword those wicked heaps of sin, who at a time of misfortune, caused by the rise to power of hostile relatives, devastated the whole Konkan, harassing gods and Bráhmans.[1]

The names of six Siláhára kings later than Anantdev have been made out from land-grant stones. As these stones do not give a pedigree, the order and relationship of the kings cannot be determined.

The first of these kings is Aparáditya, who is mentioned in a stone dated A.D. 1138 (*Shak* 1060).[2] The next king is Haripáldev, who is mentioned in three stones dated A.D. 1149, 1150, and 1153 (*Shak* 1071, 1072, and 1075).[3]

The next king is Mallikárjun, of whom two grants are recorded, one from Chiplún in Ratnágiri dated 1156 (*Shak* 1078), the other from Bassein dated 1160 (*Shak* 1082). This Mallikárjun seems to be the Konkan king, who was defeated near Balsár by Ámbada the general

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records a grant by Anantdev in *Shak* 1003 (A.D. 1081), the chief minister being Rudrapai. The inscription mentions Ajapálaiya, son of Mátaiya of the Vyádika family, and the grant of some *drammas* to *khárásán mandli*[?] (Pandit Bhagvánlál). The Khárepátan copperplates were found several years ago and give the names of all the thirteen Siláhára kings before Anantdev. Ind. Ant. IX. 33-46.

[1] This account refers to some civil strife of which nothing is known (Ind. Ant. IX. 41). Anantdev's ministers were the illustrious Nauvitaka Vásaida, Rishibhatta, the illustrious Pádhisen Mahádevaiya prabhu, and Somanaiya prabhu. The grant is dated the first day of the bright half of *Mágh* (January-February) in the year *Shak* 1016 (A.D. 1094), Bhav *Samvatsara*. It consists of an exemption from tolls for all carts belonging to the great minister the illustrious Bhábhana *shreshthi*, the son of the great minister Durgashreshthi of Valipavana, probably Pálpattna or the city of Pál near Mahád in Kolába, and his brother the illustrious Dhanamshreshthi. Their carts may come into any of the ports, Shristhának, Nágpur perhaps Nágothna, Shurparak, Chemuli, and others included within the Konkan Fourteen Hundred. They are also freed from the toll on the ingress or egress of those who carry on the business of *norika* (?)

[2] This stone, which was found in 1881 at Chánje near Uran in the Karanja petty division, records the grant of a field in Nágum, probably the modern Nágaon about four miles west of Uran, for the merit of his mother Liládevi; and another grant of a garden in Chadija (Chánje) village. This is the Aparáditya 'king of the Konkan,' who is mentioned in Mankha's Shrikanthacharita (a book found by Dr. Bühler in Káshmir and ascribed by him to A.D. 1135-1145) as sending Tejakanth from Shurpárak (Sopára) to the literary congress held at Káshmir, of which details are given in that book. Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XII. Extra Number, 51. cxv.

[3] The 1149 stone is built into the plinth of the back veranda of the house of one Jairám Bháskar Sonár at Sopára. It records a gift. The name of the king is doubtful. It may be also read Kurpáldev. The 1150 stone was found near Agáshi in 1881. It is dated 1st *Márgshirsh* (December-January), in the Pramoda *Samvatsara*, *Shak* 1072 (A.D. 1150). Haripál's ministers were Vesupadval, Lakhsman prabhu, Padmashivrául, and Vásugi náyak. The grant is of the permanent income of Shrinevadi in charge of a Pattakil (Pátil) named Rája, to the family priest Brahmadevbhatt son of Divákarbhatt and grandson of Govardhanbhatt by prince A'havamalla enjoying the village of Vattárak (Vatár) in Shurpárak (Sopára). The witnesses to the grant are Risi Mhátara, head of Vattárak village, Náguji Mhátara, Anantnáyak, and Chángdev Mhátara. [Pandit Bhagvánlál.] Another inscription of Haripáldev has been found on a stone in Karanjon in Bassein. The inscription is of thirteen lines which are very hard to read. In the third and fourth lines can be read very doubtfully 'the illustrious Haripáldev, the chief of the Mahámandaleshvaras, adorned with all the royal titles.' The 1153 stone was found near Borivli station in 1882. The inscription is in nine lines, and bears date *Shak* 1075, Shrimukh *Samvatsara* and the name of king Haripál.

of the Gujarát king Kumárpál Solanki (A.D. 1143-1174).[1] Next comes Aparáditya II. of whom there are four land-grant stones, three of them dated, one in 1184 (*Shak* 1106) and two in 1187 (*Shak* 1109), and one undated.[2]

The next king is Keshidev, son of Aparárka (Aparáditya II. ?), two of whose land-grant stones have been found, one dated 1203 (*Shak* 1125) the other 1238 (*Shak* 1161).[3]

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[1] The Kumárpál Charitra (A.D. 1170) which gives details of this defeat of Mallikárjun, see below page 24, describes Mallikárjun's father as Mahánand, and his capital as Shatánandpur 'surrounded by the ocean' (*Shatánapure jaladhiveshtite Mahánando rája*). Mahánand is an addition to the Siláhára table, but the form appears doubtful and does not correspond with the name of any of the preceding or succeeding kings. 'Surrounded by the ocean' might apply to a town either in Sálsette or on Sopára island. But the epithet applies much better to a town on Elephanta island, and the similarity in name suggests that Shatánandpur may be Santapur, an old name for Elephanta. See Bom. Gaz. XIV. Thána Places of Interest, 81-82. Mallikárjun's Chiplún stone was found in 1880 by Mr. Falle, of the Marine Survey, under a wall in Chiplún (Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XIV. 35). It is now in the museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The writing gives the name of Mallikárjun and bears date *Shak* 1078 (A.D. 1156). His ministers were Nágalaiya and Lakshmanaiya's son Anantugi (Pandit Bhagvánlál). The Bassein stone styles the king 'Shri-Siláhára Mallikárjun' and the date given is *Shak* 1082 (A.D. 1160), Vishva *Samvatsara*, his ministers being Prabhákar náyak and Anantpai prabhu. The grant is of a field (?) or garden (?) called Shilárvátak in Padhálasak in Katakhadi by two royal priests, for the restoration of a temple. Pandit Bhagvánlál.

[2] The 1184 (*Shak* 1106) stone was found in February 1882 about a mile south-west of Lonád in Bhiwndi. Of the two *Shak* 1109 (A.D. 1187) stones, one found near Government House, Parel, records a grant by Aparáditya, the ruler of the Konkan, of 24 *dramma* coins after exempting other taxes, the fixed revenue of one cart in the village of Máhuli (probably the modern Máhul near Kurla) connected with Shatshashthi, which is in the possession of Anantapai prabhu, for performing the worship by five rites of (the god) Vaidyanáth, lord of Darbhávati. The last line of the inscription shows that it was written by a Káyasth named Válig Pandit (Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XII. 335). The second *Shak* 1109 (A.D. 1187) stone is in the museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It is dated *Shak* 1109 (A.D. 1187) Vishvávasu *Samvatsara*, on Sunday the sixth of the bright half of *Chaitra* (April-May). The grantor is the great minister Lakshmannáyaka son of Bháskarnáyaka, and something is said in the grant about the god Somnáth of Suráshtra (Ind. Ant. IX. 49). The fourth stone, which bears no date, was found near Kalambhom in Bassein in 1882. It gives the name of Aparáditya, and from the late form of the letters probably belongs to this king. A fifth stone has recently been found near Bassein. The date is doubtful; it looks like *Shak* 1107 (A.D. 1185), Pandit Bhagvánlál.

[3] The *Shak* 1125 (A.D. 1203) stone was found in 1881 near Mándvi in Bassein. It records the grant of something for offerings, *naivedya*, to the god Lakshminaráyan in the reign of the illustrious Keshidev. [Pandit Bhagvánlál.] The *Shak* 1161 (A.D. 1238) stone was found near Lonád village in Bhiwndi in February 1882. It bears date the thirteenth of the dark half of *Mágh* (February-March) and records the grant by Keshidev, the son of Aparárka of the village of Brahmapuri, to one Kavi Soman, devoted to the worship of Shompeshvar Mahádev. The inscription describes Brahmapuri as 'pleasing by reason of its Shaiv temples.' A field or hamlet called Májaspalli in Bápgrám, the modern Bábgaon near Lonád, is granted by the same inscription to four worshippers in front of the image of Shompeshvar. Aparárka, Keshidev's father, is probably the Aparáditya (*arka* and *áditya* both meaning sun) the author of the commentary called *Apárárka* on Yajnavalkya's law book the Mitákshara. At the end of the commentary is written: Thus ends the Penance Chapter in the commentary on the Hindu law of Yájnavalkya made by the illustrious Aparáditya of the family of Jimutvahán, the Shiláhára king of the dynasty of the illustrious Vidyádhara. Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XII. 335 and Extra Number, 52. Aparárka is cited by an author of the beginning of the thirteenth century. Jour. B. B. R. A. S. IX. 161.

The next is Someshvar, two of whose land-grant stones have been found, one dated 1249 (*Shak* 1171) the other 1260 (*Shak* 1182).[1]

Though, with few exceptions, the names of the Thána Siláháras are Sanskrit the names of almost all their ministers and of many of the grantees point to a Kánarese or a Telugu source. They appear to be southerners, and *ayyas* or high-caste Dravidian Hindus seem to have had considerable influence at their court.[2] Káyasths, probably the ancestors of the present Káyasth Prabhus, are also mentioned.

Though their grants are written in Sanskrit, sometimes pure sometimes faulty, from the last three lines of one of their stone inscriptions, the language of the country appears to have been a corrupt Prákrit, the mother of the modern Maráthi.[3] The same remark applies to the names of towns. For, though inscriptions give such Sanskritised forms as Shri-Sthának, Shurpárak, and Hanjaman or Hamyaman, the writings of contemporary Arab travellers show that the present names Thána, Sopára, and Sanján were then in use.[4]

On the condition of the Siláhára kingdom the inscriptions throw little light. The administration appears to have been carried on by the king assisted by a great councillor or great minister, a great minister for peace and war, two treasury lords, and sometimes a (chief) secretary. The subordinate machinery seems to have consisted of heads of districts *ráshtras*, heads of sub-divisions *vishayas*, heads of towns, and heads of villages.[5] They had a king's high road *rájpath*, passing to the west of the village of Gomvani a little north of Bhándup, following nearly the same line as the present road from Bombay to Thána; and there was another king's high road near Uran. At their ports, among which Sopára, Thána, Chaul, and perhaps Nágothna are mentioned, a customs duty was levied. The *dramma* was the current coin.[6] The Siláháras seem to have been

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[1] The *Shak* 1171 (A.D. 1249) stone was found in Ránvad near Uran. In this stone the Siláhára king Someshvar grants land in Padivase village in Uran to purify him from sins. The *Shak* 1182 (A.D. 1260) stone was found in Chánje also near Uran. It records the grant by the Konkan monarch Someshvar of 162 *Páruttha* (Parthian ?) *dramma* coins, being the fixed income of a garden in Konthalesthán in Chadiche (Chánje) village in Uran, to Uttareshvar Mahádev of Shri-Sthának (Thána). The boundary on the west is the royal or high road *rájpath*. Someshvar's ministers were Jhámpadprabhu, Mainálu, Bebalaprabhu, Peramde Pandit, and Pádhigovenaku. Pandit Bhagvánlál.

[2] Ind. Ant. IX. 46. This southern element is one reason for looking for Tagar in the Telugu-speaking districts. *Ayya*, the Kánarese for master, is the term in ordinary use in the Bombay Karnátak for Jangam or Lingáyat priests. The Sárasvat Bráhmans of North Kánara are at present passing through the stage, which the upper classes of the North Konkan seem to have passed through about 500 years ago, of discarding the southern *ayya* for the northern *ráo*. [3] Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XII. 334.

[4] Elliot and Dowson, I. 24, 27, 30, 34, 38, 60, 61, 66, 67, 77, 85; Masudi's Prairies d'Or, I. 254, 330, 381 and III. 47.

[5] Asiatic Researches, I. 361; Ind. Ant. V. 280 and IX. 38. The name *pattákil* (modern *pátil*) used in stone inscriptions seems to show that the villages were in charge of headmen.

[6] *Drammas*, which are still found in the Konkan, are believed by Pandit Bhagvánlál to be the coins of a corrupt Sassanian type which are better known as Gadhia *paisa* or ass-money. Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XII. 325-328. The *Páruttha Drammas* mentioned in note 1 above seem to be Parthian drammas. Perhaps they

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fond of building. The Muhammadans in the beginning of the thirteenth century and the Portuguese in the sixteenth century destroyed temples and stone-faced reservoirs by the score. The statements of travellers and the remains at Ambarnáth, Pelar, Átgaon, Párol, Wálukeshvar in Bombay, and Lonád prove that the masonry was of well-dressed close-fitting blocks of stone, and that the sculptures were carved with much skill and richness. Many of them seem to have been disfigured by indecency.[1] Some of the Siláháras seem to have encouraged learning. One of them Aparáditya II. (1187) was an author, and another Aparáditya I. (1138) is mentioned as sending a Konkan representative to a great meeting of learned men in Káshmir.

While its local rulers were the Siláháras, the overlords of the Konkan, to whom the Siláháras paid obeisance during the latter part of the eighth and the ninth centuries, were the Ráshtrakutas of Málkhet, sixty miles south-east of Sholápur.[2] Their power for a time included a great part of the present Gujarát where their head-quarters were at Broach.[3] The Arab merchant Sulaimán (A.D. 850) found the Konkan (Komkam) under the Balhára, the chief of Indian princes. The Balhára and his people were most friendly to Arabs. He was at war with the Gujar (Juzr) king, who, except in the matter of cavalry, was greatly his inferior.[4] Sixty years later Masudi (916) makes the whole province of Lár, from Chaul (Saimur) to Cambay, subject to the Balhára, whose capital was Mankir (Málkhet) the 'great centre' in the Kánarese-speaking country about 640 miles from the coast.[5] He was overlord of the Konkan (Kemken) and of the whole province of Lár in which were Chaul (Saimur), Thána, and Supára, where the Láriya language was spoken. The Balhára was the most friendly to Musalmáns of all Indian kings. He was exposed to the attacks of the Gujar (Juzr) king who was rich in camels and horses. The name Balhára was the name of the founder of the dynasty, and all the princes took it on succeeding to the

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are the same as the coins mentioned by Abu-l-fida as Khurásani dirhems, and by Masudi (Prairies d'Or, I. 382) and Sulaimán (Elliot and Dowson, I. 3) as Tátariya or Tahiriyeh dirhems General Cunningham (Anc. Geog. 313) identifies these Tátariya dirhems with the Skythic or Indo-Sassanian coins of Kábul and North-West India of the centuries before and after Christ, and Mr. Thomas (Elliot and Dowson, I. 4) with the Musalmán dynasty of Tahirides who ruled in Khurásan in the ninth century.

[1] Details of these remains are given in the fourteenth volume of the Bombay Gazetteer. The only place not mentioned in that volume of the Gazetteer is Wálukeshvar in Bombay. The remains at Wálukeshvar consist of about sixty richly carved stones, pillar capitals, statues, and other temple fragments, one of them about 6'×3', apparently of the tenth century, which lie near the present Wálukeshvar temple on Malabár Point. The memorial stones or *páliyás*, which are interesting and generally spirited, seem almost all to belong to Siláhára times. The handsomest specimens are near Borivli in Sálsette. Details of the sculptures on memorial stones are given in Bombay Gazetteer, XIV. under Eksar and Sháhápur.

[2] Like the Siláháras the Ráshtrakutas seem to have been a Dravidian tribe. Ráshtra is believed (Dr. Burnell in Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 31-32) to be a Sanskrit form of Ratta or Reddi the tribe to which the mass of the people in many parts of the Dakhan and Bombay Karnátak belong.

[3] Ind. Ant. VI. 145. [4] Sulaimán in Elliot, I. 4. [5] Prairies d'Or, I. 254, 381.

throne.[1] When Masudi (916) was in the Konkan, the province of Lár was governed by Jhanja the fifth of the Siláhara rulers.[2]

For fifty years more (950) the Ráshtrakutas continued overlords of the Konkan, and of Lár as far north as Cambay.[3] Soon after the beginning of the reign of Mulráj (943-997), the Chaulukya or Solanki ruler of North Gujarát, his dominions were invaded from the south by Bárap or Dvárap, the general of Tailap II. (973-997) the Dakhan Chálukya who afterwards (980) destroyed the power of the Ráshtrakutas. Bárap established himself in South Gujarát or Lát, and, according to Gujarát accounts, towards the close of Mulráj's reign, was attacked and defeated, though after his victory Mulráj withdrew north of the Narbada. In this war Bárap is said to have been helped by the chiefs of the islands, perhaps a reference to the Thána Siláháras.[4] It appears from a copperplate lately (1881) found in Surat, that, after Mulráj's invasion, Bárap and four successors continued to rule Lát till 1050.[5]

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[1] Prairies d'Or, I. 254, 383 & II. 85 ; Elliot and Dowson, I. 24, 25. Tod (Western India, 147, 160) held that Balhara meant the leaders of the Balla tribe, whose name appears in the ancient capital Valabhi (A.D. 480), probably the present village of Valleh about twenty miles west of Bhávnagar in Káthiáwár. Elliot (History, I. 354) has adopted Tod's suggestion, modifying it slightly so as to make Balhára stand for the Ballabhi or Ballabh, Rái. Reinaud (Mémoire Sur l'Inde, 145) explained Bálhara by Malvarai lord of Málwa, and Mr. Thomas has lately adopted the view that Balhára is Bara Rái or great king, and holds that his capital was Monghir in Behár (Numismata Orientalia, III.) The objection to these views is, as the following passages show, that the two Arab travellers who knew the country of the Balháras, Sulaimán (850) and Masudi (915), agree in placing it in the Konkan and Dakhan. Sulaimán (Elliot and Dowson, I. 4) says the Balhára's territory begins at the Komkam or Konkan. Masudi says (Pariries d'Or, I. 177, 381), the capital of the Balhára is Mankir, the sea-board Saimur or Chaul, Sopára, and Thána, and again (I. 383) the Balhára's kingdom is called the Konkan (Kemker). Again the Balhára of Mankir ruled in Sindán, Sanján in north Thána, and the neighbourhood of Cambay in Gujarát (Ditto, I. 254 & III. 47. This Gujarát power of the Ráshtrakutas at the opening of the tenth century is proved by local inscriptions. Ind. Ant. VI. 145). Finally Lár, or the North Konkan coast, was under the Balhára, and Masudi in 916 (H. 304) visited Saimur or Chaul, one of the chief of the Balhára towns (Ditto, II. 85), which was then under a local prince named Jandja. This is the Siláhára Jhanja. (See above page 17.) Idrisi (1135) is the only authority who places the seat of Balhara power in Gujarát (Jaubert, I. 176 ; Elliot, I. 87, 88). The Anahilaváda sovereigns had before this (Rás Málá, 62) adopted the title of King of Kings *Rája of Rájás*, and Idrisi seems to have taken for granted that this title was Balhára, which Ibn Khurdádba (912), who never was in India, had, by mistake, translated king of kings (Elliot, I. 13). The true origin of the title Balhára, that it was the name of the founder of the dynasty, is given by Masudi (Prairies d'Or, I. 162), and neither Sulaimán (850), Al Istakhir (951), nor Ibn Haukal (970), all of whom visited India, translates Balhára king of kings (see Elliot I. 4, 27, 34). The details of the Balhára kings given by Sulaimán, Masudi, Al Istakhir, and Ibn Haukal, show that their territory began from the Konkan and stretched across India, and that their capital was Mankir, inland in the Kánarese (Kiriah) speaking country. These details point to the Ráshtrakutas of Málkhet, who were overlords of the Konkan from about 750 to 970, and among the earliest of whom, as Professor Bhandárkar has shewn, Valabh the Beloved was a favourite personal name. At the same time the Ráshtrakutas seem to have no claim to the title Balhára.

[2] Prairies d'Or. II. 85. Jhanjha (see above page 17) is the fifth Siláhára king.

[3] See Al Istakhir (950) and Ibn Haukal (943-976) in Elliot, I. 27, 34.

[4] Ind. Ant. V. 317, VI. 184 ; Rás Málá, 38, 46.

[5] The kings are Bárappa, who is described as having obtained Látdesh ; (2) Agniráj (Gongiráj ?), who freed and reconquered the land encroached on by his enemies ; (3) Kirtiraj, who became the king of Látdesh ; (4) Vatsaráj, the opening part of

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Between the overthrow of the power of Málkhet (A.D. 970) and the establishment of the overlordship of Gujarát (A.D. 1151, the Siláhára rulers of the North Konkan claim independence, and, during part at least of this time, Thána was the capital of the Konkan.[1] Between the death of Mulráj (997) and the succession of Bhimdev I. (1022-1072), the power of Gujarát did not increase. But Bhimdev took the title of Rája of Rájás, and spent most of his reign in spreading his power northwards and in a great contest with Visaldev of Ajmir.[2] Neither Bhimráj nor his successor Karan (1072-1094) advanced his borders to the south. Nor does Sidhráj (1094-1143), the glory of the Gujarát Chálukyas, though he spread his arms over so much of the Dakhan as to fill with fear the chief of Kolhápur, seem to have exercised control over the Konkan.[3] Idrisi (1135), whose details of Anahilaváda (Nahrwára) seem to belong to Sidhráj's reign, calls him King of Kings.[4] He shows how wealthy and prosperous Gujarát then was,[5] but gives no information regarding the extent of Sidhraj's power. Idrisi's mention of Thána (Bana) seems to show that it was unconnected with Gujarát and this is borne out by the account of Kumár Pál's (1143-1174) invasion of the Konkan. Hearing that Mallikárjun (a Siláhára) king of the Konkan, the son of king Mahánand who was ruling in the seagirt city of Shatánand had adopted the title of Grandfather of Kings *Rájapitámaha*, Kumár Pál sent his general Ámbad against him.[6] Ámbada advanced as far as the Káveri (Kalvini) near Navsári, crossed the river, and in a battle fought with Mallikárjun on the south bank of the river, was defeated and forced to retire. A second expedition was more successful. The Káveri was bridged, Mallikárjun defeated and slain, his capital taken and plundered, and the authority of the Anahilaváda sovereign proclaimed. A'mbad returned laden with gold, jewels, vessels of precious metals, pearls, elephants, and coined money. He was received graciously and ennobled with Mallikárjun's title of Grandfather of Kings.[7] The Konkan is included among the eighteen

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whose reign and the closing part of whose father's reign were occupied in foreign wars; (6) Trilochanpál (1050) the grantor, whose reign also was disturbed by wars. There are three copperplates, the middle plate inscribed on both sides and the outer plates on the inner sides. They are well preserved and held by a copper ring bearing upon it the royal seal, stamped with a figure of the god Shiv. The date is the fifteenth of the dark half of *Paush* (January-February) *Shak* 972 (A.D. 1050). The plate states that the king bathed at Agastitirth, the modern Bhagvádándi twenty miles north-west of Surat, and granted the village of Erathána, modern Erthán, six miles north-east of Olpád in Surat. Mr. Harilál H. Dhruva. A list of references to Lát Desh is given in Bom. Gaz. XII. 57 note 1.

[1] Rashid-ud-din in Elliot, I. 60. This independence of the Siláháras is doubtful. In an inscription dated 1034 Jayasimha the fourth western Chálukya (1018-1040) claims to have seized the seven Konkans. Bom. Arch. Sur. Rep. III. 34; Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 44. [2] Rás Málá, 62, 70-75. [3] Rás Málá, 138.

[4] Idrisi calls the ruler of Nahrwala Balhára. He says the title means King of Kings. He seems to have heard from Musalmán merchants that Sidhráj had the title of King of Kings, and concluded that this title was Balhára which Ibn Khurdádba (912) had translated king of kings, apparently without reason. Jaubert's Idrisi, I. 177; Elliot, I. 75, 93. [5] See Rás Málá, 188, 189, 192; Tod's Western India, 156.

[6] Rás Málá, 145. For the mention of the Siláháras as one of the thirty-six tribes subject to Kumár Pál, see Tod's Western India, 181, 188.

[7] The title 'Grandfather of Kings *Rájapitámaha*,' occurs along with their other titles in three Siláhára copperplates (As. Res. I. 359; Jour. R. A. S. [O. S.], V. 186;

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districts, and the Siláháras are mentioned among the thirty-six tribes who were subject to Kumár Pál. But Gujarát power was shortlived, if the Siláhára ruler of Kolhápur is right in his boast that in 1151 he replaced the dethroned kings of Thána.

During at least the latter part of the thirteenth century the North Konkan seems to have been ruled by viceroys of the Devgiri Yádavs, whose head-quarters were at Karnála and Bassein. Two grants dated 1273 and 1291, found near Thána, record the gift of two villages Anjor in Kalyán and Vávla in Sálsette (called Shatshasthi in the inscription), by two Konkan viceroys of Rámchandradev (1271 - 1309) the fifth Yádav ruler of Devgiri. Two stone inscriptions dated 1280 (S. 1202) and 1288 (S. 1210), recording gifts by Rámchandradev's officers have also recently (1882) been found near Bhiwndi and Bassein.[1]

In the thirteenth century, while the Devgiri Yádavs held the inland parts of the district, it seems probable that the Anahilaváda kings kept a hold on certain places along the coast.[2] At the close of the thirteenth century Gujarát, according to Rashid-ud-din (1310), included Cambay Somnáth and Konkan Thána. But his statements are confused,[3] and, according to Marco Polo, in his time (1290) there was a prince of Thána who was tributary to no one. The people were idolators with a language of their own. The harbour was harassed by corsairs, with whom the chief of Thána had a covenant.[4] There were other petty chiefs on the coast, *náiks*, *rájás*, or *ráis*, who were probably more or less dependent on the Anahiláváda kings.

The South Konkan branch of the Siláháras appears, from the single copperplate inscription which has been found of them in the Ratnágiri district, to have consisted of ten kings who ruled from

Ind. Ant. IX. 35, 38). Mr. Wathen suggests, 'Like a Brahmadeva among kings' that is 'First among kings,' and Mr. Telang, while translating the phrase as 'The grandfather of the king' suggests the same meaning as Mr. Wathen. The Kumárpál Charitra, which gives a detailed account of this invasion, has the following passage in explanation of the term *Rájapitámaha*: 'One day while the Chálukya universal ruler (Kumár Pál) was sitting at ease, he heard a bard pronounce *Rájapitámaha* as the title of Mallikárjun king of the Konkan' (in the verse), 'Thus shines king Mallikárjun who bears the title *Rájapitámaha*, having conquered all great kings by the irresistible might of his arms and made them obedient to himself like grandsons.'

[1] J. R. A. S. [O. S.], II. 388; V. 178 - 187. The text of one of the inscriptions runs, 'Under the orders of Shri Rám this Shrikrishnadev governs the whole province of the Konkan.' This would show that the Yádavs had overthrown the Siláháras and were governing the Konkan by their own viceroys about 1270. How long before this the Yádavs had ceased to hold the Konkan as overlords and begun to govern through viceroys is not difficult to determine, as the Siláhára Someshvara calls himself king of the Konkan in 1260. For the Bhiwndi (Kalvár) and Bassein stones recently found see Bom. Gaz. XIV. Appendix A.

[2] Rás Málá, 188, 189. They seem to have had considerable power at sea. Bhimdev II. (1179 - 1225) had ships that went to Sindh, and Arjundev (1260) had a Musalmán admiral. Tod's Western India, 207; Rás Mála, 161.

[3] Elliot, I. 67. In another passage of the same section he makes Konkan-Thána separate from Gujarát.

[4] Yule's Marco Polo, II. 330. More than two hundred years later Barbosa complains of the same piratical tribe at the port of Thána. 'And there are in this port (Tanamayambu) small vessels of rovers like watch-boats, which go out to sea, and, if they meet with any small ship less strong than themselves, they capture and plunder it, and sometimes kill their crews.' Barbosa's East Africa and Malabár, 69.

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about A.D. 808 to 1008, at first under the Ráshtrakutas and then under the Chálukyas until eventually the Devgiri Yadavs became supreme over the whole Konkan.[1]

Of the state of the country these inscriptions give us no information. At the same time it is safe to infer that land must have been of considerable value when grants of it were recorded by engravings on copper, and also that a community among which the art of engraving on metal existed, and was apparently not uncommon (for the inscriptions are not only numerous but lengthy), must have attained a considerable degree of civilization. It may also be remarked that all these grants refer to those parts of the Konkan which are still the most valuable, as well as the most naturally fertile, Sálsette and the villages on the coast and on the great creeks.

Finally a caution is necessary. It is as well to be guarded in believing the grandeur which these inscriptions record by remembering that "the princes in all parts of India who are commemorated by these grants are all represented as victorious warriors and surrounded by enemies over whom they have triumphed. Though not pretending to be more than sovereigns of some particular district, they are described as conquerors and sovereigns of the whole world[2]."

Before coming to the period of undeniable history it is worth while to give some early Konkan traditions. The following is the traditional account of the creation of the Konkan:

During the constant wars between the Bráhmans and the Kshatriyas, the Bráhmans had been so reduced that at length they could live only in caves and forests. To restore them to power the sixth *avatár* of Vishnu appeared under the form of the son of a Bráhman named Jamadagni. This *avatár*, who was afterwards known as Parashurám, from *parashu* an axe which was his usual weapon, standing on a projecting peak of the Sahyádris, which were then washed by the sea and were a great place of retreat for the persecuted Bráhmans, shot an arrow westward, and commanded the sea to retreat. The sea retreated and gave up a strip about thirty miles in breadth, which has since been known as the Konkan, and of which the persecuted Bráhmans immediately took possession. Parashurám then led them to battle and to victory, and the Kshatriyas in their turn were reduced to extremity.

The hill from which the *avatár* is said to have shot his arrow is named after him Parshurám, and overlooks the fertile and very beautiful valley in which Chiplún stands, with "a full-fed river winding slow" to the distant sea. The temple, though not outwardly remarkable, is one of the most famous in the Konkan and is constantly visited by pilgrims on their way from Dwárka to Cape Comorin. Those who believe in Parshurám as a historical character say that he was never in this part of India at all, and Dr. Stevenson states that, though this is the first place where the legends of Parshurám affect the names of places, yet they are

[1] Journal B. B. R. A. S. XIII. 1-16.   [2] Mill, II. 179.

frequently found further south.[1] The severe historical interpretation is that, "This legend of the creation of the Konkan and the subjection of a great part of its territory to the Bráhmans by Parshurám is nothing more nor less than a faint tradition of the first triumphs of Hinduism over other forms of superstition prevalent in the province."[2] And to this it must be added that the Sahyádri Khand, in which the story of the creation of the Chitpávans at Chiplún is first mentioned, is by the best authorities believed to be not more than 300 years old. Yet those who like to hold by the legend may take it as in favour of their view that the district about Chiplún has certainly always been the great head-quarters of the Chitpávan caste. The cave temples as being beyond mere human power are believed by the common people to have been made by the Pándavs, but the first sovereign of the Konkan is said to have been Bhimdev. From some Marátha records, supposed to be a little later than the capture of Bassein in 1739, it is made out that at the end of the thirteenth century the Konkan was conquered by this Bhim Rája, who is said to have been a son of Rámdev Rája of Devgir, defeated by the Musalmáns in their first invasion of the Dakhan.[3] Other accounts give him a different origin, and his caste is also in dispute between the Parbhus Rajputs and Shudrás. He dispossessed the Náik princes, and seized upon Chichni, Tárápur, Asheri, Kelva Máhím, Thal, Sálsette, and (Bombay) Máhim, which he made his capital. He divided the whole into fifteen *mahdls* or groups containing 444 villages. His chiefs received subordinate governments in Kelva, Bassein, and other places. His son Pratáp Sháh built another capital at Marol in Sálsette which he called Pratáppuri. He was, however, defeated and deprived of his kingdom by his brother-in-law, a chief of Cheul, named Nágar Sháh, whom the Muhammadans in their turn defeated. Now, as to the origin of Bhim Rája, Tod gives three Rájás of the Anahilaváda dynasty of this name between A.D. 1013 and 1250, and he connects this dynasty very closely with the Konkan and Kalyán.[4] Sir W. Elliot gives a Rája Bhimdev and his brother Haripáldev among the Yádav kings of Devgiri early in the fourteenth century.[5] It is easy to find support in the inscriptions already given to the theory of one or other of these Bhimdevs having been the first conqueror of the Konkan, but it seems scarcely worth while to try to connect these legends with real history when there is nothing to enable us to advance beyond the region of conjecture. But the name of Pratáp Sháh's capital is still preserved as Pardápur or Parjápur, a deserted village near the centre of Sálsette. There are no ancient remains there, but the caves of Kondivte are in a hill very near, and within a mile or two is a fine pond called Pasrák taláv and belonging to the villages of Marol, Kondivti, and Mulgaon, on the edge of which are the ruins of a fine Portuguese church and monastic buildings.

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[1] Bom. R. A. S. Journal, V. 44. [2] Dr. Wilson's Account of Warlees, 2.
[3] Trans. Bom. Geo. Soc. VI. 132.
[4] Forbes in the Rás Málá gives the history of two Bhimdevs at length but says nothing about the third. Western India, 150. [5] R. A. S. Journal, IV. 31.

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A tradition exists that the temple at Nirmal near Bassein was erected to commemorate the death there of the great Shankaráchárya, the chief teacher of the Shaivite worship in the eighth or ninth century. But he is known to have died in Kashmir, and as there were twenty-seven of his spiritual descendants who assumed his name, and who are calculated to have lasted for about 650 years, it is probable that some one of these was the person in whose honour the original temple was built.[1] The present building dates only from the time of the Peshwás, having been built by one Náro Shankar, probably the same mentioned by Grant Duff.[2]

The hill and shrine of Tungár near Bassein are also mentioned in some of the Puráns,[3] but on these little reliance can be placed. Its mention, however, may be taken as evidence that Tungár was formerly a place of some pretensions, and there are remains of apparently ancient temples and buildings in various parts of the forest round the base of the hill which may perhaps, when properly investigated, throw more light on the ancient history of this neighbourhood.

So also the hill of Máchál in the Southern Konkan where the river Muchkundi rises is said to have been the scene of the exploit of the Rishi Muchkunda when he destroyed with a glance of his eye the rash person who awakened him from his sleep. This hill is close to Vishálgad, one of the most ancient and famous Sahyádri forts, but there is nothing in this legend having any bearing on the history of the district.

This section may be closed with a legend of a different sort. On the bare sheet rock of the Southern Konkan where scarcely a blade of grass will grow are to be found, in the rains, masses of a very beautiful little purple flower (Utricularia albocærulea) called by the common people 'Sitáchi Ásre' Sita's Tears. The story is that after Rám had recovered Sita from her captivity in Ceylon he reproached her with inconstancy. On his leaving her, or threatening to leave her, she appealed to his mercy with tears, which, falling on the bare rock, flowered forth then and for all time in this lovely form.

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[1] H. H. Wilson's Works, I. 197. Compare Bom. Gaz. XIV. 292-293.
[2] History, 313, 327.
[3] Dr. DaCunha's Chaul and Bassein, 124.

SECTION III.

THE MUSALMA'NS.

Section III. The Musalmans.

It has been already mentioned that the date of the Musalmán conquest is that from which the reliable history of the Konkan may be said to begin, and that the possession of Bombay and Sálsette by the Gujarát kings, although previous to that, cannot be traced to any particular conquest. Elphinstone's view that these islands had long been detached possessions of the Gujarát kingdom is confirmed by the legend given in the last section, and Forbes considers that they fell to the Muhammadan conquerors of Gujarát at the end of the thirteenth century as an undisputed part of the Anahilaváda possessions.

It was about the same time, namely A.D. 1294, that the first Musalmán army of the Dakhan arrived before Devgiri or Daulatabad, and they then found outside the walls a number of bags of salt which had just been brought from the Konkan,[1] and had probably come by the Nána Ghát. Salt is still the chief article carried from the Konkan to the Dakhan, the Nána Ghát being, it is said, the most ancient road from Devgiri to the coast, and having at the top the oldest inscription yet found on this side of India. The first direct mention of the extension of the Muhammadan power to this coast is in 1312, when Malik Káfur, who commanded the fourth great expedition into the Dakhan, laid waste the countries of Maháráshtra and Kánara from Dábhol and Cheul to Raichor and Modkal.[2] In 1318, after the reduction of Devgiri and the death of Harpáldev, son-in-law of the Rája, the Emperor Mubárik I. ordered his garrisons to be extended[3] as far as the sea, and occupied Máhim and Sálsette.[4] It was soon after this that the Friar Odoricus wrote of this part: "Over all this land the Saracens rule, but the people of the country are idolators, worshipping fire, serpents, and trees."[5] Until the Musalmán occupation the Devgir kingdom is said to have included the Konkan north of the Sávitri and Bijnagar the part south of it,[6] the northern division being divided into the *pránts* or districts of Vasai (Bassein), Kalyán, Karnála, Chaul, and Rájápur, and the southern division into those of Dábhol, Rájápur, and Kudál.[7] When in 1347 the first Báhmani king established his independence

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[1] Briggs, I. 306. [2] Briggs, I. 379.
[3] Ferishta does not mention this extension to the coast, though he gives the expedition and death of Harpáldev. Briggs, I. 373. [4] Bom. Geo. Soc. Trans. V. 129.
[5] Yule's Cathay, I. 58. [6] Briggs, II. 338. [7] Jervis, 81.

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in the Dakhan it was natural that he should divide his kingdom into governments. Of these he made four; the first, which included Gulbarga the capital, extended to the sea at Dábhol, and the second from Daulatabad to Chaul.[1] Previous to this, about 1341, the Jawhár dynasty had been recognized by the Emperor of Delhi. He conferred the title of Rája on the son of Jayab Mukne, the founder of the family,[2] whose descendant is now one of the last of the Koli chiefs. His country contained twenty-two forts, and yielded nine lákhs of revenue.[3] There is no doubt that at this time, as earlier, there were a number of petty Rájás, sometimes called poligárs, Kolis in the north and Maráthás in the south, and it does not appear that at this time the whole either of the coast or of the inland parts was conquered by the Musalmáns. These local chiefs obeyed the Hindu Rájás of Bijnagar or the Muhammadan Sultáns of Golkonda as circumstances might require.[4]

These are all the materials of history that can be found in the fourteenth century. In 1429 Malik-ul-Tujár led a larger force into the Konkan, which Ferishta says brought the whole country under subjection. Briggs, however, thinks this was rather a marauding expedition than a conquest, and several elephant and camel-loads of gold and silver were sent as booty to the Báhmani king.[5] Malik-ul-Tujár then seized on Máhim (Bombay) and Sálsette. This aroused the hostility of the Gujarát king Ahmad Sháh, who to recover the islands sent an army, part of which embarked in seventeen vessels, while the rest went by land. The united force invested Thána by sea and land. The Dakhan general made some sallies, but eventually abandoned the siege of Thána and returned to Máhim. Being reinforced he marched back to Thána, but was there defeated and his army dispersed in an action which lasted all day, and the Gujarát fleet returned home carrying with it some beautiful gold and silver embroidered muslins taken on the island of Máhim.[6]

Erskine says[7] that Ahmad Sháh during his reign reduced under his power the lowlands to the south (of Gujarát) below the gháts, the Northern Konkan, and the island of Bombay, and in the Mirát-i-Ahmadi a list of the possessions of the Gujarát kings during the time the power and sovereignty of the monarchy continued to increase is given. These are made to include in the Konkan the districts of Bassein, Bombay, Daman, and Dánda-Rájápur, and the ports of Chaul, Dabhol, Belâwal (?), Bassein, Dánda, Panwelly, Akassi (Agási), Sorab (?), Kallian, Bhimry (Bhiwndi), Dánda-Rájápur, and Goba (Goa).[8]

This may be taken to refer generally to the fifteenth century, for the Gujarát monarchy was established in 1391 and Mahmúd Sháh Begada, who may be considered the last of its great sovereigns, died

[1] Briggs, II. 295; Grant Duff, 25, 29. [2] Bombay Selections (New Series), VI. 14. [3] Macintosh in Bom. Geo. Soc. Trans. V. 238. [4] Jervis, 63. [5] Briggs, II. 413. [6] Briggs, IV. 29; Rás Málá, I. 350. [7] History, II. 29. [8] Bird, 110, 29.

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in 1511. It will be noticed that the places named are nearly all north of Bombay, and although this account is probably not altogether reliable in some of its details, it may safely be assumed that the Northern Konkan generally was at that time subject to Gujarát. Ludovico Varthema who travelled in India in 1503 has his ports on the West Coast so misplaced and confused that they are often hard to identify, but he went from Cambay to Cheul and says: "the land of Gujarát is interposed between these two cities,"[1] which is in accordance with the other authorities given above.

Returning to the Southern Konkan we find that in 1436 another army was sent by the Báhmani king Alá-ud-din II. into the Konkan, which was successful, and on this occasion the Rájás of Rairi (Ráygad) and Sonkehr (the position of which has not been ascertained) were made tributary. The daughter of the latter Rája was sent to the king, and became famous under the title of Parichera or Fairy-face. The narrative of Ferishta however makes it clear that the Konkan Rájás were not all reduced on this occasion. In 1453, therefore, a plan for the subjection of all the coast fortresses was decided on, and a large army under Malik-al-Tujár, having its head-quarters at Junnar, sent detachments into the Konkan, and after a time moved down in force. A number of Rájás were reduced, and at last one of the Shirké family by the promise of becoming Musalmán induced Malik-al-Tujár to march against Shankar Rái, Rája of Khelna (Vishálgad), with whom he represented himself to have an old feud. Shirké for two days led the army along a broad road, probably across the plain between Sangameshvar and Lánja. On the third day they entered the woods and ravines, and by the evening were so entangled in them that when Shankar Rái, who had from the first been in league with Shirké, fell on the Musalmáns, they made but little resistance, and upwards of 7000 were massacred, among who were 500 Syeds of Arabia and some Abyssinian officers.[2] The survivors escaped above the ghâts. The place where this massacre took place has not been ascertained, but it was probably somewhere below and not very far from Vishálgad.[3] The family of Shirké had, probably from very early time and up to 1768, their court at Bahirugal, a little north of Vishálgad, as Rájás of the surrounding country yielding at a later period a revenue of Rs. 75,000 a year.[4] Grant Duff states that the Konkan Ghát-Máthá from the neighbourhood of Poona to the Várna belonged to this family.[5]

This great disaster was not avenged for sixteen years, a fact which shows how little hold the Musalmáns had on the Konkan. About this time Nikitin, a Russian traveller,[6] speaks of Dábhol as the last seaport in Hindustán belonging to the Musalmáns. In the meantime the Rája of Vishálgad, who had a fleet of 300 vessels, harassed the commerce of the Musalmáns. In 1469 however the

[1] Kerr's Voyages, VII. 83. [2] Briggs, II. 424, 436. [3] Ind. Ant. II. 319.
[5] Sadar Adálat Reports (1825), II. 458. [4] History, 13.
[6] India in the Fifteenth Century, 15.

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Prime Minister Mahmúd Khwája Gawán took a force into the Konkan large enough to overcome all opposition, and being joined by troops from Dábhol and Chaul set to work systematically to reduce the country. He soon found that his cavalry was useless in the Konkan, and sent them back, but advancing slowly and steadily through the jungles he gradually reduced a great part of the country. Vishálgad, however, after a siege of five months still held out, when the rains forced the Musalmán army to retreat above the Gháts. At the commencement of the fine season Vishálgad was again besieged, and shortly afterwards taken by treachery, and this Ferishta distinctly states was the first time the Musalmáns got possession of this famous fortress.[1] But the conquest of the Vishálgad district was still a work of time, and was not completed till after the second rains. The army then proceeded towards Goa, and the conquest of the Konkan was considered so important that on his return to the capital Mahmúd Khwája Gawán was received with the greatest distinction.[2] Though this conquest of the Konkan, or at all events of the southern part, must have been tolerably complete, it is not said to have been formed into a separate government, but from subsequent proceedings it would appear that the governor of Dábhol had very extensive authority.

In 1478 the four governments of the Dakhan were increased to eight, and in this division all that part of the Konkan which belonged to the Dakhan was put under the governor of Junnar,[3] which although sufficiently distant, was yet nearer to the Konkan than any previous provincial capital. Soon after this, however, Bahádur Khán Giláni, son of a governor of Goa, got possession of Dábhol and a great many places on the coast. In 1485 Malik Áhmad was appointed to the government of the two provinces of Daulatabad and Junnar and shortly afterwards he reduced a number of Ghát and Konkan forts, some of which had never before been subdued by the Musalmáns. Among these were Koári, Bharap or Sudhágad, Páli or Sarasgad, and Máhuli, and he laid siege to Dánda-Rájápur, but without success.[4] While thus engaged, his father Nizám-ul-Mulk was put to death, and Mulk Áhmad thereupon threw off his dependence on Bidar and established the Nizám Sháhi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. In like manner Yusúf Adil Khán in 1489 founded the Adil Sháhi dynasty of Bijápur. In 1490 the new king of Ahmadnagar took Dánda-Rájápur, and thus secured peaceable possession of that part of the Northern Konkan which did not belong to Gujarát.[5] But Bahádur Giláni was still unsubdued, and in 1493 he burnt Máhim (Bombay) and seized many ships belonging to the king of Gujarát. The latter thereupon sent both a land and sea force to Máhim, but most of his ships were wrecked there in a great storm: the admiral and those of the sailors who escaped

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[1] Briggs, II. 483. As to this see Ind. Ant. II. 318 and III. 29. For further particulars as to the Shirké family see Section VII.
[2] Briggs, II. 483. [3] Briggs, II. 502; Grant Duff, 29. [4] Briggs, III. 191.
[5] Briggs, III. 199.

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were either made prisoners or massacred by the enemy. The officer who commanded the army marched through the Northern Konkan, and hearing of the naval disaster on arriving near Máhim halted, and referred to Gujarát for orders. Eventually a large force, composed of troops of Bidar Ahmadnagar and Bijápur, went against Bahádur Khán who in a battle near Kholhápur was defeated and killed.[1] Mahmúd Sháh, king of Bidar, then went with a few of his nobles to Dábhol, called by the Musalmáns Mustáfabad, where they spent a short time sailing about the coast. Bahádur Khán's fleet was made over to the Gujarát admiral.[2]

About this time also the Gujarát kingdom was divided into five governments, one of which, including no doubt the whole of the North Konkan, had Thána as its capital. This arrangement, however, did not last long, as in 1561 a fresh division was made, in which no provincial capital is found nearer to the Konkan than Surat.[3] The reason though not mentioned is obvious: Sálsette and all the best parts of the North Konkan had in the meantime fallen into the hands of the Portuguese as will be shown further on.

The power of the Bidar kings having now entirely declined, their part of the Konkan was divided between the kings of Ahmadnagar and Bijápur. The Sávitri appears from the first to have been the boundary, and accordingly Chaul and Dábhol fell to different masters.[4] These ports were no doubt of greater importance than all the rest of the country, and as early as the fourteenth century they had been mentioned with Bidar, Gulburga, and other large towns as having had orphan schools established in them by Muhammad Sháh Báhmani I. It should be mentioned that Yusúf Adil Khán, the first king of Bijápur, believed to be the son of an Emperor of Constantinople, had first landed in India at Dábhol, and from there had been taken as a slave to Bidar. Mahmúd Khwája Gawán had also come by this route from Persia to Bidar, and a little earlier in the century the Báhmani king Ahmad Sháh Wali had sent two different deputations by way of Chaul to a celebrated saint in Persia, some of whose family came to India soon afterwards by the same route.[5] It may be supposed therefore that by this time more was known of the Konkan than before, and greater interest felt in it than was usual in these Dakhan courts. At all events it was in the time of Yusúf Adil Khán that the first steps were taken to improve the district, for in 1502 the Subhedár of the province of Dábhol, which extended from the Sávitri to Devgad, including therefore the whole of the Ratnágiri district with the exception of the Málvan sub-division and a very little more, gave grants to the first of the *khots* for the occupation and reclamation of waste lands. It is stated that at this time the country was in an exceedingly unsettled and impoverished condition, and that encouragement was

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[1] Briggs, II. 523, 529, III. 345, IV. 71; Rás Málá, I. 797; Elphinstone, 680. There is some discrepancy between the different authorities as to the date.
[2] Briggs, IV. 62, 156.
[3] Jervis, 64; DeBarros, VIII. 172.
[4] Jervis, 64; DeBarros, VIII. 172.
[5] Briggs, II. 350, 419, 511.

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now given to the former landholders to occupy their land at a light rent. Thus many of these grants confirmed in their *vatans* the old Hindu proprietors *desáis, deshpándes,* and *kulkarnis.*[1] It may be here mentioned that the origin of the Hindu institution of *desáis* or *deshpándes* and *deshmukhs* is unknown, but it is certain that the Moghals found them useful in their new conquests. Their authority was therefore confirmed and in some cases extended by the Bijápur government. It may be added that although higher offices under the name of *sardeshmukhs* and *sardesáis* are known to have existed, Elphinstone could hear of only two families enjoying the *sardeshmukhi,* and of no *sardesáis,* except in the Konkan.[2]

The date of the establishment of the Abyssinians in Janjira cannot be clearly made out. There is one legend which shows them to have got possession about 1489. Another account puts them a great deal later. Two of them were, however, admirals of the Nizám Sháhi fleet in the time of Malik Ambar, and another had charge of Ráiri.[3] The large number of Abyssinians and other foreigners employed in the armies of the Musalmán kings, not only as private soldiers but also in high command, is noticeable. In Daman there was a garrison of 3000 "Abyssinian Turks and other white men,"[4] and they are mentioned on several other occasions. In fact, it is evident from the various alliances of Egyptians and Turks with the Rájás of Cochin Cambay &c. and by the whole history of the first voyages of the Portuguese that the Musalmán powers of Europe and Africa were then much more closely connected with the Musalmáns of this coast than at any later time.[5] And this is not to be wondered at, seeing how entirely the followers of that creed had monopolised the trade of Asia.

A more definite account of the divisions of the country and of the importance of the various towns at the beginning of the sixteenth century is obtained from the early Portuguese historians, though there are still but few events recorded. The kingdom of Gujarát extended as far south as Nágothna; that of Ahmadnagar, the king of which the Portuguese always called Nizamaluco[6] from Nágothna to Shrívardhan or Bánkot; and Bijápur included all south of Bánkot.[7] Chaul and Dábhol[8] are called cities and ranked with Surat and Goa: the other places mentioned are Dáhánu, Tárápur, Kelva-Máhim, Agáshi, Bassein, Bándra, Máhim, Nágothna, Shrívardhan, Jaytápur, and Khárepátan.[9] Both Chaul and Dábhol were indeed great commercial marts, with a large trade with Persia and the Red

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[1] Jervis, 75, 83. [2] E. I. House Selections, IV. 667, 799; Elphinstone, 161.
[3] Grant Duff, 63. [4] DeCoutto, VIII. 15, 208. [5] DeBarros, VIII. 407.
[6] No doubt from Nizám-ul-Mulk, father of the founder of the kingdom.
[7] DeBarros, VII. 537.
[8] Ludovico Varthema in 1503 speaks of Chaul and Dábhol as both having kings who were idolators but with many Musalmán subjects. The inhabitants of both were much addicted to war and Dábhol had an army of 30,000 men. (Kerr, VII. 83.) It seems impossible to give any weight to these statements.
[9] DeBarros, II. 294.

Sea, by which route the whole of the Indian goods designed for Europe then passed. Of seventeen large ships on their way from the coast of India to the Red Sea, which were detained by Sir H. Middleton in 1612, two were from Dábhol and one from Chaul.[1] Dábhol is also spoken of by Nikitin as the great meeting place of all nations living on the coast of India,[2] which of course implies a large coasting trade. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese historians describe it as one of the most magnificent and populous maritime places of those parts, full of noble houses, fine buildings, superb temples, and old mosques, one of which with a vaulted roof standing on the hills above the town was destroyed in 1557.[3] Barbosa also mentions its very beautiful mosques, and says that the town was not very large, but the houses though thatched were handsome, and that from December to March there was a great commerce between the ships of Malabár and Cambay, which met here and exchanged their commodities, while great caravans of bullocks loaded with goods came down from the interior.[4] They went back with wheat and rice grown in the Konkan.[5] Up the river were many pretty towns plentifully supplied and owning much cultivated land and flocks. A route is given from Bijápur to Dábhol by the Kumbhárli pass, and on account of the traffic along this road Chiplún is said to have been a great village and very populous, stored with all manner of provisions.[6] The importation of horses from Mecca Aden and Ormuz is also mentioned. When Dábhol was first attacked by the Portuguese there were 6000 troops in garrison, but the defences were slight. It is said in 1547 to have had two forts and some redoubts which defended the entrance of the harbour, but these being destroyed the Portuguese in the following year attacked the upper town which was some distance from the sea.[7]

Chaul is spoken of in the same terms as Dábhol both as to size and trade, its weavers of silk and traffic in horses being particularly and frequently mentioned.[8] Indeed, from the time of Marco Polo the acquisition of horses from the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf is always spoken of as of the highest importance to the kings of the Dakhan, and in every treaty with the Portuguese stipulations were made as to the importation of horses for the cavalry of the native armies.[9] Later on, notwithstanding the prosperity of the Portuguese town (Lower Chaul), the traffic of the old city is said to have been very great, and the list of imports from Mecca includes many European commodities; while among the

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[1] Orme's Fragments, 325. [2] India in the Fifteenth Century, 15.
[3] DeBarros, V. 266; DeCoutto, VI. 419 and VII. 289.
[4] Barbosa, 69. [5] Mandelslo, 75. [6] Ogilby, 5.
[7] Vida de J. deCastro, 264 - 269. Dábhol is mentioned in the Lusiad, Book X., but the lines are not very striking. In Ogilby's English Atlas published about 1670, there is an engraving of Dábhol, made apparently from a description of the place, for the natural features of this engraving are certainly very little like the reality. It shows wall all round the sea and river sides, and two or three large round buildings just inside the wall, which may be meant either for part of the fortifications or for mosques. [8] DeBarros, III. 56 and VI. 71; DeCoutto, XIII. 165.
[9] De Barros, VII. 501 and VIII. 69; DeCoutto, VI. 77.

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exports are found articles such as indigo and opium which must have come from a great distance inland.[1] And as to the silk Pyrard at the beginning of the seventeenth century says that sufficient was made there to supply Goa and all India, and that it was better than the China silk and much prized at Goa. It was all made in the Musalmán city, where were also made very fine boxes and other small carved articles.[2] Linschotten also mentions the silk, and says that the raw material was brought from China; he also speaks of the lacquer work of Chaul.[3] Feroz Sháh Báhmani is said to have despatched vessels every year from Goa and Chaul to procure manufactures and productions from all parts of the world, and to bring to his court persons celebrated for their talents.[4] De la Valle, who gives a detailed description of Chaul in 1623, mentions the groves and gardens of palm and other fruit trees which shaded the broad roads and adorned the Musalmán as well as the Portuguese city of Chaul. A long shady street connected the two towns, and in the shops all sorts of necessaries could be bought, and also fine silks and articles of luxury.[5]

With regard to the other ports, Bassein was apparently the most important place after Chaul and Dábhol; it had a garrison of 3000 infantry and 500 cavalry in 1529, but afterwards in 1533, when the Musalmáns were to some extent prepared for the Portuguese, there were no less than than 12,000 troops there. But more is said of the fertility and importance of the surrounding country than of the greatness of the town, the district which is called "one delicious garden" being the most productive in provisions and timber of all those belonging to Cambay. Many ships used to load there with timber and carry it to Mecca where the Turks used it for their fleets, and it was to exclude these as well as to strengthen themselves that the Portuguese took the place.[6] Pyrard says that all the timber required at Goa for building houses and ships came from Bassein, and also a very good building stone like granite, of which all the churches and palaces at Goa were built.[2] Agáshi is spoken of as a large and rich place, but poor in buildings, with a trade in timber. It was defended when first attacked by 5000 infantry and 4000 cavalry; and, as showing the equality on which these places stood with Portugal in the art of ship-building, it must be mentioned that in 1540 an expedition went from Bassein against Agáshi with the sole object of getting possession of a great ship, which was just built there, and was then ready for launching. The ship was taken and afterwards made several voyages to Portugal.[7] One of the Surat ships stopped by Sir H. Middleton on its voyage to the Red Sea in 1612 was 153 feet long 42 beam 31 deep, and said to be of 1500 tons burden.[8] One of the Dábhol ships stopped at the same time was of 1200 tons. Similarly Faria y Souza explicitly states

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1 Cæsar Frederick and Ralph Fitch in Hakluyt, II. 384, 398.
2 Viagen, II. 227, 226. 3 Histoire, 21. 4 Briggs, II. 368.
5 Viaggi, III. 409. 6 DeBarros, VII. 220, 494, 495, 499.
7 DeCoutto, IV. 99. 8 Orme's Fragments, 326.

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that the Portuguese found their enemies in India much better supplied with guns and powder than they were themselves.[1]

Of Thána an Italian traveller of the fourteenth century, quoted by Colonel Yule, had written that there were the remains of an immense city to be seen, and that there were still 5000 velvet weavers there.[2] It is described in much the same way when the Portuguese arrived, as a decaying town and not so much resorted to by merchants as formerly, but it was full of people who lived by the silk trade, and there were more than a thousand silk looms there. From the description it would seem that Sálsette was to some extent independent of Gujarát, as the 'Xeque' sent an embassy offering a tribute.[3] This may, however, have been only the provincial governor. There were two forts commanding the narrow part of the creek between Bassein and Thána built by the Musalmáns, but afterwards taken by the Portuguese.[4] About the same time Cæsar Frederick called Thána a place "very populous with Portugals Moors and Gentiles."[5] There can be little doubt that the gradual silting of the creek reduced its value as a port, while at the same time the increased size of the ships built made it necessary to find harbours with deeper water than Thána could ever have had, and so both causes contributed to its decay.

About the middle of the century Kalyán is described as having a fine fort with a garrison of 1500 men; the Portuguese burnt the suburbs, and took from them a large booty. The river of Khárepátan is frequently mentioned as attracting a great number of Musalmán ships, and as a resort of pirates.[6] The Sangameshvar river is also mentioned as having on its banks a town of much commerce and merchandise, and afterwards as being a great stronghold of pirates. Pepper and iron were among its exports. A river twelve leagues south of Sangameshvar is mentioned under the name of Dobetala as having on its banks several small places with very pretty gardens and orchards of betel.[7] This may probably refer to the river on which Sátavali stands, where there are old paved roads and other Musalmán remains, and which would have been the nearest port to Vishálgad. Malundi, a little north of Málvan, is also stated to have been a place of trade at this time, with a high road leading to the Gháts.[8] Besides these, Barbosa states that there were many other small ports in which vessels from Malabár took inferior rice and vegetables, showing that at this time the Southern Konkan was an exporting district.

Of the inland parts of the Konkan under the Musalmáns very little can be known, but we may certainly apply to this district a remark of Elphinstone's[9] regarding the Musalmán power: "Many mountain and forest tribes throughout India were unsubdued,

[1] Briggs, III. 510. [2] Marco Polo, II. 330. [3] DeBarros, VII. 224.
[4] DeCoutto, VII. 237. [5] Hakluyt, II. 334.
[6] DeCoutto, VIII. 569; IX. 109, 427. [7] Barbosa 72, 74; DeCoutto, XII. 30.
[8] Bombay Selections, X. 156. [9] History, 421.

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though they could scarcely be called independent: they were left out of the pale of society, which they sometimes disturbed by their depredations."

The course of the Portuguese conquests will be given in detail in Section IV. but it seems better to give in this section the remainder of what is known about the Musalmán rule down to the time of Shiváji. The whole of the coast belonging to the kingdom of Gujarát fell to the Portuguese before the middle of the sixteenth century, and thus Kalyán was the only part of the district of any value to which the Moghals succeeded on the fall of the Gujarát sovereignty. The Nizám Sháhi kings of Ahmadnagar were always favourable to the Portuguese, the only exceptions being a misunderstanding in 1557 regarding the rock of Korlai opposite Chaul, their joining the alliance against the Portuguese in 1570, and the hostilities which ended in the capture of Korlai in 1594. Thus the cities of Upper and Lower Chaul, respectively Musalmán and Christian, flourished as long as the Ahmadnagar kingdom lasted, and for some time afterwards. But the Bijápur kings were always more or less at war with the Portuguese, and their coast was subjected to perpetual ravages, yet it remained entirely in the hands of the Musalmáns until the Maráthás took it. In the decline of the Nizám Sháhi kingdom Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian minister of Ahmadnagar, managed the revenues in the most enlightened spirit, and extended to the Konkan all the advantages of a good government. He abolished revenue farming and committed the management of the districts to Bráhman agents under Muhammadan superintendence.[1] He also carried out a survey on very excellent principles, and this in the Konkan extended from the Vaitarna to the Sávitri, except in the Habshi's territories.[2] His jurisdiction is said by Ferishta to have extended to within eight *kos* of Chaul,[3] and from this it may perhaps be assumed that that city and creek were under a separate governor. But in 1636, only ten years after Malik Ambar's death, the whole of the Konkan dominions of the Ahmadnagar kingdom were ceded to Bijápur. The cession is said by Kháfi Khán to have been made by the Emperor of Delhi in exchange for districts belonging to Bijápur in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad, and the part of the Konkan given up is described as "jungles and hills full of trees."[4] Sháhji Bhonsla had before this begun to overrun the Northern Konkan, and had taken a number of forts. An account of one of the expeditions made against him by a Musalmán force reads very like the history of the pursuit of Tátia Topi by our troops in 1858. The Imperial general Khán Zamán was ordered to co-operate with the Bijápur general Randaula against Sháhji. After investing Junnar the armies went towards Poona and Sháhji fled into the Konkan by the pass of Kumbha. Finding no support there he returned by the same pass. The Imperial force then went down the Kumbha pass into the Konkan, while the Bijápur general was closing Sháhji in on the other side.

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[1] Grant Duff, 43. [2] Jervis, 68. [3] Briggs, III. 315. [4] Elliot, VII. 256.

Sháhji then went off to Máhuli, and from thence to Muranjan[1] where Khán Zamán followed him. Sháhji sent a part of his baggage and abandoned the rest, and the Imperial army overtook a number of his followers and put them to the sword. Sháhji again got off to Máhuli hoping to get away by Trimbak and Tringalwari, but found it best to stay at Máhuli and stand a siege with the best of his followers, disbanding the rest. His son was with him in the fort. Khán Zamán came up very soon and opened his trenches and a few days afterwards Randaula joined him. Sháhji soon began to treat, and after much fencing when the final attack was near, came out, met Randaula halfway down the hill and surrendered.[2] It is not stated how long the chase or the siege lasted, but this sort of warfare might have gone on for years. When the Emperor of Delhi had made peace with Bijápur there was no longer any excuse for Sháhji's resistance, and he entered into the service of Bijápur.[3] Before this the forts of Kolába, Suvarndurg, Anjanvel, Jaygad, Ratnágiri, and Vijaydurg had been built, but they were all apparently of little importance till enlarged and strengthened by Shiváji.[4]

The Bijápur state was now for a few years the paramount power in the Konkan, and in 1648 before the assaults of the Maráthás had weakened it its government was thus provided for. The forts of Dábhol, Anjanvel, Ratnágiri, and Rájápur, with the districts dependent on them, were held direct from the crown.[5] In Sir Henry Middleton's time the governor of Dábhol was a Persian and a great merchant owning many slaves. In 1612 Sir Henry Middleton stayed there with his ships for twelve days, got as much provisions as he wanted, and an eighteen-inch cable ninety-six fathoms long of Indian make for £8, but he obtained little trade owing to the duplicity of the governor.[6] The remainder of the Southern Konkan was farmed out to the hereditary Deshmukhs, of whom the Sávants of Kudál were the chief. As mentioned the Dábhol subhedári was very extensive, and it is stated that its capital was for some time at Prabánváli.[5] This place, now almost entirely deserted and with no ruins to tell of its former importance, lies at the foot of the great Ghát fortress of Vishálgad, and it is allowable to conjecture that the government of the subhedári was fixed in that secure but retired position in consequence of the ruin brought on Dábhol by the frequent attacks of the Portuguese, who in these later days never mention any Musalmán officer of high rank as commanding at Dábhol.[7] About 1540 the governor of the Konkan under Bijápur, Asad Khán, is said to have had his head-quarters at Sangameshvar[8] and to have made

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[1] This is the old name of Prabal near Mátherán, but a fort called Muroanjan is much further south in the Gháts, which Sir H. Elliot supposes to be meant.

[2] Elliot, VII. 59. [3] Grant Duff, 52. [4] Jervis, 92, 93.

[5] Grant Duff, 40, 62. [6] Astley, I. 374, 418. [7] DeCoutto, VII. 289, IX. 326.

[8] There is some confusion about the place mentioned as Sanguicar. Faria speaks of it as on the Viziadurg river, and from DeBarros' description it would seem to be further south and nearer the sea than Sangameshvar. But Hamilton, whose travels were published in 1727, says: "There is an excellent harbour for shipping eight leagues south of Dábul called Sanguseer." This evidently refers to Jaygad at the

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overtures to the Portuguese with a view to getting their assistance if he made himself independent. The Portuguese, however, refused to help him.[1] In 1583 and again in 1585 the Portuguese in conjunction with Bijápur troops attacked the Naik of Sangameshvar, who had seven or eight villages and 600 sepoys, and lived by piracy and pillage. His lands were given to another naik.[2]

The remainder of the Konkan was divided into two subhedáris: the first, Kalyán, extended from the Vaitarna to Nágothna under a Musalmán officer; the rest down to the Sávitri was committed to the management of the Habshi of Janjira, whose own estate was in the middle of this district. His charge included the great forts of Tala, Ghosála, and Ráiri (afterwards Ráygad).[3] Thus the government was administered until Shiváji's invasion of the Konkan. The Northern Konkan was to so great an extent in the hands of the Portuguese that not much besides the inland and wild parts of it were left to the Moghals, and of this a great part, as already mentioned, was held by the tributary state of Jawhár. Although the Moghals in 1572 succeeded to the territories of Gujarát in the Northern Konkan, yet they did not much interfere with the Portuguese, and a treaty was soon made between the two powers.[4] In 1582 they invaded the Daman and Tárápur thánadáris, and attacked Dáhánu, where the captain and fifty men defended themselves in a tower.[5] At Máhim the captain and villagers fortified the church of the Dominican Fathers to resist them. Peace however was soon made. This moderation may have been attributable to the influence of a Portuguese lady of rank in the seraglio of Akbar, who is said to have obtained favourable concessions for her countrymen.[6]

In 1612 the Moghals besieged Daman Bassein and Chaul, and desolated the surrounding country, and peace was purchased only by concessions and presents,[7] although the Portuguese of the Máhim and Tárápur districts are said to have defended themselves valiantly.[8] Bassein is spoken of by a Muhammadan historian of that time as a Moghal port, though in the hands of the Portuguese.[9] The Emperor Sháh Jahán was however as favourable to the Portuguese as Akbar had been[10] and no further hostilities by the Moghals against them appear to have taken place till near the end of the century under Aurungzeb, when great cruelties were committed.

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mouth of the Sangameshvar river, and even by Orme Sangameshvar is put for Jaygad. This and Hamilton's remark that "being inhabited by Raparees, it is not frequented," sufficiently identifies Jaygad with the piratical station of Musalmán and Portuguese times. Pinkerton, VIII. There is also some doubt about this Asad Khan, as in the frequent mention of the well-known soldier of that name in Musalmán history he is never said to have been governor of the Konkan, and his constant loyalty is particularly noticed. Scott, I. 275.

[1] DeCoutto, IV. 352.
[2] DeCoutto, XII. 30; Faria in Briggs, III. 254.
[3] Grant Duff, 63; Jervis, 90.
[4] DeCoutto, X. 84; Mickle, clxxx.
[5] DeCoutto, XI. 195.
[6] Jervis, 84. It is evident, however, that this could not have been the cause of the original cessions of territory to the Portuguese as Jervis states, since Akbar was born in 1542, before which time almost the whole of the possessions they ever had on the coast were in the hands of the Portuguese.
[7] Mickle, ccii.
[8] O Chronista, III. 218.
[9] Tohfat al Mujahidin, 174.
[10] Jervis, 84.

Even then peace was soon made, and on more favourable terms than the Portuguese were then justified by their strength in demanding.[1] The Musalmáns had however by this time so little influence left in the Konkan that their future proceedings must be looked for in the account of the Maráthás.

The remains of Musalmán buildings in the Konkan are but few and unimportant. Dábhol was so frequently burnt by the Portuguese, and Chaul so thoroughly destroyed by Shiváji, that there is little more than enough to show that they were once great places. At both there are a number of tombs scattered about, but none of great pretensions. At Dábhol there is a fine mosque with dome and minarets standing close to the water's edge, and now almost buried in cocoanut trees. It is of considerable size, and its situation is striking, but it would not be thought very much of in Gujarát or any other district rich in Musalmán remains.[2] The site of the Musalmán city of Chaul is even more covered by cocoanut gardens than Dábhol. The most striking ruin is a *hamám khána* or bath, containing one large central chamber and two smaller ones, all octagonal, and each lighted by a circular opening in the cupola which covers it. There is also a mosque of some pretensions. At Kalyán, formerly called Islámabad, there is a large Musalmán population and several mosques in use. There is however nothing either old or remarkable except one mosque, which would be very fine if it had a dome in proportion to its other parts. This stands on the edge of a noble pond, round which there are many tombs and other undistinguishable remains, as well as one considerable building said to be the tomb of a governor named Mohartaba Khán, on which is the date H. 1108. This is probably the person called by the Portuguese Mortaba Khán, Nawáb of Bhiwndi, who ravaged their territories at various times about 1690.[3] The absence of other buildings is due to the ravages to which this district was subjected in the early days of Shiváji. Fryer, who travelled in India from 1673 to 1676, speaks of the remains of the Musalmán city of Kalyán, then only recently destroyed, as noble and striking, and goes so far as to call them "the most glorious ruins the Mahommadans in the Deccan ever had occasion to deplore."[4] At Khárepátan there are the foundations of a large Musalmán town in a fine situation and a great number of tombs, but no building remains standing.[5] At Rájpuri near Janjira, now a wretched looking village, there are the tombs of four of the Nawábs situated in a pretty glen and close to the creek. There are, of course, tombs and mosques of an ordinary description in many places, but none architecturally remarkable. The tomb of a saint at Bhiwndi, said to have been previously a diwán of Bijápur, and that of a princess at Lánja, said to have been the daughter of one of the Bijápur kings, may be mentioned.

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[1] Grant Duff, 168.

[2] It is said to have been built by a princess of Bijápur in 1659-60, but the real date was probably much earlier. See Ind. Ant. II. 280.

[3] O Chronista, II. 52.

[4] It is needless to say that he had not seen Bijápur or any of the Dakhan capitals.

[5] See Ind. Ant. III. 321.

Section III. The Musalmans.

When the forts are examined it will be found that from the much greater importance their successors attached to these than the Musalmáns did, the older work is generally hidden by the more modern. At Vizaydurg however the most massive of the buildings within and on the fort walls are evidently Musalmán. At Avchitgad the crenated battlements of the outer wall seem to prove the same origin. The island fort of Árnála near the mouth of the Vaitarna appears to be entirely Musalmán, with domes, Saracenic arches, octagonal recesses, and other features never seen in Marátha forts, though there are also marks inside of its Hindu occupation. But there is scarcely any mention to be found of any of the Konkan forts in the records of the Musalmán time.

One more Musalmán relic must be mentioned, the picturesque bridge at Nágothna. This is said to have been built about 1582 by one Káji Aláuddin of Chaul,[1] and as this date is between the siege of Chaul during the alliance of the Musalmán kings against the Portuguese and the activity of the Nizám Sháhi troops at the same place twenty years later,[2] it may without improbability be assumed that the bridge was built to facilitate the march of the troops from Ahmadnagar to Chaul, as from Nágothna there was a ghát by Koári considerably nearer to Poona than the Borghát.[3] The chief peculiarity of the bridge is its narrowness, the space between the parapets being only nine feet nine inches.

Villages with Musalmán names are often met with, of the origin of which nothing can be heard. Two small districts close to Dábhol retain the names they received from the Musalmáns, though everywhere else the ancient Hindu names of *pránts* and *tarafs* have been preserved. These are Haveli Jafarabad containing thirty-seven villages, and Haveli Ahmadabad containing twenty-one, and the probability is that when Dábhol was first taken by the Musalmáns these villages were assigned for the support of the governor and his establishment.

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[1] East India House Selections (1826), III. 786. [2] See pages 38, 39.
[3] Hamilton, II. 162.

SECTION IV.

THE PORTUGUESE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Section IV.

The Portuguese, 1500-1600.

The proceedings of the Muslmáns, so far as they can be traced, have been brought down to the middle of the seventeenth century. It is now necessary to turn back to the first appearance on the coast of the Portuguese who here as over the whole of the east played so grand a part through the whole of the sixteenth century. It is impossible to understand the position which they held on this coast without considering the objects which they pursued as to the whole of Asia and the enmities which they thereby excited. For many centuries the Egyptians had held the monopoly of the Indian trade, and the Venetians were closely connected with them as the chief carriers of Indian goods from Alexandria to Europe.[1] But the Portuguese immediately after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and their first visit to Calicut in 1498, resolved to become the commercial masters of the East, and for that purpose they not only claimed the monopoly among European nations of trading by the Cape of Good Hope, but also undertook the wonderful enterprise of conquering the whole coast of Asia, from the Red Sea round the Persian Gulf, along all the shores of India, and away to the Straits China and Japan.[2] This of course brought them into immediate collision with the Egyptians in the Red Sea, and with the whole body of Musalmán traders spread along the shores of the Eastern seas, who soon saw the necessity of opposing the Europeans by every artifice and every force,[3] for the Musalmáns of those days had no more idea than the Christians of commerce being the right of all nations equally. Thus the Egyptians, who were the first enemies of the Portuguese, were entirely supported by the local traders; and the Venetians, seeing how seriously the defeat of the Egyptians would affect their prosperity, joined in the vain attempt to confine the Indian trade within its old bounds.[4] The Portuguese had gradually made their way up the coast from Calicut, and had had many more or less casual encounters with the Musalmán fleets.

Their first voyage north of Goa appears to have been in 1503 under Vincent Sodre, who sailed along the coast as far as Cambay.[5] This was just before their first voyage from India to the Red Sea, and no places in the Konkan are mentioned in the account of this voyage, nor anything of importance on this part of the coast until in 1507 Lorenzo d'Almeida destroyed seven vessels of the

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[1] Robertson, 41. [2] Robertson, 151. [3] Mickle, lxxxviii.; Robertson, 153. [4] Mickle, cxviii. [5] Correa, I. 346.

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The Portuguese, 1500-1600.

Moors in the port of Chaul because they entered without returning his salute. He then went to Dábhol, and found the Calicut fleet there, and having called a council of war and resolved not to attack it he went on to a river four leagues from Dábhol, and took all the vessels in the harbour, and burnt them, except two richly laden ships from Ormuz, which he took with him to Cochin. His father however expressed great anger against him for not having attacked the Calicut fleet, and it is said that the remembrance of this in the following year cost him his life in the famous sea fight at Chaul, for he refused to fly or surrender though there was no possibility of otherwise saving his life.[1] At that time he had conveyed some merchantmen to Chaul, where the governor under the king of Ahmadnagar received them kindly, and permitted them to trade. But while lying in the harbour[2] they were suddenly attacked by the combined fleets of Egypt and Gujarát.[3] The Portuguese were outnumbered, and lost the flagship with their commander, and one hundred and forty others killed and one hundred and twenty-four wounded. They put the Musalmán loss at six hundred and Ferishta at four hundred, and this was naturally claimed by the Musalmáns as a victory,[4] but the Portuguese were soon afterwards amply avenged by the fleet of the elder Almeida, who destroyed the Egyptian fleet and the Gujarát sea power at Diu. The account of the sea fight at Chaul is thus given by the Gujarát historians : "The infidel Europeans, who had of late years usurped the dominion of the ocean, endeavoured at this time to occupy for themselves some part of the coast of Gujarát, on which they wished to settle." Amir Husan, the admiral of the Turkish Emperor Bajazet II., arrived off the coast of Gujarát with a fleet of twelve sail carrying fifteen hundred men, and Mahmúd Sháh (Begada) anxious to aid in the expulsion of the foreigners sailed in person with his fleet to Daman and Máhim (Bombay). The Amir al Umra Malik Aiaz Sultáni sailed also from the port of Diu, and having united his squadron with that of the Turkish admiral attacked the Portuguese fleet then lying off the harbour of Chaul. The Portuguese fled with the loss of "three thousand or four thousand infidels."[5]

A war carried on against so many enemies, in so many seas, and along so vast an extent of coast, necessarily lasted for very many years; and when the Turks had conquered Egypt they considered the expulsion of the Portuguese from the Persian gulf and from India as not less important than the Mameluke rulers had done.[6] Therefore in 1538 Sulimán the Magnificent sent to this coast a fleet of seventy large vessels, on board of which were many Venetian galley-slaves and 7000 Janisaries.[7] This force besieged the Portuguese in Diu, but was beaten off after the garrison had defended

[1] Faria y Souza in Kerr's Voyages, VI. 98, 112.
[2] Mr. Talboys Wheeler without giving any authority puts the first fight as well as the second at Diu. History, III, 416.
[3] Robertson, 154 ; Mickle, cxx. ; DeBarros, II. 294 and III. 186.
[4] Tohfat al Mujahidin, 92 ; Briggs, IV. 75. [5] Rás Málá, I. 378 ; Bird, 214.
[6] Robertson, 192. [7] Mickle, cliv. ; DeBarros, VIII. 50.

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The Portuguese, 1500-1600.

itself most heroically. A similar expedition and siege took place in 1546,[1] and that was apparently the last great attempt on the part of the former possessors of the Indian trade to expel the Portuguese. But as late as 1586 the Turks with ships built at Suez took two merchantmen of Chaul, and a fleet was accordingly sent against them, but was defeated by them at the entrance of the Red Sea.

It is not likely that the Portuguese in the beginning of the sixteenth century with all their great schemes would have troubled themselves about the Konkan, if there had not been in it ports and marts of too great importance to be left in the hands of their enemies. But Chaul and Dábhol could not be so left, while the Portuguese could not spare men enough to establish themselves in these ports in the same way as they had determined to do at Goa. The state of the Musalmán kingdoms, which divided the Konkan among them, was however at this time eminently favourable to the designs of the Portuguese. The Northern Konkan as far south as Nágothna had always belonged to Gujarát[2] but the Southern Konkan had only just been divided (as narrated in the last section) between the dynasties of Bijápur and Ahmadnagar. The rivalry which existed between these two[3] was probably the cause of the Portuguese first obtaining a footing in the Konkan. The Ahmadnagar king, who had possession of the coast from Nágothna to Bánkot, admitted them into Chaul, and at a very early date accepted the protection of their fleets for the vessels which frequented his ports, and for that protection paid them a tribute, and allowed them to establish a factory at Chaul.[4] This was between 1512 and 1521.[5] And by the latter year the Portuguese had obtained permission to build a small fort there, and had command of the whole river.[6] The captaincy of the fortress was already an important appointment in 1524, when Vasco da Gama took charge of the Viceroyalty there, as the first port touched at.[7]

The good understanding between the Portuguese and the Ahmadnagar kingdom (or to speak more correctly the governors of Chaul) was scarcely broken during the sixteenth century. On the other hand the Bijápur king was too powerful on the coast to accept the protection or acknowledge the supremacy of the Portuguese fleet, and the consequence was that as early as 1608 his great port of Dábhol was destroyed by the fleet of Francisco d'Almeida, consisting of nineteen vessels and 1600 men, half of whom were natives.[8] On several subsequent occasions the destruction was repeated;[9] for Dábhol was so great a place of resort for ships from Malabár and Arabia that it very soon recovered its importance.[10] The king of Gujarát also for some time felt no

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[1] DeCoutto, V. 120. [2] DeBarros, VII. 537. [3] Elphinstone, 416.

[4] DeBarros, V. 316; DeCoutto, IV. 209.

[5] The historians differ as to the exact year. Faria in Briggs, IV. 512; DeBarros, V. 316. [6] DeBarros, VI. 69, 81. [7] Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, 384.

[8] Faria in Briggs, IV. 507; DeBarros, III. 266.

[9] DeCoutto, V. 418; VII. 198, 289; IX. 326. [10] Barbosa, 72.

Section IV. The Portuguese, 1500-1600.

necessity for the Portuguese alliance, and as there was no great port in his part of the Konkan the Portuguese after punishing him at Diu did not trouble themselves much about him. But in 1521 his Admiral defeated the Portuguese off Chaul, and sank one of their vessels, and remained for twenty days off the port greatly harassing them.[1] In 1527 another Gujarát fleet was sent to Chaul, but a great number of its ships were destroyed by the allied forces of the Portuguese and Ahmadnagar.[2] In 1528 there was a decisive battle off Bándra, in which the Portuguese took seventy-three ships out of the eighty which composed the Cambay fleet.[3]

These attacks led to frequent marauding expeditions of the Portuguese along the coast of the North Konkan, in one of which in 1529 they burnt Nágothna Bassein and Agáshi. At this time also Thána Bándra and Karanja paid tribute to the Portuguese, these towns having sent a peaceable embassy instead of resisting as the others did.[4] The Portuguese possession of Sálsette appears to date from about this time,[5] though Faria puts it at the same time as Bassein,[2] but it seems unlikely that they had any more than a very precarious hold on any of these parts for many years after this, and it is expressly stated as regards the country round Bassein that the natives were masters of these villages in time of war.[6] The war between Gujarát and the Portuguese was continued in 1530, and the Portuguese suffered another repulse at Chaul.[7] In 1533 an expedition consisting of eighty vessels with 1800 Portuguese and 2000 Kánarese attacked Bassein, and stayed there ten days, destroying the fortifications: after which the fleet proceeded northwards and burnt all the places as far as Tárápur.[8] In the next year Bassein was ceded by the king of Gujarát; and he then, as Ahmadnagar had done before, put his ships entirely under the protection of the Portuguese, and agreed that none should sail from his ports without taking out Portuguese passes and paying port dues at Bassein. This[9] last stipulation was relaxed soon afterwards on the king ceding Diu as the price of the Portuguese alliance against the Moghals, but their passes had still to be taken and dues paid to them.[10] They were never however on such good terms with the Gujarát as with the Ahmadnagar kings, and there were frequent expeditions into their dominions, while in 1539 Bassein was besieged for some time by a Gujarát force.[11]

The Bijápur dominions in the Southern Konkan had during this time suffered from the marauding expeditions of the Portuguese quite as much as the Northern Konkan. In 1547 John de Castro made treaties both with Ahmadnagar and Bijnagar, that is

[1] Faria in Briggs, IV. 512. Bird says that this was in 1529, and the Mirát Ahmadi says that Chaul was plundered on this occasion. Bird, 237.
[2] Faria in Briggs, IV. 513, 514. [3] Faria in Kerr, VI. 210.
[4] DeBarros, VII. 217, 224. [5] Hough, I. 156; Reg. I. of 1808.
[6] Cæsar Federick and Ralph Fitch in Hakluyt, II. 344, 384.
[7] Faria in Briggs, III. 531. [8] DeBarros, VII. 501.
[9] DeBarros, VII. 531. This is not mentioned in the Mirát Ahmadi, which says that after 1536 the tribute from the ports held by the Europeans was not paid. Bird, 253. [10] DeBarros, VIII. 69. [11] Faria in Briggs, III. 516.

Vijayanagar, offensive and defensive, against Bijápur. The Portuguese were bound to defend the coast of the Ahmadnagar kingdom against pirates, in return for which they were to receive as payment sailors provisions and timber for their ships. The treaty with Bijnagar contained also many stipulations as to trade. Both stipulated against the ports of this coast being open to or any help being given to fleets or ships of the Turks.[1] Immediately after these treaties were concluded followed the Portuguese expedition of 1547-8, which seems to have exceeded all previous ones in cruelty and severity, for every place between Goa and Shrivardhan is said to have been burnt by the Portuguese, and the same thing was repeated in 1555 and 1557, Dábhol being always the first place to suffer. By 1548 however the Bijápur power had suffered so much as to find it necessary to cede ports to the Portuguese, and to accept the protection of their fleet; but for many years after the peace then made there were frequent hostilities in which the Southern Konkan suffered severely. In 1555 an expedition was sent from Goa which defeated the Bijápur troops at Áchra and on the Kárli river, both near Málvan.[2] Ferishta records a Musalmán success in 1571, which the Portuguese historians do not mention. A Portuguese force landed at Dábhol to destroy it in the usual manner but the Governor laid an ambush and killed 150 of the attacking party. It is evident however that by 1560 the Portuguese were entirely masters of this coast, and once established they never drew back. The Musalmán writers quite acknowledge the importance of the position of which they were thus deprived, and complain that nothing but an insignificant coasting trade was left to them.[3] The cruelties, which even the Portuguese historians admit, are of course put in a much stronger light by their victims.

It is easy to see that it was no part of the Portuguese plan to invade the inland parts of the country; in fact, the mere occupation of the ports would have caused too great a drain on the population of Portugal if Albuquerque had not provided his soldiers with wives from the women of Goa, baptised for the purpose, and given them grants of land in the Goa district.[4] He thus speedily raised up a race of half-caste Portuguese, who as Christians were entirely identified in interest with the Europeans. Such parts of the interior however as were productive and could be defended were not neglected by the Portuguese.[5] It does not appear indeed that they

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[1] Annaes Maratimos e Colonials (1884), 69, 172.
[2] DeCoutto, VI. 77, 418; VII. 169, 198, 289. [3] Tohfat al Mujahidin, 153.
[4] Gemelli in Churchill, IV. 202; Mickle, cxxv.
[5] The writer cannot forbear from entering a protest against a view of the Portuguese proceedings in India to which the name of the author who has adopted it and the character of his books may lend strength. Colonel Meadows Taylor in "The Student's Manual of Indian History" published in 1870 says: "The Portuguese were excellent sailors: but their never attempting military operations by land except in the defence of their own seaports either marks timidity or disinclination amidst opportunities which few others would have neglected during a period of more than a hundred years." The short sketch the writer has given of the objects of the Portuguese throughout Asia is sufficient to prove how unfair and superficial it is to ascribe

Section IV. The Portuguese. 1500-1600.

possessed any territory between Bombay and Goa except the new town of Chaul, now called Revdanda; and in 1540, when they took the fortresses of Sáksa and Karnála, they speedily restored them to Ahmadnagar for an additional tribute.[1] They had however a factory at Dábhol, though it is very seldom mentioned, and it was apparently not established till after 1570.[2] In the Northern Konkan they seem from the first to have held the productive villages between Bassein and Agáshi, and this small district they then and afterwards called Casaba.[3] About 1556 they acquired the inland forts of Asheri and Manor[4] as giving them the command of a rich and productive district.[5] The fort of Asheri was considered almost impregnable, and was given up by the Abyssinian captain commanding the district on payment of Rs. 6500. A garrison of sixty soldiers was put in it and a church erected. This fort was always greatly valued by the Portuguese, and was described in 1818, after the Maráthás had had it for eighty years, as accessible only at one point, and of such natural strength that with a handful of men to defend it it may justly be considered impregnable. The latter part of the ascent is an almost perpendicular staircase (with a precipice of several hundred feet immediately below it) hewn out of the solid rock forty feet high, at the top of which is an iron door horizontally fixed, and from which the ascent is nearly as steep and of equal height to a second gateway.[6] Soon after the capture of Asheri and Manor, Daman, which the Portuguese had long coveted, was ceded to them, and with it apparently a good deal of the coast between Daman and Bassein. The Tárápur *pargana* is mentioned as the best and most prosperous of all the districts within the jurisdiction of Daman. In 1559 a body of Abyssinians made an attack on Sanján and Tárápur; at the latter place there was then only a stockaded fort (tranqueira) and forty men, but the Abyssinians after ravaging some villages were beaten off.[7] In 1569 there was an expedition against the Kolis which seems to have penetrated quite up to the foot of the Gháts, and a stockaded fort permanently held by the Portuguese is spoken of at Sáyván on the Vaitarna river. The Koli country was again ravaged in 1583, and on both occasions the Portuguese suffered considerable loss from the difficulty of the country and the activity of their enemy, whom

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the want of activity of so small a nation in Gujarát and the Dakhan "to timidity or disinclination," while a comparison between their exploits and settlements in a hundred years and those of the English in the first hundred years after their coming to India can certainly not be unfavourable to the Portuguese. An historian of the first class may be properly, and the writer hopes conclusively, quoted against Colonel Taylor. Dr. Robertson says of the Portuguese conquests: "By the enterprising valour, military skill, and political sagacity of the officers who had supreme command in India, and who have a title to be ranked with persons most eminent for virtues or abilities in any age or nation, greater things were perhaps achieved than were ever accomplished in so short a time." Historical Disquisition, 150.

[1] DeCoutto, IV. 184, 201. [2] Milburn, I. 305; Bruce, I. 23; DeCoutto, X. 17.

[3] Gemelli in Churchill, IV. 190; O Chronista, I. 30.

[4] There is no trace of any fort at Manor, nor is there any commanding site near the present town.

[5] DeCoutto, VII. 229. [6] Dickenson's Manuscript Report. [7] DeCoutto, VIII. 28, 208.

they described as jumping along from tree to tree like monkeys. The chief towns of the Kolis mentioned at this time are called Darila, possibly Darje Tavar and Vazen (perhaps Vásind). Tavar appears to have been to the north of Daman, but the other two in the Konkan, and Darila is described as a considerable town of great stone and tiled houses.[1]

In 1570 the kings of Bijápur and Ahmadnagar entered into an alliance against the Portuguese; and while the Bijápur troops in great force invaded the district around Goa, those of Ahmadnagar besieged Chaul, which was defended by Don Francisco de Mascarenhas, afterwards the first Viceroy under Philip II. of Spain.[2] This was one of the severest trials the Portuguese ever had to undergo, and the result covered them with glory. They estimated the troops of Ahmadnagar which invaded their territories at 42,000 cavalry and 120,000 infantry, a force which it is needless to say would have eaten up the Konkan ten times over. After the Musalmáns had several times unsuccessfully assaulted the fort a battle was fought outside, in which the Musalmáns were defeated, and soon after they made peace and retired.[3] All that the Muhammadan historian Ferishta says of this expedition is that the king Mortaza Nizám Sháh marched against the fort of Revdanda belonging to the Portuguese, but was obliged to raise the siege after a blockade of some months, as the enemy obtained provisions by sea, owing to the treachery of the Nizám Sháhi officers who were bribed by presents, particularly of wine.[4] While this was going on the Portuguese were able to make an attack from Bassein on Kalyán, which then belonged to Ahmadnagar. The suburbs were burnt and a considerable booty taken. Their fleet also destroyed Dábhol.[5] On the other hand 4000 Ahmadnagar cavalry marched along the Konkan north of Chaul to cut off reinforcements and supplies from Bassein, and the Portuguese were besieged in Karanja, where they had a small fort and forty men: they were however relieved from Sálsette.[6] The terms of the peace were altogether favourable to the Portuguese.

From the descriptions given of Chaul at the time of the two sieges[7] it appears that the main part of the fortifications were built between 1570 and 1592, and an inscription states that those along the beach were made in 1577.[8] It was later than this the extensive fortifications at Bassein were begun, though there had been a fort there since 1536.[9] In 1597 the new works having got on very slowly, Ayres de Silva de Mello was sent to superintend them.[10]

In 1592 there was again war with Ahmadnagar, as the king had determined to expel the Portuguese from the Chaul creek. It is

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[1] DeCoutto, IX. 257 and XI. 346. [2] DeCoutto, IX. 290.
[3] DeCoutto, IX. 453 and X. 17; Faria in Briggs, IV. 522.
[4] Briggs, III. 254. A very full account of the siege will be found in DaCunha's Chaul and Bassein, 47. [5] DeCoutto, IX. 326, 427.
[6] DeCoutto, IX. 362. [7] DeCoutto, IX. 290; XIII. 165. [8] Hearn, III.
[9] DeBarros, VIII. 102. [10] DeCoutto, XIV. 65.

Section IV. The Portuguese, 1500-1600.

not clear whether the rock of Korlai, which commands the entrance of the creek, and which was called by the Portuguese and other Europeans Il Morro, had ever been in the possession of the Portuguese before this.[1] It was always looked upon by them as a position of the greatest value, and in 1557 they had determined to get possession of it somehow, but the king of Ahmadnagar on their asking for it temporised with them while he began to fortify it himself. The Portuguese had a cross at the extreme point which was miraculously preserved from the attempts the Musalmáns made to destroy it, while their fleet bombarded the rock, and prevented the Musalmáns from working at the fortifications. In the end an arrangement was come to, that no fort should be built on the rock by either people.[2] Nevertheless in 1592 when war broke out the Musalmáns were in possession of a fort there which is described as a wonder of strength and completeness, and Ferishta implies that it had only lately been built. They greatly harassed the Portuguese at Revdanda, having a considerable force outside the fort as well as within, and the latter after many skirmishes, being reinforced from Bassein and Sálsette, determined to beat up the enemy's camp, but without any idea of taking Korlai. On the night of September 4, 1594, fifteen hundred Portuguese crossed the river and attacked the Musalmán camp. The Musalmáns, though not altogether unprepared, fled to the fort, and the Portuguese following were able to enter with them through the first gateway being blocked by a wounded elephant. The resistance though brave was disorganised, and after about two hours the Portuguese got possession of the whole of the works, with a loss of only twenty-one killed and fifty wounded, the Musalmáns being said to have lost 10,000 men. The fort was destroyed, as the Portuguese could not afford men to garrison it, but they retained the battery commanding the entrance to the creek, and afterwards rebuilt the fort on the original plan.[3]

After this the Portuguese had full possession of the creek and the kingdoms both of Bijápur and Ahmadnagar were now too near extinction to give them serious trouble. Yet in 1609 the Musalmán governor in Chaul sent out a fleet of thirty prows to cruise against the Portuguese, and the latter could get no redress from the Ahmadnagar government.[4] This last event may be taken as illustrating the view of the Portuguese historians, that as the period up to 1560 was the infancy of their power in India, and from 1560 to 1600 its manhood, so from 1600 its decline began.[5] And as their rise had been rapid and their success marvellous, so their decline began early and was unchecked. After the beginning of the seventeenth century no more is heard of aggression or acquisition on their part,

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[1] Gemelli says the Portuguese built a fort there in 1520 (Churchill, IV. 200), but this is not borne out by the accounts of their historians. [2] DeCoutto, VII. 370.

[3] DeCoutto, XIII; Briggs, IV. 284; Hearn, 42. Ferishta's account of these proceedings does not differ much from that given by the Portuguese historians, but he puts the Musalmán loss in the final assault at twelve thousand, and says that the Portuguese reduced the fort to ashes. Briggs, III. 284.

[4] Faria in Briggs, III. 528. [5] Hough, II. 213.

and they appear to have owed the retention of the territory they had to the forbearance or the dissensions of their neighbours. The few events in which they took part after this will be mentioned in the history of their struggles with the Dutch in the next section and in the account of the Maráthás. But it is necessary now to give some description of the way in which the Portuguese managed their possessions in the Konkan and of the causes which led to their decline and resulted in their losing this part of the coast.

SECTION V.

THE SYSTEM AND THE DECLINE OF THE PORTUGUESE.

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In describing the system of government of the Portuguese in the Konkan it is, as may be expected, not possible to make a very accurate distinction between what would now be called the different departments. Although trade was the nominal object of the Portuguese settlements in India, the nature of their schemes, as already described, made it inevitable that at first the persons of the greatest influence should be the military governors. The trade being a royal monopoly, Albuquerque established custom-houses in every port, and later there were in every city factors (veadors) and treasurers.[1] At the same time magistrates (ouvidores) were appointed by Albuquerque, but only apparently at Goa Chaul and Bassein, and these decided all civil and criminal cases. They were subordinate however to the captains of the fortresses, "who often abused their powers and made the ouvidores decide as they liked. History is full of the arbitrary acts of these tyrants in their fortresses, who were nearly all Fidalgos of the highest class."[2] In case of disagreement between the ouvidor and the captain, the veador was called in, and the majority decided. The appeal from the judgments of this bench was in 1587 to the Supreme Court or Relação at Goa,[3] but later to the desembargadores or district judges, of whom there were six or eight, one being at Bassein.[4] These besides the appeals decided original civil and criminal cases of importance. The desembargador at Bassein in Gemelli's time was a gownsman (probably a doctor of laws), and Gemelli as a doctor of laws himself was asked to remain at Bassein as advocate for the various religious societies there, because the native pleaders in the courts were so ignorant.[5] The judicial establishment at Bassein in 1552 was one ouvidor, one officer of police (meirinho), one king's solicitor, two administrators of intestates, one sea-bailiff, and ten peons. At Chaul the establishment was smaller, but there was a jailor and presumably a jail,[6] neither of which are mentioned at Bassein at this time, although in 1674 Dellon, who had tried both, said that the jail at Bassein was larger than that at Daman and then contained a good number of prisoners of the Inquisition.[7]

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[1] Mickle, cxii. and cxxiv. [2] Instituto, I. 117, 253. [3] Archivo, V. 1183.

[4] Gemelli in Churchill, IV. 192. The writer has quoted Gemelli Carreri as freely as any one else, and thinks it better therefore to mention here what Hallam says about him : "Carreri has been strongly suspected of fabrication, and even of having never seen the countries which he describes ; but his character, I know not with what justice, has been latterly vindicated." Literature of Europe, III. 603.

[5] Churchill, IV. 192. [6] Instituto, I. 253. [7] Dellon, 118.

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Very little is told of the arrangements for the collection of the revenue, but the lands of Sálsette and of the North Konkan generally were at a very early period parcelled out among the Portuguese settlers at a very small quit-rent, amounting it is said to not more than four to ten per cent of the ordinary rental.[1] Villages were also sometimes given to soldiers and others for their lives.[2] These large landholders were called fazendars, a name which still survives in Bombay and the neighbourhood, and their descendants lived on and managed their own estates, levying from the cultivators a fixed proportion of the produce in the manner usual under the Native Governments.[3] In the same way Bassein was said to owe a great part of its prosperity to the noblemen who lived there on the rents of their villages.[4] In Sálsette there were under the veadors, presumably for those lands not granted to the Portuguese, managers of the cultivation, called mhátarás[5] or elders, whose duties were similar to those of pátels under the Native Governments.[3] From an account supplied by the Government of Goa to that of Bombay in 1821 it appears that in 1688 the total revenue of the province of Bassein was about Rs. 1,30,000, and of this sum the quit-rents amounted to about half. The tobacco tax was farmed for Rs. 47,000. Twenty-one villages had to keep for the defence of the country one Arab horse each, and one village a country horse, and these obligations were commutable by a yearly payment of Rs. 132 and Rs. 88 respectively. Alienations of land and revenue to the Jesuits of different colleges and churches are mentioned.[6] It is expressly stated that the island of Sálsette was in a high state of prosperity under the Portuguese.[3] And the Factor of Bassein in 1728 wrote that the greater part of the establishments both in Goa and the Bassein district were supported by the Sálsette villages.[7] Yet it must be remembered that the grants of land on low quit-rents were confined to either Portuguese of European birth or to converts of high rank who adopted the names and style of living of their conquerors. The list of cesses at that time in addition to what would now be considered a heavy assessment on the land[8] would of itself raise doubts as to the prosperity of the island having extended to the lower classes. But an acute observer of the seventeenth century allows of no doubt on this point,[9] for he speaks of the native inhabitants as "poor wretched Gentiles Moors and Christians, worse than vassals to the lords of the villages." And in the articles of the cession of Bombay to the English[10] it is implied that their condition was that of slaves, for it was stipulated that "the Curumbies, Bandaries, or other inhabitants

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[1] East India House Records (1826), III. 774. [2] Gemelli in Churchill, IV. 198.
[3] Reg. I. of 1808. This Regulation is the authority for many other statements throughout this work, and as these early regulations are but little known it may be stated that this one gives a complete and very interesting history of Sálsette as regards fiscal matters from the time of the Portuguese. There is reason to suppose that it was written by Mr. Jonathan Duncan Governor of Bombay.
[4] DeCoutto, XI. 46.
[5] Mhátára is still a very common surname in Sálsette and Bassein both among Christians and Hindus. [6] Manuscript Records.
[7] O Chronista, I. 56. [8] Reg. I. of 1808. [9] Gemelli in Churchill, IV. 197.
[10] Bom. Geo. Soc. Transactions for June 1839.

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of the villages belonging to the Portuguese shall not be admitted into Bombay, and all such persons resorting there shall be immediately delivered up to their respective masters." There is in fact nothing whatever either in their own histories or in the accounts of travellers to show that the Portuguese ever took any trouble to protect or raise the condition of their native subjects as Shiváji did in the seventeenth century. With this fact may be mentioned their great establishments of domestic slaves brought in Portuguese ships from the African settlements and distributed at very low prices all over their Asiatic possessions.[1] In the treaty of peace after the fall of Bassein the negroes are specially mentioned in the stipulation for the release of prisoners.[2] To this institution of domestic slavery may no doubt be ascribed the strain of negro blood frequently perceptible in the Goanese.

The military establishments in the Konkan must be next mentioned. After the Viceroy and the great dignitaries of the Church there was no greater officer than the General of the North who resided at Bassein,[3] and after him came the captains of Bassein, Daman, Chaul, and Salsette. All these appointments were held for short terms of years. Bassein Daman and Chaul are said to have been the only fortresses (fortalezza) between Cambay and Goa, except one at Dábhol which was not in the possession of the Portuguese.[4] No fort is mentioned in Sálsette in 1634 except the small one at Vesáva (Madh). The Bassein district then extended from the Vaitarna to Karanja, and in this there were besides the captain of Bassein, fourteen captains of forts and tranqueiras, that is stockaded posts. The district of Daman extended from the Vaitarna to Párner and included the thánádáris of Sanján, Dáhánu, Tárápur, and Máhim. All along this part of the coast were many towers and fortified houses for protection against the pirates, as is apparent from the ruins still standing, and there were also the important inland forts of Asheri and Manor. But it does not appear that there was then anything so large or strong as the now ruined forts of Dáhánu and Tárápur must have been, and the garrisons were small and included but few Portuguese.[5] Bassein and Chaul were the two great places of arms, and were apparently considered sufficient for the protection of the whole coast. But in 1728 the Factor of Bassein made a detailed report[6] on the defences of the North Konkan, drawing particular attention to the insecure condition of the forts, and especially to the want of protection in Sálsette against the Maráthás. There was no fort at Thána but only the three small towers commanding the creek, and containing three or four men each. Bassein had ninety pieces of artillery, the largest being twenty-four pounders, Chaul fifty-eight, and a fortified camp outside the walls nineteen

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[1] Baldæus in Churchill, III. 546 and Gemelli in Churchill, IV. 203.
[2] Jervis, 130. [3] Gemelli in Churchill, IV. 190.
[4] Linschotten also says that in 1598 the Portuguese did not hold Dábhol, having been dispossessed of it some years before. Histoire, 20.
[5] O Chronista, III. 149, 198, 218, 244. [6] O Chronista, I. 29.

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more. The rock of Korlai opposite Chaul, which had been considered so great an acquisition, had thirty cannon, but many of them unserviceable. Asheri was in very bad condition, Manor not worthy to be called a fort. Thus though the military power and spirit of the Portuguese had in 1634 greatly degenerated from the days when Bassein was ready at any moment to send out an expedition against the king of Gujarát, or help to any of the smaller posts that might be attacked, yet in 1728 affairs were infinitely worse all over the district, and Sálsette notwithstanding its great value was quite indefensible. The recommendation to protect it by making a great place of arms at Thána was followed, but with too little vigour, for the fatal year 1739 arrived before the fort was finished.[1]

It has been already stated that Albuquerque gave his soldiers wives from the native women whom he caused to be baptised, and land on which they might settle and support families. This was probably the origin of the division of the military forces in India into soldados and cazados, the latter word meaning simply 'Married.' Many of the soldados were convicts sent from Portugal for a term of years, and kept in the forts : others were boys enlisted in Lisbon and on their arrival allotted to Fidalgos as pages, but obliged after reaching manhood to do seven years' service in the army. But all the single men not ecclesiastics in India were liable to military duty and were called soldados, otherwise men of the sword to distinguish them from churchmen. The cazados wore the cloak which the soldados were not allowed to do, and were not generally sent away from their homes for service.[2] They were in fact a sort of first class reserve and were held in considerable estimation, and the quarters of the cazados within or without the walls are always mentioned in the description of forts. Native soldiers in the Portuguese service are mentioned under the name of Piaes as early as 1534,[3] but it is evident that their system made them much less dependent on sepoys as time went on than they would have been under a system more like ours.

While the military spirit of the Portuguese steadily declined after the end of the sixteenth century the ecclesiastical power went on ever increasing. Goa was created an episcopal see in 1534,[4] and by this time numbers of priests had come out from Portugal and established themselves in various places, the Franciscans being the first to arrive, and the Dominicans soon following. The time when the work of conversion was seriously begun is a point of dispute,[5] some writers believing that from the first the propagation of Christianity had been as great an object with the Portuguese monarchs as the extension of their dominions, others and even some Catholics acknowledging that there was no great zeal until the establishment

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[1] Grant Duff, 237. [2] Pyrard, II. 106. [3] DeCoutto, IV. 96.

[4] In the "Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama" (page 391) mention is made of a Bishop at Goa in 1524, but the bull of Pope Paul III. creating the Bishopric is dated November 3, 1534.

[5] Murray, II. 72; Hough, I. 158; Gemelli in Churchill, IV. 208.

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of the Inquisition. But the account given of the state of public morals at Goa when Xavier arrived in 1544[1] is sufficient to prove that so far from any missionary spirit existing there was then scarcely any practice of Christianity at all. Two years later the King, after regretting that the worship of idols was allowed even in Goa, mentioned among other objectionable practices that of the Portuguese buying slaves cheap and selling them to Musalmáns and other heathens.[2] Xavier, however, though he spent but a very small part of his time at Goa, or any place north of it, was able to change the whole aspect of affairs in respect of Christian observances: he established a Jesuit seminary at Bassein in 1548, and in 1552 sent missionaries there as well as to Thána and Chaul. But he refused to establish a college at Chaul because there were still so many forts and stations without a single missionary. The visits of so great a man are sufficient to distinguish any district, and it is recorded that he was at Bassein at least three times, first at the end of 1544, again in 1548 when the great Viceroy John de Castro was there, and lastly in 1552. He also visited Chaul on more than one occasion, and Khárepátan once.[3] After his death he was made patron saint of both Bassein and Chaul.[4]

In 1560 Goa was made an archbishopric, and Inquisitors were sent out from Europe, and from this time the work of the Church was carried on with great vigour. The power of the ecclesiastics in the State was well shown soon afterwards, when the tooth of Buddha having come into the possession of the Portuguese during their wars in Pegu they were offered an enormous sum if they would return it. This the Viceroy was anxious to do, but the Archbishop opposing the ransom as an encouragement of idolatry, not only carried his point, but also persuaded the Viceroy to join in a great auto-da-fé, in the course of which the Archbishop publicly pounded up the tooth in a mortar. Not long after this the Franciscan Fathers took possession of the caves of Kánheri and Mandapeshvar,[5] expelled the *jogis* who occupied them, and did their best to destroy the sculptures, as at Elphanta, on account of the superstitious feelings of the natives with respect to them.[6] Over the caves at Mandapeshvar were built a church and the Royal College of Sálsette for the education of the children of the converts, and this received from the King all the endowments which the caves had enjoyed.[7]

The Jesuits, commonly called Paulistines,[8] gradually established themselves in every town and village;[9] but in 1585 the Franciscans

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[1] Bohours, 74; Vida de Xavier, 18. [2] Vida de J. de Castro, 50.

[3] Vida de J. de Castro, 110, 120, 179. Bohours mentions a visit to Bassein in 1549, after the death of John de Castro, but does not give that of 1552.

[4] Inscriptions. [5] DeCoutto, VII. 245, VIII. 335, 429. [6] Fryer, 73.

[7] DeCoutto, VII. 247. An inscription gives 1623 as the date of the college being built, but this probably refers to some particular part of it. Bom. Geo. Soc. Transactions, VII. 149.

[8] This name is explained, firstly, by the Jesuits' college at Goa having been dedicated by Xavier to St. Paul, and, secondly, by all their churches in India being called after the same saint. De la Valle, III. 135; Hough, I. 57.

[9] De la Valle, III. 360.

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received charge of Mandapeshvar, Máhim, Bombay, Karanja, Mount Calvary, and Agáshi, in each of which places there was an official called "O Pay dos Christaõs" paid by the State.[1] Gradually all power fell into the hands of the ecclesiastics, and the Church was said to have a larger revenue in India than the King himself.[2] One writer says[3] that "Few men can enjoy very peaceable lives who have any fair possessions near the convents of the Jesuits: a pleasant seat and a fruitful plantation can hardly escape their gaining", and another that at the end of the seventeenth century the General of the North at Bassein had both an uneasy and precarious government because of the superintendence of the Church.[4] Goa was said to equal any city in the world in the number and grandeur of its religious processions.[5] The Jesuit college there conferred degrees, and while one Englishman at the end of the seventeenth century says that at Bándra their college "was not inferior as to the building nor much unlike those of our universities," and that the Fathers "lived sumptuously, the greater part of the island Sálsette being theirs,"[6] another about the same time reports the income of the chief church there to be of the value of a pound of gold a day. In 1598 a Father who had come from Europe to visit all the houses and colleges of the Society in India, was received at Bándra with great rejoicing, and entertained with a sham sea fight at the mouth of the river. The Father left four Panjábi converts to be educated at Bándra whom he had fallen in with at Chaul, and then visited the house at Thána, and all the churches in Sálsette (not named), founding the church of St. Cecilia at Ponçar (probably Poisar). He then went on to Bassein where he established a seminary called the College of the Purification, in which noble children, natives of those parts, might be brought up as missionaries. From Bassein he went on direct to Daman, from which the inference seems to be that there were no Jesuit houses between these two places.[7]

When Bombay was made over to the English, the Bándra College claimed much land and various rights in the island,[8] and these not being acknowledged, the Fathers in 1667 received and assisted a dismissed English officer, who attempted to raise a force for the capture of Bombay.[9] In 1720 and 1722 there were again disagreements and skirmishes between the English in Bombay and the Portuguese at Bándra, where the Fathers had some great guns mounted.[4] At Thána in Fryer's time (1673-75) there were seven churches and colleges; at Bassein six churches, four colleges, and two convents.[6] There was in 1623 no Bishop down the coast nearer than Cochin, all being subject directly to the Archbishop of Goa,[10] but in the account of the district given in 1634 Thána is mentioned as having a cathedral church.[11] The Inquisition at Goa had jurisdiction over all countries east of the Cape of Good Hope: it extended its

1 Archivo, V. 1083. 2 Gemelli in Churchill, IV. 198. 3 Ovington, 156.
4 Hamilton in Pinkerton, VIII. 327, 328, 5 De la Valle, III. 377.
6 Fryer, 70, 73, 75. 7 Du Jarric, 3, 9, 12.
8 Bom. Geo. Soc. Trans. for June 1839. 9 Bruce, II. 213.
10 De la Valle, III. 134. 11 O Chronista, III. 245.

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operations all over the Portuguese possessions, and had commissaries at Daman, at Bassein, and doubtless at other large towns.[1] The Grand Inquisitor was appointed by the King and confirmed by the Pope, and had authority over all persons clerical and lay, except the Archbishop, his grand vicar, and the Viceroy : but even these the Inquisition might arrest after advising the Court of Lisbon and receiving orders from the great Council of the Inquisition there.[2] Thus Dellon[3] seems justified in saying that people had much more respect for the great Inquisitor than for the Archbishop or the Viceroy. Pyrard says that the Inquisition in Goa was much more severe than in Portugal, and its administration of justice the most curel and pitiless in the world. "Sometimes the converts are accused of putting crucifixes under the cushions on which they sit or kneel, sometimes of whipping their images or of not eating pork, or in some other way respecting their old faith, while they outwardly conformed as Christians".[4] The auto-da-fé at Goa usually took place only once in two or three years, and as this was the only gaol delivery for spiritual offenders that there was, it followed that if any one was arrested soon after an auto-da-fé he had to undergo a long imprisonment, as Dellon had.

Now as to the work of converting the natives, DeCoutto at the end of the sixteenth century speaks of this whole coast "as a great fishing ground for the Fathers of the company," and estimates their converts at 60,000.[5] As to the extent to which this was assisted by the State it must be noticed that its action was very different under different Viceroys, some of the greatest of whom expressly tolerated and protected the religions of the natives.[6] Thus Albuquerque endeavoured to conciliate the goodwill of the natives, and to live in friendship with all the Indian princes, most of whom were better pleased to have the Portuguese as governed by him for neighbours than the Moors. So also Nuno da Cunha prohibited the priests from persecuting the Hindus for not being Catholics, and he administered justice to all persons, whether Portuguese Hindus or Moors. But others (and the policy of these eventually prevailed) went as far as they possibly could in destroying the temples of the heathen and even slaughtering the worshippers. In 1546 the King wrote to the Viceroy John de Castro,[7] complaining that idols were worshipped, not only in other places subject to Portugal but even in Goa itself. He therefore commanded that search should be made and all idols broken to pieces. Any one who should venture to make them was to be severely punished, as well as all who should publicly or

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[1] Hough, I. 214; Dellon, 118, 339. [2] Dellon, 192.

[3] Dellon was a French doctor and when living at Daman was arrested by orders of the Inquisition and taken to Goa. After a long imprisonment he had the good fortune to escape with his life, and afterwards published a most interesting account of his experiences, a good summary of which is given by Dr. Rule in his "History of the Inquisition." [4] Pyrard, II. 80.

[5] DeCoutto, XI. 49. This expression is probably due to the fact that by the early Portuguese writers the coast between Cape Comorin and the Isle of Manár was called the "Coast of Fishery." Bohours, 81.

[6] Mickle, clix. [7] Vida de J. de Castro, 48.

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privately celebrate any games of a heathen sort, or should help or conceal Bráhmans, "those pestilent enemies of the Christian name." And since it was intolerable that images of Christ or his saints should be made by heathen hands, any person making or selling such was to be fined and to receive two hundred lashes. The Musalmán mosques in the Portuguese territories were to pay tribute to the Church to the amount of Rs. 3000 a year. Converts were to have various privileges, and to be exempt from forced labour on board ship, to which other Indians were liable. His biographer is careful to state that John de Castro did not carry out these orders, not from any want of zeal in the service of God, but because the continual wars in which he was engaged prevented him,[1] but those who prefer it may be allowed to suppose that this great Viceroy thought with Albuquerque and Nuno daCunha rather than with the clerical party and his royal master. Four or five years later the King communicated to the Pope his intention of founding many colleges for the Society of Jesus, so that the East might be filled with apostolical labourers: and in the meantime ordered all the seminaries established in the Indies for the education of youth to be made over to the society, and all the charges of the missioners in all their voyages to be defrayed by the Viceroy and the captains of the fortresses.[2] And in 1555 the then Viceroy, who was near enough to see that his orders were obeyed, prohibited private as well as public temples throughout the territories of Bassein, and also feasts, ceremonies, preaching by Bráhmans, ablutions, and burnings. Houses were to be searched for idols, and if any were found or forbidden practices discovered, the offender was to be sent to the galleys, and all his property forfeited, half to the informer and half to the church. In 1581 new converts were encouraged by a proclamation excusing them from payment of tithes and first-fruits for fifteen years, and at the same time the issue of licenses for the performance of heathen rites and festivals, by which it may be assumed the previous orders had been evaded, was prohibited throughout the Portuguese dominions.

In 1591 the desembargadores and other lawyers were forbidden in the interests of God and the King to have anything to do with Bráhmans or other Hindus in the way of business, even through third persons. The officer offending was to be suspended, and the Hindu compromised to be condemned to the galleys for life.[3] In 1594 an order arrived from the Pope and the King to convert the natives by force. This was in fact a general commission to murder and plunder, and the pagodas and temples hitherto respected were now despoiled of their accumulated riches.[4] In 1600 the "Visitor of the Jesuits already mentioned rejoiced specially over the children of heathen parents snatched from them by the church as roses from among the thorns.[5]"

In Gemelli's time the natives at Goa "lived apart and without

[1] Vida, 53. [2] Bohours, 402. [3] Archivo, V. 1569. [4] Macpherson, 33. [5] Du Jarric, 5.

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any public practice of their religion," while all the monasteries throughout India were subsidised by the State.[1] Linschotten says that the people of India had liberty of religion, but with these rather large exceptions, that they were not allowed to burn their dead nor to perform marriage ceremonies or other diabolical superstitions (over which the Bishop had supervision,) for fear that scandal might be caused to the converts; so also Musalmáns and Jews might not publicly exercise their religion in the towns under pain of death, but outside the towns might do so.[2] Dellon says that although the King allowed liberty of conscience, yet the Holy Office interpreted this to mean that heathens might live in their religion but would be punished if caught in the exercise of it.[3] Finally after all these Christian writers, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, the Musalmán historian Kháfi Khán may be quoted, who after praising the Portuguese system of government, called it an act of great tyranny that if one of their subjects should die leaving young children only they were considered wards of the State and brought up as Christians, whether they were Syeds or Bráhmans.[4] And in a recently published work by a Hindu[5] it is stated that the Portuguese utterly disregarded difference of caste, and exacted the same service from Bráhmans as from Kolis. Several Prabhus were employed in high positions under the Portuguese Government, and even these could only perform their religious duties secretly and by night, while some were forcibly converted to Christianity, whose descendants are still to be found in Sálsette and Bassein.

The jealous and rigorous system of the Portuguese in matters of religion may be pretty well understood from the above extracts. Yet there is one more fact to be noticed which shows in an even stronger light the pressure under which their native subjects lived. It has been already mentioned that the Dominicans sent missionaries to India before the Jesuits did, and it must be noticed that between these two orders there was always a great jealousy, and that while the Jesuits were particularly given to the work of conversion, the work of the Inquisition was chiefly done by the Dominicans. "In India and China the Inquisition and the Jesuits could the less easily agree because their action was entirely different. The Jesuits thought it expedient to pursue a policy of extreme concession, surrendering the distinctive truths of Christianity and keeping out of sight the discipline and ritual of their own church, if they could thereby win over the heathen to their side rather than lead them to Christ. The Inquisitors on the other hand pretended perfect orthodoxy, assumed an air of intense anxiety to preserve the integrity of the Romish faith, and so far as the power of Portugal extended and they could avail themselves of military force, they had the power of life and death in their hands, and could impress the natives with dread, and overawe their own clergy too. Hence it came to pass that not only the Jesuits but the bishops and the

1 Churchill, IV. 203. 2 Linschotten, 156. 3 Dellon, 186.
4 Sir H. Elliot, VII. 345. 5 History of Pathana Prabhus, 69, 81.

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priests regarded them with dread and jealousy and appealed to Rome against their violence." In 1673 Clement X. ordered that all Vicars Apostolic and their missioners in the East were to be altogether free from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition of Goa in those regions which were not under the temporal government of the king of Portugal.[1] But this of course did not touch their power in the Konkan, and it is pretty certain that between the Jesuits who armed with all the power of the State sought to convert the heathen, and the Inquisitors who so carefully guarded the faith of the new converts, the native subjects of the Portuguese must have had a hard time of it. The absence of high-caste Hindus in the Bassein district at the time of its conquest by the Maráthás is ascribed to these severities.[2] And it is even said that the expulsion of the Portuguese from the Konkan was chiefly due to the tyranny of the Jesuits and the Inquisition.[3] It is also a significant fact that the Inquisition in India was abolished by the king of Portugal in 1775, that is just at the time that it was decided to make a great effort for the recovery of the Portuguese power on this coast. But in 1779 the Inquisition was re-established.

The trade in this country was at first, as has already been stated, a royal monopoly. The Portuguese had gradually obliged all trading vessels to take out their passes; but as early as 1570 the Malabár pirates, who Gemelli says[4] were composed of Moors Gentiles Jews and Christians, began to give trouble,[5] and a little later the Arabs followed their example, so that after this there were always two fleets sent out from Goa, called the fleet of the North and the fleet of the South,[6] occupied nominally in protecting the Portuguese ships and possessions from the pirates. In 1598 six small vessels were built and fitted out at Thána and had great success against the pirates.[7] But the Musalmán historians, and even some European writers,[8] put the case of the Portuguese and of the so-called pirates in a very different light. They describe the Malabár and Arab mariners as honest traders who only wished to carry on in peace the traffic which their fathers had enjoyed for centuries, but who were constantly harried and plundered by the Portuguese unless they consented to pay them tribute. The free-traders, as they were called, who were generally discharged or deserted Portuguese soldiers,[9] deprived the natives of even that part of the coasting trade which the Government of Goa had left them, and it is acknowledged by all that these free-traders, like the Interlopers who gave the English East India Company so much trouble,[10] were little, if at all, better than pirates. "They infested every creek on the coast in the double capacity of pirates and merchants," and caused a perpetual petty but sanguinary war. "They seldom scrupled to defraud those who traded with them if

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[1] Rule, II. 100, 112. [2] Bom. Geo. Soc. Trans. VII. 111.
[3] Reg. I. of 1808. [4] Churchill, IV. 201. [5] DeCoutto, IX. 110.
[6] De la Valle, III. 131, 418. [7] DeCoutto, XIV. 163.
[8] Tohfat al Mujahidin, 157; Mickle, cxiv. [9] Mickle, clxviii.
[10] Bruce, III. 210.

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they felt themselves strong enough to do it with impunity, and frequently they procured their cargoes entirely by plunder. By such acts of piracy they brought disgrace upon their country and became a principal cause of the downfall of the Portuguese empire in India."[1] The army and other departments of the Government service were deserted for this illicit trade, while Portuguese sailors after coming to India despised any places but those of captain or officer, so that the merchantmen were chiefly manned by Arab and Abyssinian sailors, who were cheap and docile.[2] Both on account of these inconveniences and for the sake of the profits of the Government monopoly the Portuguese Governors did all they could to put down this private trade, but with little effect. The universal practice of illicit trading, in which all the servants of Government from the Viceroy down to the private soldier indulged,[3] was of course another hindrance to the King's Government getting the fair profits of the trade. Linschotten says that even before the end of the sixteenth century all the officials from the Viceroy downwards thought of nothing but enriching themselves, and he ascribes this in great measure to the fact that all appointments were held for three years only.[4] The result of all this was that in 1586 the monopoly of the trade was made over by Government to the Portuguese East India Company. But the private trade was never stopped.[5]

Up to 1565 the chief trade of the Portuguese was with the kingdom of Bijnagar or Vijayanagar. They took horses, velvets, and satins there and brought back linens and muslins, which were sent to Europe by way of Ormuz as well as round the Cape.[6] John de Castro made a treaty with Bijnagar in 1547 for mutual defence against Bijápur, and in this there were many stipulations as to trade. Besides the articles given above coral and silk from China and Ormuz are mentioned in this treaty as being taken to Bijnagar, and saltpetre and iron as coming from there. The fall of Bijnagar therefore is mentioned as a calamity to the Portuguese, but it is not stated why no effort was made to save the kingdom.

The exports of Chaul were indigo, opium, cotton, silk of every sort, with great store of iron and corn; and the imports came from Mecca and China as well as from Europe.[7] Ships laden with fine stuffs used to come to Goa from Sindh.[8] But with the seventeenth century the European rivals of the Portuguese began to trouble them as well as the Malabár and Arab pirates. In 1615 the chief points in the treaty made between the Emperor Jahángir and the Portuguese expressed their mutual enmity to the English and Dutch and the necessity of destroying the Malabár pirates.[9] The entry

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[1] Macpherson, 26, 30, 32.
[2] Linschotten, 78.
[3] In Chiverius's Geography published at Amsterdam in 1697 there is no mention of the Dutch on the west coast of India, nor is Vengurla marked on the map. The name of the district is given in the map as 'Cuncam,' and in a note it is called 'Decan sive cuncang', Decan being also given as a city.
[4] Linschotten, 62, 66.
[5] Mickle, cxc.; Macpherson, 32.
[6] DeCoutto, IX. 93.
[7] Cæsar Frederic in Hakluyt, II. 384.
[8] DeCoutto, XIV. 59.
[9] O Chronista, III 269.

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of other Europeans into the Indian seas was looked on as so much of a calamity that De la Valle[1] calls it one of the signs of the decay of the Portuguese that English and Dutch ships frequent the ports of Dábhol Chaul and Bassein without hindrance and without acknowledging the Portuguese supremacy, though the latter still prevented native vessels from sailing in these seas without their permission.[2] So late as 1624 no one could go to Europe by way of Persia and Turkey without obtaining leave from the authorities of Goa.[1]

The Dutch found it easier to conquer the Portuguese on the Malabár coast than to make new settlements for themselves, and they were everywhere assisted by the hatred which the natives now had for the Portuguese. The Dutch blockaded Goa from 1639 to 1642, and in the last-mentioned year took some ships trying to enter the port.[3] A cessation of arms for ten years had been concluded in Europe between the Portuguese and Dutch in 1641, and this extended to Asia in the following year, but in 1649 the war was again going on. The Dutch had built a fortified factory at Vengurla previous to 1641.[4] But it does not appear that they ever cared much about establishing themselves in the Konkan, as at that time they refused an invitation from the king of Bijápur to winter their ships in Dábhol, Ortzery (A'chra ?), or other of his harbours.[3] They were however for many years the strongest of the European powers in the East, and in 1660 their fleet was again blockading the harbour of Goa, but could not get close enough to take it.[5] In 1661 when Bombay was ceded to England the object was said to be that King Charles might be "better able to assist and protect the subjects of the King of Portugal in those parts from the power and invasion of the States of the United Provinces."[6] But it does not appear that any thing was ever done to carry this into effect, probably because when the English troops came to take possession, a dispute arose as to whether Sálsette was or was not included in the cession.[7] This so-called claim of the English may

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[1] De la Valle, III. 402, 406. [2] Gemelli in Churchill, IV. 208.
[3] Mickle, cciii.; Baldæus in Churchill, III. 546, 548. [4] Stavorinus, III. 107.
[5] Nieuhoff in Knox, II. 452; Hamilton in Pinkerton, VIII. 356. At that time the following description is given of an event at Vengurla in which the Dutch took part: "The Bantam yachts were waiting to transport the Queen of Golkonda from Vengurla to Mokha on her way to the tomb of Muhammad. Her guards who had conducted her eighty leagues were 4000 cavalry with long coats of mail, the shoulders whereof were embroidered with serpents' heads like the ancient Romans, they had bright polished helmets, were armed with bows and arrows, wore long beards, and were mounted on very fine Persian horses. On each side of every man of quality who attended her was a footman holding the bridle: the queen and all her ladies were carried in close litters concealed from public view, and they were preceded by several camels covered with rich furniture, on one whereof was mounted a kettle drummer, who performed with great dexterity. The Commodore and the Director of the Dutch East India Company met her two leagues from the town, in which while she stayed she dictated to her Secretaries in several different languages. There was a magnificent tent erected for her on the sea-shore, the passage from whence to the shallop which was to carry her on board the yacht was covered with calico." Nieuhoff in Knox, II. 452. Vengurla is described as a large village on the sea-shore where most ships for Persia are obliged to touch for wood and water. This is to be understood of Dutch ships. [6] Bom. Gov. Records, X. 347. [7] Mill, I. 95.

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have influenced them as long as the Portuguese were in possession, for as early as 1686 the conquest of Sálsette was proposed on a sufficient force coming from England, and the same course was suggested from home, and apparently only abandoned from doubts as to the complications that might ensue.[1] It must be evident that after the European trade with India had been turned into the route of the Cape of Good Hope the Malabár ports were of far greater value than those of the Konkan or Gujarát, which had their day when the line of traffic was by the Persian gulf and the Red Sea. The capture of Ormuz by the English in 1622 and of Cochin by the Dutch in 1663 deprived the Portuguese of commercial superiority and prestige on both routes, and in 1664 when peace was concluded the claim of the Portuguese to the monopoly of the trade was finally abandoned.[2] The Dutch gradually succumbed to the English, and never made any other settlement in the Konkan than Vengurla, though they are said in the eighteenth century to have greatly wished to establish a factory at Bassein.[3]

One cause of the decline of the Portuguese power remains to be mentioned, the indifference of the kings of Portugal, and the small value they set on their Eastern possessions. This was due partly to their thinking so much more of their Brazilian colonies and partly to the Indian settlements being so expensive. Their disregard of this country was particularly great during the subjection of Portugal to Spain,[4] when the Court of Madrid ordered that to meet the expenses of Government all employments and offices in India should be sold publicly to the highest bidder. On the restoration of the national dynasty of Portugal in 1640 more interest began to be shown in the Indian colonies,[5] but the Dutch were by this time too strong to be opposed, and the English after the civil war soon became so. By the end of the century India was again neglected, and so remained till the catastrophe of 1739.

This sketch of the Portuguese Government of the Konkan has rather exceeded the proper limits, but the subject is an interesting one, and no connected account of it can be got from books readily obtainable. It only remains to add that the Portuguese during the period of their supremacy and for many years afterwards lived in India with considerable magnificence. Fryer speaks of the "stately aldeas and dwellings on both sides of the Thána creek, and the delicate country mansions of the Fidalgos who all over the island live like petty monarchs." The mansion of John de Mello, three miles from Thána, was "curiously built with a terraced descent and walks and gardens extending half a mile down to a stately banqueting house over the water with stone steps for landing." And a mile further stood "Grebondel, a large neat built town of Martin Alfonso's, with his house fort and church of as stately architecture as India can afford, he being the richest Don on

[1] Bruce, II. 577, 626, 635. [2] Hough, II. 381. [3] Stavorinus, III. 107.
[4] Gemelli in Churchill, IV. 208 ; Mickle, cxv.
[5] Mickle, ccix. ccxii. ; Macpherson, 35, 37.

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this side Goa." The Fidalgos at Bassein had "stately dwellings graced with covered balconies and large windows two stories high with panes of oyster shell or latticed."[1] Gemelli speaks of the pleasure-houses of the Portuguese gentry near Bassein in the same way.[2] Of these lordly mansions there is now nothing to be seen but a few ruined walls, though foundations may here and there be traced of sufficient extent to prove the truth of these accounts.

The chief remains of the Portuguese are at Bassein and lower Chaul, now known by its old Hindu name of Revdanda. These are large walled towns, but the fortifications generally have little appearance of strength. At Bassein the line of the streets can be traced, and many lofty buildings, principally churches, remain. These are "of considerable size but mean architecture, though they are striking from the lofty proportions usual in Roman Catholic places of worship, and from the singularity of Christian and European ruins in India."[3] There is now a high road through the middle of the city which prevents it from being utterly desolate; on the north side there is a large space without any ruins, owing no doubt to the plague which towards the end of the seventeenth century is said to have unpeopled one-third of the city on that side.[2] The ruins of Revdanda are similar but on a smaller scale, and from the space within the walls being entirely occupied by cocoanut gardens they can be seen less favourably than the Bassein ruins. The main walls are nearly entire, those on the north side being far the strongest, and having been protected, in its whole length apparently, by an outwork which has now mostly fallen into the sea. The present main entrance facing nearly south and with the citadel just inside it is probably the original entrance.[4]

All over Sálsette and in the neighbourhood of Bassein are parish churches still in use; but though some of these, for instance those of Thána and Remedi near Bassein (originally Nossa Senhora dos Remedios),[5] are large and respectable, and appear to be in the same state as when first built, there is nothing very striking in any of them. Deserted churches and convents more or less ruined are found at many places, especially in Sálsette. The ruins at Marol have been already mentioned.[6] At Mándvi on the Vaitarna there is a picturesque ruin of a conventual building, and at Yerangal, ten miles north of Bándra, a large church stands in a very pretty little bay close to the sea but distant from anything like a town. This is dedicated to St. Bonaventura, and is still used on the feast of the Epiphany. The outline of the church at Kelva-Máhím is now barely traceable, but the buildings there were certainly of considerable size. These convents were very frequently either themselves fortified as that at Yerangal or built close to a fort: thus the College at Bándra had "seven guns mounted in front of it and a good store of small

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[1] Fryer, 74-75; Churchill, IV. 190.
[2] Gemelli in Churchill, IV. 190.
[3] Heber, II. 130.
[4] Detailed descriptions of the ruins of Bassein and Chaul with many particulars as to their history will be found in Dr. DaCunha's Chaul and Bassein.
[5] DeBarros, VII. 244.
[6] Section II. near the end.

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arms,"[1] and took toll from all vessels going up the creek.[2] The greatest in extent of these ecclesiastical ruins is at Mandapeshvar or Mont Pezier already described, and this part of Sálsette must have been a favourite one, as within a mile of this there were the two large churches of Mágáthan and Poisar standing within a stone's throw of each other, and within four miles on the other side is Ghodbandar. The buildings at this delightful place included a fort, a monastery, and a large church. The latter, dedicated to St. John,[3] is the present bungalow, but many of its features make it appear to have been originally a Musalmán rather than a Christian building.

There are two forts which show that the Portuguese were scarcely inferior in the art of fort-building to the Maráthás. One of these is Thána, the size and strength of which can still be seen after all the alterations it has undergone, and which seems to owe nothing to the Maráthás. The other is the fort of Korlai opposite to Chaul, which is perhaps the most interesting of any Portuguese building remaining in the Konkan. The plan, however, which is very striking and unlike anything else in the district, is Musalmán,[4] the Portuguese having destroyed the first fortress and afterwards rebuilt it on the same plan. It stands on a very narrow ridge which stretches far across the mouth of the river, and which is completely surrounded by a strong wall. Inside this are two walls crossing the ridge at the top, and as each was strongly protected by towers and bastions there were virtually three fortresses. On the north side the hill slopes gently down to the water's edge, and this slope, being enclosed like the rest of the hill by the fortified wall, formed a broad way, which also was crossed by walls and bastions and ended at the bottom in a wide level space. Here apparently were the quarters of the garrison and a strong battery commanding the entrance of the river. On the most prominent point of this stood a large cross, and the bastions and gateways all over the fort were dedicated to saints whose names are engraved on them.

There were numbers of other forts all along the coast, of which Tárápur and Dáhánu appear to have been the chief. Others may be traced which were little more than fortified outposts. At the time of the expulsion of the Portuguese, Bándra and Vesáva (probably Madh) were the most important forts in Sálsette after Thána.[5] Scarcely anything remains of the fortifications at Bándra, and Vesáva appears to have been so rebuilt and enlarged by the Maráthás that it is difficult to trace the Portuguese work. Finally there are a number of round watch-towers on promontories and rocky islands, the use of which is said to have been to give notice of the approach of Arab pirates. The most southerly of these which is on a small rocky island with four palmyra trees towering above it, is visible from Malabár Hill on a clear day.

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[1] Fryer, 70. [2] O Chronista, II. 71. [3] Macleod's Manuscript Account of Sálsette.
[4] DeCoutto, XIII. 165, [5] Grant Duff, 242.

SECTION VI.

SHIVA'JI.

1648 TO 1680.

Section VI. Shivaji.

The state of the powers who ruled the Konkan in the middle of the seventeenth century may be thus described. The Portuguese had lost their prestige, and could scarcely hope ever to regain it. The Bijápur kings had seen and profited by the fall of their ancient rivals of Ahmadnagar, but had now begun to feel the power of the Emperors of Delhi. In the north the Jawhár state and in the south the Maráthás of Sávantvádi had become stronger through the weakness of the greater powers, and there were no doubt other and less important Hindu chiefs who still exercised local authority. It was under these circumstances that the founder of the Marátha empire arose. Under him the Konkan attained its greatest importance and we have in his time more historical mention of the province than at any other, for, though not a Konkani himself, he soon found that the wild and strong country just above and below the Gháts was the best field for his operations.

In Section III. mention has been made of the raids of Sháhji Bhonsla in the Konkan and of Shiváji his famous son. It was in 1648, when he was little more than twenty, that Shiváji extended his operations to the Konkan.[1] He at first avoided those parts which were in the possession of the Moghals, but as the whole of the Konkan south of Kalyán was at this time subject to Bijápur there was abundant room for his energy. And he began operations in that part which having until a few years before belonged to Ahmadnagar and having then for some years been overrun by his father[2] was probably held less firmly than the rest of the Bijápur possessions. At the very beginning he appears to have surprised Ráiri, which was afterwards his capital under the name of Ráygad, and after plundering other towns he got possession of Kalyán, and immediately began to arrange for the revenue management of the province as if he meant to keep it. The first forts in the Konkan which he built were Birvádi and Lingána, both near Ráygad. He seems to have kept possession of what he had gained by playing off the Moghals against Bijápur, and he lived for four or five years in comparative quiet, spending much of his time at Mahád. In 1656 he built the fort of Pratápgad and thus by gaining command of the pass leading from the Dakhan to Mahád he secured to himself the means of safely retreating to the Konkan whenever he might find the Dakhan

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[1] Grant Duff, 64.

[2] Grant Duff, 50, 65, 68, 74, 75.

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too hot to hold him. In 1658 he got permission from Aurangzeb to take possession of the whole Konkan, and the first use he made of this was to occupy some of the neglected strongholds of the coast, and to invade the Sidi's districts.[1] But now as afterwards the conquest of the Sidi was too great a task for his power. The Sávants were of the Bhonsla family as Shiváji was, and were anciently known as the Sardesáis of Kudál, under which title they entered into engagements and treaties with the Bombay Government as late as 1838.[1] At this time they made a temporary alliance with Shiváji, but soon afterwards returned to their fealty to Bijápur.[2]

In 1660, after the murder of Afzul Khán, Shiváji carried the war into the oldest of the Bijápur possessions by plundering Rájápur and burning Dábhol; and the three powers of the Southern Konkan—Bijápur, the Sidi, and the Sávants—then united against the invader. Early in the following year, 1661, Shiváji again plundered Rájápur and captured Dánda-Rájápur, though neither now or at any subsequent period did he succeed against Janjira. He was however to a great extent successful during this campaign and the Sávants having submitted to him,[3] that part of the Konkan south of Sálshi Mahál (that is the whole of the present Málvan sub-division and a part of the Vádi districts) was left under their exclusive management, and the revenue system there remained unchanged.[3] At this time Shiváji caused a survey to be made of the coast, and having fixed on Málvan as the best protection for his vessels and the likeliest place for a stronghold, he built forts there, rebuilt and strengthened Suvarndurg, Ratnágiri, Jaygad, Anjanvel, Vijaydurg, and Kolába, and prepared vessels at all these places. But in the meantime the Moghals had taken Kalyán, and Shiváji did not then find it convenient to oppose them or to attempt to retake it. His position in the Southern Konkan was now however very strong, and he removed his capital to Ráiri, henceforward to be called Ráygad, and for some years after this bestowed much labour both on the fortifications and the public buildings of that mountain, which Grant Duff calls the Gibraltar of the East.[4]

In 1663 little was done in the Konkan till late in the year, when Shiváji collected a force near Kalyán and another near Dánda-Rajápur.[6] Four thousand horse from Kalyán marched secretly to Surat, and after plundering it brought the booty to Ráygad.[7] In the following year, 1664, the Bijápur troops made a strong attempt to recover the southern part of the Konkan, but Shiváji came upon them suddenly, and completely defeated them. He burn[t] Vengurla which he believed to be hostile to him, and then collecti[ng] a fleet at Málvan made a plundering expedition as far as Barcelo[r.] This was remarkable as the only maritime expedition in whic[h]

[1] Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 119. [2] Grant Duff, 50, 65, 68, 74, 75.
[3] Grant Duff, 80, 83, 84. [4] Jervis, 101. [5] Grant Duff, 85, 86; Hutchinson, 155.
[6] Grant Duff, 89. Orme says the two camps were at Chaul and Bassein. Fragments, 12. [7] Orme's Fragments, 12; Grant Duff, 89.

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Shiváji himself took part, and perhaps the adverse winds which delayed him on his return, as they usually do all voyagers up the coast during the latter part of the cold weather, had something to do with his not repeating the experience. Immediately after his return to Ráygad a most formidable Moghal force attacked his possessions in the Dakhan, and Shiváji, having resolved to yield, left Ráygad and went up the Gháts. There he gave up all the forts and territory he had taken from the Moghals, but some were returned to him, and his possession of the South Konkan was not interfered with. He did not return to Ráygad till December 1666, having in the interval been to and escaped from Delhi.[1] During his absence, Annáji Dattu, who was *deshpándya* of Sangameshvar, had charge of the Dábhol *subha*, Moro Pingla the Peshwa of Rájpuri and Ráygad, and A'báji Sondev of the Kalyán province.[2] On his return Shiváji immediately recommenced hostilities against the Moghals, who were once more and very speedily driven out of the greater part of the province of Kalyán, the forts being occupied and repaired by Shiváji's troops. In 1668 he attempted to complete his power in the Southern Konkan by the conquest of Goa and Janjira, but was unsuccessful in both attempts.[1] Soon afterwards he visited Málvan, and built the Sarjekot fort commanding a river two miles north of Málvan, which was then navigable for some distance.[3]

The Moghals had continued to hold the ports of Máhuli and Karnála, two of the most famous in the Konkan; but in 1670 when after nearly three years' truce open hostilities again broke out, these two forts were besieged, and the latter taken without much trouble. At Máhuli however Moro Pant was at first repulsed with a loss, it is said, of a thousand men, but after a second repulse and a siege of two months the place surrendered, and the whole province of Kalyán was taken before the rains.[4] During this time proceedings were going on in the Konkan with a view to the capture of Janjira. The historian Kháfi Khán was then in that district and has given a long account of what took place, but it need only here be said that Shiváji was himself present in this year, and that Fateh Khán the Sidi who was in the Bijápur interest, abandoned Dánda-Rájápur and took refuge in Janjira, and was willing to surrender even that. But three of the other Sidis prevented this, and having deposed Fateh Khán put themselves and the state under the protection of the Moghals. Khán Jahán the Imperial general sent ships to assist them, and during this year and the next there were frequent naval fights between these and Shiváji's fleet, in which the Moghals and Abyssinians were often victorious.[5] At the end of 1670 Shiváji sent a large fleet up the coast, of which the Portuguese captured twelve vessels and took them into Bassein. The Marátha fleet, however, took a large Portuguese ship and brought her in triumph to Dábhol.[6] The Sidis were now as anxious to take Dánda-Rájápur as Shiváji was to get

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[1] Grant Duff, 90, 94, 97. [2] Jervis, 92. [3] Hutchinson, 156.
[4] Grant Duff, 110. [5] Sir H. Elliot, VII. 289. [6] Grant Duff, 111.

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Janjira, and on one occasion, apparently the Holi of 1672, took advantage of Shiváji's absence to land and destroy the fortifications. At the same time the Sidi took several forts in the neighbourhood, one of which held out for a week, after which it surrendered on the promise of quarter. But when seven hundred people had come out the Sidi put the men to death, made slaves of the children and pretty women, and released only the old and ugly. For these services he was well rewarded by the Emperor.[1] While this was going on Shiváji twice brought troops down from Ráygad to retaliate, and sent a force under Moro Pandit to burn the Moghal ships at Surat, but in this he did not succeed.[2] He however took possession of various places (in the Bassein and Dahánu sub-divisions apparently) which had hitherto belonged to Koli Rájás. He made an attempt on the fort at Ghodbandar, then with the rest of Sálsette belonging to the Portuguese, but was repulsed.[3] In November 1672 he marched from Ráygad with ten thousand men, levied a large contribution from the Dakhan, and returned to Ráygad without interruption.[4]

In 1673 the Sidi's fleet blockaded the Karanja river, and built a small fort to command its mouth.[5] In October the troops from the Sidi's and the Moghal's ships landed in the Nágothna river, laid the villages waste with great cruelty, and carried away many of the inhabitants as slaves, but troops arrived unexpectedly from Ráygad and inflicted a defeat on the Sidi.[6] Shiváji in April 1674 returned to Ráygad, and in June was crowned there with great pomp.[7] After the rains Moro Pandit came down to Kalyán with 10,000 men, and sent to Bassein to demand *chauth* from the Portuguese. At the same time a fleet from Muskat appeared before Bassein and landed 600 Arabs, who plundered villages and churches and behaved with great cruelty, the garrison of Bassein not attempting to molest them. At the end of the year Shiváji with reinforcements having joined Moro Pant, the whole army marched up the Gháts towards Junnar, but after ravaging the country they returned to Ráygad in February 1675.[8]

The siege of Janjira was continued as it had been every year since 1661,[9] and an expedition at the same time went against Phonda on the Goa frontier, and on his way there Shiváji visited Rájápur, where he kept great quantities of warlike stores. After the rains of 1675 a large Moghal fleet came from Surat to Bombay and proceeded down the coast as far as Vengurla, which they burnt. By this time Shiváji's fleet, now increased to fifty-seven sail, was considered fit to meet the Moghal's, and it put to sea from Vijaydurg and Rájápur, but did not fall in with the enemy. A Moghal force at the same time came down to Kalyán, and threatened the districts south of Bombay, but soon after returned above the Gháts. On this Shiváji's troops returned to Kalyán, and began to build a fort

[1] There is some confusion in Kháfi Khan as to the exact year in which some of these occurrences took place.
[2] Orme, 28. [3] Grant Duff, 113. [4] Orme, 30. [5] Bruce, II. 340.
[6] Orme 38-39. [7] Grant Duff, 117; Orme, 40; Fryer, 77. [8] Orme, 38, 45, 46.
[9] Orme says since 1665, Fragments, 24.

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near Sáyván on the Vaitarna river, within the territory of the Portuguese, who of course resented the encroachment, but ineffectually.[1] From the end of 1675 to July 1676 Shiváji was at Sátára or Ráygad,[2] and this is stated to have been the longest rest of his life. He then made a rapid excursion to the Dakhan and returned with his plunder to Ráygad in September, but immediately afterwards set off with a still larger force on his expedition to the Karnátak. From this he did not return to the Konkan till April 1678,[3] and in the meantime Annáji Datta, the Pant Sachiv, was left in charge of the Konkan from Kalyán to Phonda,[4] and he, besides appointing officers to every district, is said to have made a survey and assessment of the land on fair and equitable principles.[5]

The usual operations on the coast were continued notwithstanding Shiváji's absence. Moro Pant took 10,000 men against Janjira in August, and in October Sidi Sambhal set out on a cruise of retaliation. He burnt Jaytápur at the mouth of the Rájápur river in December 1676, but Rájápur itself was too well defended to be attacked, and in the meantime Moro Pant's attack on Janjira had been beaten off. In the following season, 1677-78, the Sidi's fleet plundered on the coast as usual, and finding little other pillage carried off numbers of the inhabitants as slaves. In revenge for this Shiváji on his return to the Konkan sent down ships and men in July 1678 to Panvel in order to burn the Musalmán fleets then in Bombay harbour, but not being able to get boats to cross they went up to Kalyán with the intention of passing by Thána into Bombay. This alarmed all parties, and the Portuguese Governor of the Bassein district anchored forty armed boats off Thána, which prevented any attempt being made there. The Maráthás thus baffled burnt some Portuguese villages, but were soon recalled to Ráygad. This complication was followed by a rupture between Shiváji's *subhedár* of Chaul and the Bombay Government, for the *subhedár* seized thirty Bombay boats in the Panvel and Nágothna rivers, most of which were retaken by some Europeans from Bombay. Shiváji however did not find it convenient to support his officer. While this had been going on, an attack on a larger scale than usual had been in progress at Janjira, but with the usual want of success.[6]

Early in 1679 Sambháji deserted his father's cause and leaving Ráygad joined Sultán Mauzim, Aurungzeb's son, at Aurangabad.[7] In return Shiváji ravaged the Musalmán territories up to near Surat. He also in the middle of the rains took possession of Khánderi or Kennery, which until now had been uninhabited, and

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[1] Orme, 51, 54. [2] Grant Duff (page 120) says Sátára ; Orme (page 58) Ráygad.
[3] Orme, 60, 69. [4] Grant Duff, 123.
[5] Jervis, 93. Jervis states (page 68) that Dádáji Konddev's assessment had extended very partially through the Dábhol *subhedári*. This is not consistent with Grant Duff's account of Dádáji's government, which does not seem to have extended into the Konkan at all, nor does Sháhji at that time appear to have had any possessions in the Konkan. Grant Duff, 56-57. [6] Orme, 64, 70-72 ; Grant Duff, 128.
[7] Grant Duff (page 130) says it was the commander-in-chief Dilávar Khán to whom Sambháji deserted. The difference is not material.

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fortified it, on which both the English and the Portuguese claimed the island.[1] On October 15 Daulat Khán, Shiváji's Musalmán admiral, brought his fleet to engage the English vessels which were watching Khánderi. The *Revenge* a sixteen-gun frigate, beat them off singlehanded, and they sailed off to the Nágothna river. Boats and troops however managed to get over to Khánderi a few at a time, notwithstanding the watch kept by the English vessels, and 5000 of Shiváji's troops came down to Kalyán to be ready to take advantage of any opening. The Sidi was now in open alliance with the English, as he had been in reality though in rather an arrogant way for several years: but after working with them for some time in the blockade of Khánderi he in January 1680 suddenly and secretly took possession of the neighbouring island of Underi or *Hennery* and began to fortify it, a proceeding which was scarcely more agreeable to his allies than to his enemies. Two engagements between the Sidi and Daulat Khán's ships followed, in the last of which the Maráthás lost 500 men, and were so much damaged that they sailed away to Rájápur to refit. The Sidi then sailed up the Panvel river, and burnt and pillaged without mercy. The English however now made a treaty with Shiváji, and being heartily tired of the Sidi's alliance, agreed to exclude him from Bombay harbour for the future.[2] This, as far as this district is concerned, may be considered the last event of Shiváji's life. After returning from an expedition into the Dakhan he died at Ráygad on April 5, 1680.[3]

It cannot of course be supposed that the general condition of the Konkan during the reign of Shiváji was prosperous according to our present understanding of the word. Fryer[4] speaks of both Kalyán and Chaul as utterly ruined in 1672, the Moghals having been expelled from both at the time of his visit. Dábhol had been burnt so often since 1508 that but little could have been left in Shiváji's time, and it is then described as much ruined by the wars and decrease in trade.[5] A curious proof of its desolation is that, a few years after this, this once great city was granted to the Shirké family.[6] There would thus remain of the old marts of the Konkan only Bassein in the north, and this, as has been shown was gradually declining, and Rájápur in the south, which Baldæus[7] calls one of the cities of note of the Bijápur kingdom, and which alone of the older towns had prospered under Shiváji. On the other hand Mahád had no doubt increased and flourished from its neighbourhood to Ráygad, and Ráygad itself was of course a small centre of prosperity. At the same time it is clear from what has gone before, that the great ravages of war had fallen on the district between Kalyán and Ráygad. The coast of the Northern Konkan had felt them but little; but on the other hand the Portuguese could no longer pretend to be a match for the Arab pirates.

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1 Orme, 78; Bruce, II. 442. 2 Orme, 80-88. 3 Orme, 90; Grant Duff, 133.
4 Travels, 124. 5 Ogilby, Vol. 5; Sir Thomas Herbert, 349; Mandelslo, 75.
6 Grant Duff, 17. 7 Churchill, III. 541.

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In the Southern Konkan, except on the coast where alone Shiváji was much opposed, there was perhaps not much to complain of. His revenue system was a great improvement on any that had been previously known in the Konkan, the cultivators were protected, and all classes of the population, except perhaps the outcastes, had the opportunity of entering and rising in the military service. The Hetkaris[1] (Maráthás from Málvan) had very early been among Shiváji's favourite troops, and the Maráthás all along the Gháts, or Mávalis as they were then called, have always been inclined to military service. Besides this, the establishment of the Gadkaris,[2] or sepoys holding land round the forts on condition of serving in them when necessary, must have provided for a considerable proportion of the population in a district where forts were so numerous. And the mere re-building of the great forts on the coast must have given subsistence at least to great numbers and for many years. Shiváji's system of government and revenue administration is described at length by Grant Duff,[3] and must have been more systematic than any thing that the Konkan had known previously. The Musalmán historian Kháfi Khán, who, as already mentioned, spent some time in the Konkan, abuses Shiváji as an infidel and a rebel, and is particularly proud of a chronogram which he made on the date of his death, "Káfir bajahannam raft," that is "the infidel goes to hell." But he says in favour that he always strove to maintain the honour of the people in his territories: he persevered in rebellion, in plundering caravans, and in troubling mankind, but entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was particularly careful as to the honour of the women who fell into his hands, and would not allow any dishonour to be done to mosques or to the Korán. In short this historian dignifies him with the title of a wise man.[4] It is necessary to remember the cruelties and hardships which the Portuguese in the name of religion and civilization had inflicted on the inhabitants of the Konkan, and the atrocities of the Musalmáns during their wars with Shiváji, and in particulár the death which Aurungzeb himself inflicted on Shiváji's son and successor. In view of these things we certainly cannot say that Shiváji, barbarian as he was in many respects and without pretence to culture of any sort, was the inferior of those of his contemporaries either Christian or Musalmán, with whom he was brought in contact on this coast. And altogether it is possible to believe that notwithstanding "the clamour of continual war," the greater part of the Konkan in his time enjoyed more prosperity than at most periods of its history.

The great forts, both on the coast of the Southern Konkan and inland, are so entirely associated with Shiváji that this seems the most fitting place to describe them. There is scarcely an instance of one of these standing on level and open ground: they are all built on some natural post of advantage. If on the coast, on a cliff

[1] *Het* or *hed*, said to be originally a Gujaráti word, is very commonly used in the Southern Konkan to signify "down the coast."
[2] Grant Duff, 100, 103. [3] History, 104 to 106. [4] Sir H. Elliot, VII. 260, 305, 341.

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or a spit of land more than half surrounded by the sea; if in the low country, on some steep hill commanding a river or a pass; if on the Gháts, on some projecting spur or rock, or above a great natural scarp. The construction of all is on the same principle, the whole top of the hill or the end of the promontory is surrounded by a wall relieved by numerous bastions. If there is any slope or place likely to invite approach, an outwork is projected and connected with the main fort by a passage between a double wall. There is seldom more than one entrance to the fort, and this is generally the strongest part and the most noticeable. The outer gateway is thrown forward and protected by a bastion on each side and often by a tower above; entering this a narrow passage winding between two high walls leads to the inner gate, which is in the face of the main wall, and defended by bastions which command the approach. This arrangement in a time when guns could not compete with stone walls rendered the approach to the gates very hazardous. Inside the main wall there was generally an inner fortress or citadel, and surrounding this were the various buildings required for the accommodation of the troops, and also magazines tanks and wells. In many of the greater forts living houses for the commandant or massive round towers were built upon the wall of the main works on the least accessible side. The larger forts had generally a town or *petha* clustered about the base of the hill on which the fort stood. Finally may be mentioned, as one of the invariable features of Shiváji's forts, a small shrine with an image of Hanumán the monkey god, standing just inside the main gate.

This general plan was of course subject to many modifications, due to the greater or less size of the site and also to the consideration of the fort being required only as a place of arms or also as the residence of a chief. The greatest forts answered both purposes, and perhaps Vijaydurg

> "Broad, massive, high, and stretching far,
> And held impregnable in war"

is the most perfect example of a great coast fortress, which was also as much of a palace as the Marátha chiefs allowed themselves. This stands on a spit of land projecting into the broad estuary of a noble river, and communication with the continent was cut off by a ditch which extended across the spit. The outer walls are washed by the sea round the greatest part of their extent, and wherever that is not the case out-works are thrown forward down to the shore. The citadel is of great size, and the walls both of it and of the main works are immensely massive and lofty, and thus looking up from the landing place a triple line of most formidable defences is seen. On one side a great round tower and other buildings rise from the highest part of the main wall, and from these the view is lovely and varied. In front the open sea, on one side the broad estuary, and on the other one of those little coves of white sand bounded by black rocky promontories which are so common through the Southern Konkan. Behind the river stretches away to the blue line of the distant Gháts.

The island forts or Janjiras deserve separate notice. Suvarndurg (the fort of gold) is perhaps the most striking, as the walls remarkable for their loftiness seem to rise straight out of the sea, and are now so well covered with trees and shrubs as to be very picturesque. But the forts of Málvan are in other respects more interesting. They consist of a fort on the mainland and two fortified islands about a quarter of a mile from the shore lying in a bay which is so studded with rocks and reefs that at low water it looks as if nothing larger than a rowing boat could enter. The largest of these islands, Sindhudurg (the ocean fort), is of considerable extent, but being no more than a sand-bank and the walls neither massive nor very lofty, it is not so striking as Suvarndurg. The fort seems to have been very full of buildings, and though there is no record of Shiváji ever having spent any long time there, it is impossible to resist the belief that he meant it, partly at least, as a place of refuge in case he should ever be too hard pressed to be safe on the mainland.[1] He is said to have worked at the walls of this fort himself, and what is called a print of his hand and foot in the stone is shown and reverenced. He himself is enshrined in a temple as a deity or an *avatár* according to the taste of the worshipper, and the idol which represents him has a silver mask for common use and a gold one for festivals, both bearing the semblance of an ordinary Marátha face. The second island is called Padmagad, and is said to have contained Shiváji's ship-building establishments. This is now the most pleasing point in the scene, being half reef and half sand-bank and adorned with ruins and cocoanut trees just sufficient to make it picturesque.

The only entrance to the bay at Málvan is by a narrow channel through the rocks, and the passage from the land to the island is equally intricate. From the landing place the approach to the fort is even narrower than usual, and altogether the choice of this place in preference to the many good bays and harbours all about seems to prove that a convenient naval station was not the chief object. But it would seem that Shiváji's idea of a good harbour was a place that could not easily be got into, for Kolába, which Grant Duff says was his naval head-quarters previous to his fixing on Málvan, is nearly as much hemmed in by rocks and reefs as the latter, and much more so than any other port south of Bombay. And when it is considered that he might have chosen Vijaydurg with its noble river, easy entrance and safe anchorage, or Jaygad being similar in position and but little inferior in advantages, or Devgad with a narrow but safe channel opening into a large and perfectly land-locked harbour with deeper water than any of Shiváji's ships could ever have required, the preference shown to Málvan and Kolába seems only to be explained as above.

Of the inland fortresses it seems unnecessary to give any particular description, since though many of these, as Ráygad and Vishálgad, are both grand and celebrated, they do not differ much from hill-forts in the Dakhan and other parts of the country.

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[1] This is hinted at by Hutchinson, but the writer has seen it nowhere else mentioned.

SECTION VII.

THE MARÁTHÁS FROM THE DEATH OF SHIVAJI TO THE EXPULSION OF THE PORTUGUESE.

1680 TO 1739.

Section VII.

The Marathas, 1680-1739.

ON the death of Shiváji there was for some months every prospect of a war between the adherents of his two sons. Rájárám, the younger, was at Ráygad, and the army there and in the neighbourhood was greatly strengthened in his interest. Sambháji was at Panhála, and the conspiracy against him at first seemed formidable and Phond Sávant took the opportunity of recovering the territory south of the Karlai river. But by the end of June the opposition had lost all its strength, and Sambháji escorted by 5000 horse entered Ráygad in July. He there punished with great rigour those who had led the opposition against him, and Annáji Dattu, the late governor of the Konkan, was one of the first who was imprisoned, and soon afterwards put to death.[1] His place was taken by the notorious Kalusha, who having at first put additional cesses and exactions on the mild and equal assessment which Annáji Dattu had imposed, eventually displaced the regular revenue officers and farmed out the districts.[2] The struggle between Sambháji and the Sidi for the possession of the islands of Underi and Khánderi was renewed but without any decided result, and the fleets did little more than threaten one another.[1] The English were equally anxious to get rid of both parties, but were not able. In May 1681 Sultán Akbar, the fourth son of Aurangzeb, having been in rebellion against his father, fled with 400 Rajputs to Sambháji, and arrived at Páli[3] near Nágothna on July 1st, where he remained and was treated with great respect till Sambháji came down in September, and they returned together to Ráygad.[4] Sambháji gave him a house three *kos* from Ráygad and a fixed allowance but after a time began to treat him with less respect.[5] This alliance increased Aurangzeb's hostility to the Maráthás, and his ships were again ordered to ravage the coast. In July 4000 of Sambháji's troops had come from Ráygad to Nágothna, and from there made an attack on Underi, but were beaten off, and the Sidi retaliated as usual on the inhabitants of the opposite coast. In particular the town of Apta was burnt as it had been in 1673.[4] In January 1682 Sultán Akbar

[1] Orme's Fragments, 96, 97; Grant Duff, 134-137. [2] Jervis, 108.
[3] Grant Duff says (page 136) that Dodsa was his place of residence. This however is close to Páli. [4] Orme, 105, 107. [5] Elliot, VII. 309, 312.

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accompanied Sambháji to the siege of Janjira, which was carried on this year on an unusual scale, the fortifications first being levelled by cannonading, and the arduous work of filling up the channel between the mainland and the island then entered on.[1] The siege was continued till August, and then abandoned after a storming party had been repulsed with a loss of 200 men[2]; but Sambháji had been called away in February by a raid of the Moghals in the Kalyán district, 20,000 horse and 15,000 foot having come down the Gháts from Junnar. These he successfully opposed with a large army, and he also this year built the fort of Belápur[3] to protect that neighbourhood from the irruptions of the Sidis. But the latter who again kept their ships during the rains in Bombay harbour, made raids into the Marátha territory even as far as Mahád, and Sambháji's fleet at Nágothna and Khánderi could do little. In October the fleets of Sambháji and the Sidi were engaged in Bombay harbour, and the Maráthás, who on this occasion were also commanded by a Sidi, were defeated after a fight of four hours, on which Sambháji plundered a few Portuguese villages in disgust and prepared to fortify Elephanta.[4]

In the beginning of 1683 the Company's ship *President* on her voyage up the coast was attacked off the Sangameshvar river by some Arab vessels which were afterwards found to be in Sambháji's pay. The *President* lost eleven men killed and thirty-five wounded. The Moghals this year again ravaged the country about Kalyán and the war between Sambháji and the Portuguese was carried on with great vigour on both sides. Sambháji in June brought 30,000 men to besiege Chaul, but was repulsed. He however succeeded in taking Karanja where the Portuguese had some vessels and he destroyed some places on the coast north of Bassein.[5] The Viceroy invaded the Marátha territories, but had to retreat with loss, and the Portuguese were fallen so low as to be obliged to make overtures for peace, which however were not successful. At this time Sultán Akbar went to the Dutch factory at Vengurla with the intention of leaving the country, but was prevailed on to return.[6]

The Northern Konkan again suffered in 1684, when Bahádur Khán Ranmast entered the Konkan by the pass of Mhajah (Mándha ?), and shortly afterwards Aurangzeb sent his son Sultán Mauzim (afterwards the Emperor Bahádur Sháh) with a larger army, said by Orme to have numbered 40,000 cavalry, to subdue the fortresses on the coast. Sultán Mauzim was accompanied by his son Muizuddin, and came down the Ambadári Ghát, and finding the province of Kalyán already ravaged, passed on to the neighbourhood of Ráygad, and is said to have plundered and burnt the villages from there to Vengurla.[7] This town he sacked as a punishment for its former protection of Sultán Akbar, but the Dutch successfully

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[1] The remains of the stone mole built for this purpose may still be seen below the surface of the water.

[2] Orme, 110; Grant Duff, 138.

[3] Hamilton says Panwel, II. 151.

[4] Grant Duff, 139; Orme, 113.

[5] Orme, 120, 122; Grant Duff, 140.

[6] Orme, 125.

[7] Scott, II. 60; Orme, 132; Grant Duff, 144.

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defended themselves in their fortified factory.[1] This was one of the greatest military expeditions ever made in the Southern Konkan, and was on too large a scale for Sambháji to resist: so after putting garrisons into the forts he retired to Vishálgad with Sultán Akbar and watched his opportunity. The country no doubt suffered very severely. The Moghals however made no attempt on the hill-forts, and by the time they got near Goa they had, although unopposed, lost almost the whole of their horses and cattle, and even the men began to suffer from scarcity. The Maráthás then came down on them and harassed their retreat. "The enemy swarmed around on every side and cut off the supplies. On one side was the sea and on two other sides mountains full of poisonous trees and serpents. The enemy cut down the grass which caused great distress to man and beast. They had no food but cocoanuts and the grain called kudu, which acted like poison upon them.[2]" Numbers of vessels containing supplies for the Moghals were sent off from Surat, but most of them were taken by the Marátha cruisers, and at last Sultán Mauzim was obliged to retreat with the remainder of his force up the Amba Ghát. In the meantime Sháhábuddin Khán had brought a force nearly as far as Ráygad, and defeated Sambháji in an unimportant action at Nizámpur,[3] after which he returned to the Dakhan.[4] The country being thus abandoned, Sambháji took possession of it without opposition and returned to Ráygad. After the rains the Portuguese re-took Karanja and also the hills of Santa Cruz and Asheri.[5] Sultán Akbar and Sambháji came to Kalyán, and after ravaging the Portuguese territory invested Bassein,[6] but were called away by a reported invasion of the Musalmáns. The chances of war on land appear thus to have fallen pretty equally, but Sambháji's ships at Rájápur were at this time more than a match for the Goa fleet.[7]

For the next three or four years nothing of importance is recorded in the Konkan, the war between the Maráthás and Aurangzeb being carried on chiefly in the Dakhan. The Bijápur kingdom had ceased to exist, and though the Moghals had succeeded to its possession yet they had no reason for valuing the Southern Konkan so highly as the Ádil Sháhi dynasty had done. Sambháji spent his time between Panhála Vishalgad and Sangameshvar, and being given up to sensual pleasures was at last abandoned by Sultán Akbar, who in October 1688 found at Rájápur a ship commanded by an Englishman, and sailed in her to Persia about the middle of 1689.[6] A small party of Moghal cavalry set off from Kolhápur and having got close to Sangameshvar before the alarm was given, succeeded in capturing Sambháji. Kháfi Khán says that he had two or three thousand horse with him, and was told of the approach of the hostile force, which consisted of two thousand horse and a thousand foot, but would not

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[1] Baldæus, 152.
[2] Kháfi Khán in Elliot, VII. 314. In this account Kháfi Khán calls the Konkan (or the part of it ravaged) Rám-darrá, which is not explained.
[3] This is not mentioned by Orme.
[4] Elphinstone, 575; Grant, Duff, 145; Scott, II. 61.
[5] Orme, 134, 141; Kloguen, 48. [6] Grant Duff, 155. [7] Orme, 141-145; Bruce, II. 63.

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believe it.[1] Only two or three hundred of them surprised Sambháji, and Kalusha with a party of Maráthás tried to save him, and was himself wounded, while Sambháji hid himself in a temple. When found he was immediately carried off to the Emperor's camp above the Gháts, and there put to death a few days afterwards.[2]

During the reign of Sambháji his family had lived at Ráygad, and his half-brother Rájárám had been detained there in easy captivity. The chief Marátha leaders met at Ráygad as soon as Sambháji's death was announced, and came to a decision which showed great wisdom. As the Moghals were then in force above the Gháts, and as the Marátha state had in the last few years lost most of its power, they agreed to act on the defensive and to trust to the forts, which they put in preparation for attack. Rájárám went about the country as occasion required, and his family were sent to Vishálgad, but Sambháji's widow and child remained at Ráygad. Immediately after the rains of 1689 the Moghal force came down into the Konkan and took Ráygad after several months' siege. Sháhu, then a child, was taken prisoner with his mother,[3] and there is no record of his ever having returned to the Konkan. And from this time Ráygad lost its importance, because the degeneracy of the descendants of Shiváji prevented their making use of the forts in the same way as he and Sambháji had done.

Aurangzeb now gave the Sidi a *sanad* for some of the territories which he had held previous to the rise of Shiváji, and armed with this authority he took the districts of Suvarndurg and Anjanvel and in 1699 the forts of Rájpuri and Ráygad.[4] The Maráthás still retained command of many of the forts, and kept up their fleet, and so harassed the Sidi and retained some power on the coast. The Moghals did not interfere much with them in the Southern Konkan, and the most southern districts were practically independent. The province of Sálshi was divided among three different claimants, two-fifths of the revenue going to the Sávants, three-tenths to the Pant of Bávda, and three-tenths to Ángria, while a payment had also to be made to the Killedár of Málvan. About 1700 Phond Sávant built the fort of Bharatgad, only three or four miles from Málvan, and immediately afterwards the Pant of Bávda built Bhagvantgad on the other side of the river.[5] In 1698 Mánkoji Ángria succeeded to the command of the Marátha fleet, and with it of the coast. The principal place of arms was Kolába, and there were depôts also at Suvarndurg and Vijaydurg[6] and by this time the Maráthás were the strongest naval power on the coast and attacked the vessels of all nations. The only expedition which in the latter years of his life Aurangzeb appears to have sent to the Southern Konkan was

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[1] This may be true and yet they may have been quite unavailable for help, as Sangameshvar is so closely hemmed in between hills and the creek that in the supposed absence of danger the guard would probably be at some distance.

[2] Grant Duff, 159; Elliot, VII. 338. Orme (pages 163, 305) gives the neighbourhood of Panhála as the scene of the capture, and relates the circumstances differently.

[3] Grant Duff, 162.

[4] Grant Duff, 231; Jervis, 109.

[5] Hutchinson, 156.

[6] Grant Duff, 172.

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against Vishálgad in 1700-1. The Amba Ghát was blockaded in order to prevent supplies getting in by that route, and to keep the road open for the Vanjáris of the royal army. The villages were burnt, the cattle carried off, and the people generally so harried that no sign of cultivation or the name or trace of a Marátha was to be found. The siege works were pushed on till a mine was carried near the gate. For raising the earth-works camel saddles and baskets innumerable were used full of earth and rubbish and litter heads of men and feet of quadrupeds, and these were advanced so far that the garrison were intimidated.[1] Negotiations for surrender went on for a long time and at length in June 1701 after a six months' siege Parashrám the commandant hoisted the imperial flag over the fortress. He and his family went off the same night, and the rest of the garrison were allowed to leave the fort next day. Its name was then changed to Sakhkharalana.[2]

The only events recorded during this time in the Northern Konkan, where the Moghals still retained their power, come under the general description of rapine and anarchy. About 1690 a multitude of outlaws with 4000 soldiers, all under the command of a ruffian named Kákáji, went about plundering and burning villages, and even burnt the church of Remedi close to Bassein.[3] In 1692 the Sidi attacked Bassein and threatened Sálsette, and for two or three years his troops ravaged the country.[4] About this period he is stated to have been in alliance with the chief of the Jesuits at Bándra for the extermination of the English.[5] Then in 1694 Aurangzeb declared war against the Portuguese. In that year and the following he treated their subjects with great cruelty, and numbers were obliged to take refuge in the forts of Daman and Bassein:[6] but fortunately for the Portuguese Aurangzeb was persuaded to make peace with them with a view to obtaining cannon for the reduction of the Marátha forts. About the same time the Muskat Arabs made a descent on Sálsette, burnt many villages and churches, killed the priests, and carried off about 1400 captives into slavery.[7] The Portuguese in 1695 succeeded in burning three of the Marátha ships in the Rájápur river, the largest said to carry thirty-two guns and more than 300 men: the Portuguese lost six men killed and thirty-four wounded,[8] and the triumphant tone they adopted on this occasion shows how little they were now accustomed to victory.

It was just at this time, 1697, when the whole coast was so given up to piracy that the notorious English pirate Captain Kidd appeared in these seas to add to the general terror. On one occasion he escaped from a Dutch and English squadron and got to Rájápur, and off that port plundered a Bombay vessel. His ship was the

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[1] Those who have seen Vishálgad will understand that all this was done to raise the two narrow necks of land across which alone access can be had to the fort, to the level of it.
[2] Kháfi Khán in Elliot, VIII. 370; Grant Duff, 177.
[3] Gemelli in Churchill, III. 192.
[4] Bruce, III. 124.
[5] Ovington, 155.
[6] Grant Duff, 168.
[7] Hamilton in Pinkerton, VIII. 353.
[8] O Chronista, II. 201.

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Adventure galley of thirty guns and thirty oars, and with a crew of 200 Europeans.[1]

It cannot be doubted that in the twenty-seven years which elapsed between the death of Shiváji and that of Aurangzeb the condition of the Konkan had greatly altered for the worse. Both the military and the revenue system of Shiváji fell much into decay under Sambháji, who, Kháfi Khán says, so oppressed the rayats that they fled from his country to that of the Feringis.[2] Although Rájárám tried to return to the old ways yet the success of the Sidi and A'ngria and the generally unsettled state of the country prevented any great measure of reform. The frequent ravaging expeditions of the Moghals and the Sidi in the Northern Konkan, with the fewer but more regular campaigns in the south, must have caused great misery. The Portuguese were utterly unable to protect their possessions. The districts owned by the Sidi were less exposed to external aggression than any other part, yet his was a government that never paid much attention to the wants or the miseries of its native subjects, and his system of revenue exactions was, if more certain, scarcely less oppressive than that of Kalusha. The divisions of authority in the Málvan district already mentioned must have kept the people in a perpetual fever of civil war. Trade of course could not have flourished under these circumstances, and almost the only mention of it that can be found at this time is that on exports from Bombay duties of five per cent were levied by the East India Company, eight per cent by the Portuguese at Thána, and arbitrary exactions by the Moghals at Kalyán.[3]

The civil war amongst the Maráthás which followed almost immediately on the death of Aurangzeb and the release of Sháhu from captivity were not likely to improve the condition of any part of the country, and from this time the Konkan chiefly suffered from the divisions among the Maráthás themselves. Sháhu advanced as far as Rángna, south of the Phonda Ghát, and laid siege to the fort, and Tárábái, widow of Rájárám, fled to Málvan. Sháhu did not however descend into the Konkan, and Tárábái in 1710, having collected a force and being supported by the Sávants, again went up the Gháts and established herself at Kolhápur. In the discords that thus arose between Shiváji's descendants Kánhoji Ángria became the greatest power in the Konkan, having possession of the coast from Sávantvádi to Bombay, and extending his authority into the province of Kalyán.[4] Orme says that Kánhoji held Suvarndurg against Sháhu and that the latter built the Harnai forts in order to reduce him to obedience, but Kánhoji took them.[5] This must probably have happened between 1707 and 1713. The Maráthás in 1707 equipped a fleet of sixty vessels under a leader independent of Ángria to cruise between Bombay and Goa, partly to make what they could by piracy themselves and partly to oppose

[1] Bruce, III. 237, 271. [2] Elliot, VII. 342. [3] Bruce, III. 239. [4] Grant Duff, 187, 192. [5] History, 407.

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the Arab pirates, who were now thoroughly organised and had ships carrying from thirty to fifty guns.[1] Between 1712 and 1720 four actions are recorded between the Portuguese and the Arabs, the first of which was at the mouth of the Rájpuri river. In the last three the Portuguese are said to have been successful, but these successes are spoken of in terms which show the strength and position of the pirates.[2]

In 1713 Kánhoji Angria went over to Sháhu and the concessions then granted were such as to make him practically independent. He received all the great forts on the coast from Khánderi to Vijaydurg, and many inland, including Avchitgad Rájápur and Khárepátan. Báláji Vishvanáth, a Chitpáwan of the family of Bhat and town of Shrivardhan a little north of Bánkot, was the chief agent in the negotiations which led to this arrangement, and this was the first important service of this great man, who was soon afterwards appointed Peshwa, and whose successors so soon eclipsed the Marátha dynasty. The first consequence of the new alliance was the taking from the Sidi of some places which he had held for many years. This he naturally resented, but A'ngria and Báláji Vishvanáth invaded his territory and compelled him to submit.

In 1720 the rights of the Maráthás were acknowledged by the Emperor of Delhi, and the Konkan was included in what was called the Svaráj or Home-rule, over which from this time forward the Musalmáns retained no authority whatever. The various provinces were then assigned to the different great officers of state, and the Chitnis thus got charge of a great part of the Konkan, A'ngria retaining the part already granted to him and being very formidable to all his neighbours.[3] Details of the history of his family and of their relations with other powers will be found in the next section.

During the war between the Sátára and Kolhápur branches of the Maráthás no important operations are recorded in the Konkan, and it appears that the rich district of Málvan was left for Rájárám A'ngria and the Sávants to fight for among themselves. In 1731 the treaty of partition between Sátára and Kolhápur was concluded and in this Kolhápur received the whole of the Konkan south of Vijaydurg, while the fort of Ratnágiri was given to Sháhu in exchange for Kopál.[4] Vijaydurg itself of course remained with the A'ngriás, but by this time Kánhoji was dead, and his successors by their dissensions among themselves relieved the other powers of a formidable enemy. The Maráthás therefore under Báláji Vishvanáth, having now made peace with the Kolhápur party were able to make a real attack on the Sidi, for the bombardment of Janjira was a periodical performance which scarcely deserved the name of serious warfare. The Sidi had retained the districts of Mahád, Ráygad, Dábhol, and Anjanvel. The Pratinidhi in 1733 with the connivance of a notorious pirate called Shaikhji, who was well in the Sidi's confidence, took a force into the districts of the latter which

[1] Bruce, III. 649.
[2] Kloguen, 49-50.
[3] Grant Duff, 186, 193, 200, 203.
[4] Grant Duff, 223; Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 87.

ravaged the country but did little else, and the Sidi's troops gained the fort of Govalkot while the Pratinidhi was close by at Chiplún.[1] The Bombay Government in December of this year entered into their first formal alliance with the Sidi, but this was directed chiefly against Angria and does not seem to have included the defence of the Sidi's territory against the Marátha state.[2] From this time however there was no interruption of the good understanding between the Bombay Government and the Sidis, and the alliance was at this time chiefly valued by the English because it enabled them to obtain supplies of beef, which they could not obtain from the Hindu governments in their more immediate neighbourhood.[3] It was stipulated that, on A'ngria being conquered, Khánderi should go to the English and all the rest of the forts to the Sidi except Kolába, which was to be entirely demolished and never rebuilt except with the consent of both governments. It is remarkable that this treaty was signed by seven of the Sidis and without any reference to their being one head of the government.[4] A writer of that time accordingly speaks of the Janjira government as a republic, and there is no doubt that up almost to the present time (1894) the *gádi* has been looked upon as to some extent elective. Immediately after this the reigning Sidi died, and the dissensions among his sons enabled the Peshwa Bájiráv to interfere. In 1735 he took Ráygad, which had been lost to the Maráthás since 1690, as well as the forts of Tala and Ghosála, and eventually those of Avchitgad and Birvádi were also ceded and a provision made for Sidi Rahman whom the Maráthás had supported.

Thus the rule both of the Sidi and of Angria being broken, and the Moghals got rid of, the Marátha state had again become the chief power in the Konkan. The time had arrived when they might hope to make a successful attack on the Portuguese and by driving them out of their old possessions unite the whole province under Native rule. No particular pretext for attacking the Portuguese was necessary, for war was the natural state of these powers on the coast and peace the exception, and it was not likely that the "Government of the Konkani Bráhmans," as it was called since the Peshwás had become virtually the rulers of the state, should much longer endure the presence of foreigners in their native district. It appeared also in the result that, except in two or three places, the Portuguese were not in a position to offer much defence,[5] although trusting rather to their old prestige than to their present strength, they did not scruple to give the Maráthás provocation. In 1737 they again allied themselves with Sambháji A'ngria and attempted to take Kolába from Mánáji, whom the Peshwa was sent to support.[6] The intolerance as to religious matters from which the native subjects of Portugal suffered has already been described, and it is said that the Hindu inhabitants of Sálsette complained of "the intemperate zeal with which it was attempted to convert them to the

[1] Grant Duff, 231. [2] Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 200. [3] Grant Duff, 288.
[4] Bombay Government Records, XXVI. 10. [5] Bom. Quar. Review, IV. 78, 80.
[6] Grant Duff, 237.

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Roman Catholic faith, and to subject them to the terrors of the Inquisition."[1] The Maráthás therefore invaded Sálsette in April 1737, and having taken Ghodbandar and put the garrison to the sword speedily got command of the Bassein river, and so prevented any succour being sent from Bassein. The fortifications of Thána were incomplete as has already been mentioned, and the Governor of Sálsette retired to Karanja with unnecessary haste.[2] Thána was however defended, and not taken till two assaults had been repulsed, the capitulation being assisted by the Maráthás seizing the families of the defenders and threatening to slaughter them.[3] The English sent men and ammunition to assist in the defence of Bándra, but finding it untenable they induced the Portuguese to destroy the fortifications and abandon the place.[4] The great church of St. Anne with the Jesuits' college, standing on the site of the present slaughter-houses, was then destroyed, and also the church of Our Lady of the Mount now generally known as Mount Mary, which was rebuilt in 1761, the great crosses of the two older buildings alone remaining. There being no other places of much strength in the island, Sálsette was thus practically lost to the Portuguese. The Peshwa thought it necessary to send a very large force to the Konkan, but being at the time much pressed in the north of India was soon obliged to withdraw a great part of it. Encouraged by this the Portuguese in 1738 made some gallant efforts, and at Asheri defeated the Marátha army and were preparing to attempt the recovery of Thána, but it was too late.

In January 1739 Chimnáji Appa assumed command in the Northern Konkan, and took Khatalvada, Dáhánu, Kelva, Shirgaon, and Tárápur. At all these places there were forts, that of Tárápur being the most considerable, and the defence there was very obstinate. There still seemed a chance for the Portuguese, for the Peshwa alarmed at the approach of Nadir Sháh recalled Chimnaji Appa and his force from the Konkan to help to resist the invaders in the north of India. But by this time Vesáva and Dhárávi, the last forts in Sálsette, had surrendered, and the siege of Bassein had commenced and Chimnáji Appa was hero enough to disregard the order of recall.[5] The commandant of Bassein offered to pay tribute to the Maráthás and to humble himself as the Sidi had done, but this was of no avail. The city was invested on February 17, and the capitulation took place on May 16. During the interval the Portuguese showed all the heroism that was possible to a besieged force, and repulsed the attacks which were made with constantly increasing obstinacy. Had they been supported by a fleet they might have held out till the rains should necessitate the retreat of the Marátha army, but Mánáji Angria blockaded the sea approach and their provisions were exhausted. They made frequent and urgent appeals to the Bombay Government to assist them, which, unfortunately for our national fame, were disregarded,[6] and two

[1] Reg. I. of 1880.
[2] Grant Duff, 237.
[3] Bom. Quar. Review, III. 273.
[4] Bom. Quar. Review, IV. 78, 80.
[5] Grant Duff, 237, 240, 242.
[6] Bom. Quar. Review, IV. 82.

different treaties were entered into during the month of April ceding territory near Goa, but were not apparently ratified.[1] They are believed to have lost 800 men during the siege and the Maráthás acknowledge to 5000.[2]

With the surrender of the Capital of the North not only the glory of the Portuguese departed, but also every vestige of their power in the Northern Konkan, for the greater part of the European fazendars abandoned their estates and left the country.[3] Nor were they long allowed to keep their isolated position at Chaul though no operations were conducted against it in 1740. But in that year the Portuguese fleet was destroyed by Ángria,[4] and in January 1741 Chaul was attacked and taken (under the direction of Chimnaji Appa [5]) by Khandoji Mánkar, who in the next year in consideration of his services received the village of Kharoli in the Thal district in inám.[6] After the rains, while on their march from Chaul to Goa, the wretched remains of the Portuguese armies were attacked by Khem Sávant and numbers of them perished.

It does not appear that this destruction of the Portuguese power in India was much regarded by the Portuguese in Europe. In 1744 the King in giving orders to a new Viceroy said scarcely anything about recovering the lost territories except that opportunities were to be watched, but gave minute and particular orders as to commerce, and suggested that the artisans of Thána should be induced to settle in Goa.[7] On two subsequent occasions however the Portuguese made some show of vigour. In 1756 the Maráthás under the influence of Sadáshivráv Bháu had resolved to take Goa. To anticipate them in this the Portuguese Viceroy attacked the Marátha districts near Goa but was defeated and killed.[8] His attack had however the effect of putting an end to the hostilities of the Maráthás. In 1774 the Portuguese Government provoked by the capture of one of their forty-gun ships by the Maráthás determined in revenge to take not only their old province of the North but also Gheria and Suvarndurg, and for this purpose large reinforcements were sent from Europe. The only result was that the Bombay Government in order to forestall them took Thána.

From what has been said in the earlier parts of this work it might reasonably have been expected that the Maráthás, who have never had much reputation for clemency, would have treated the Christians with rigour after the conquest, and that the faith of the great

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[1] Jervis, 129.

[2] Grant Duff, 240, 242. The first man who planted the Peshwa's flag on the fort is said to have been Ránoji Báburáv Khanvilkar, who for his services received eighteen villages in the Northern and Southern Konkan. The present representative of the family was notorious as the prime minister of Malhárráv the late Gáikwár of Baroda.

[3] East India House Selections, III. 774.

[4] Kloguen, 51.

[5] Grant Duff, 256. It is stated in the Bombay Quarterly Review, IV. 89, that Chaul was delivered to the English for surrender to the Maráthás, and this implies that no siege took place, but the writer has thought it safer to follow Grant Duff.

[6] Sadar Adálat Civil Reports (1825), II. 76.

[7] O Chronista, II. 158.

[8] Grant Duff, 294.

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majority of these Christians would not have been steady enough to stand against adversity. The facts however are equally creditable to the Maráthás and to the Christians. The Governor of Bassein indeed in the articles of capitulation got no better terms for the converts than the privilege of three churches within the city, one in the district and one in the island of Sálsette,[1] and the Maráthás are said to have destroyed some of the churches as soon as they invaded Sálsette. The Portuguese monks and other white priests abandoned the district with the fazendárs, as if knowing that they had little to expect from the affection of their flocks when the secular power would no longer help them. But their place was taken by 'Canarins' or black priests from Malabár under a Vicar General, who was also a Canarin, and twenty years after the conquest when Anquetil du Perron travelled through the district the Christian congregations were all flourishing and in no way molested in the exercise of their religion. A good many of their churches and convents were more or less in ruins, and of course Hindu temples had sprung up where none were allowed before, but at Thána the church fêtes and ceremonies were celebrated with the same pomp as at Goa, fifteen native priests being assembled at a function in which Du Perron assisted in the choir: and at Agáshi he found the roads full of people "going to church with as much liberty as in a Christian state."[2] It is clear from this that if the Maráthás were ever inclined to avenge the cruelties of the Jesuits and the Inquisition, they desisted as soon as the European leaders had been got rid of, and allowed their subjects full liberty of conscience.

The Marátha state had now possession of the whole Konkan, except that part held by the Sidi and Ángria, and these powers were, as shown above, so weakened as to be formidable only at sea. The state of Jawhár must also be excepted, for it is said to have had command of all the country between the Gháts and the Bassein boundary from the latitude of Bassein to that of Daman. Still it is evident that this large tract was left to Jawhár simply because it was always considered almost valueless, the total revenue being only 3½ lakhs,[3] and eventually the Maráthás got possession of nearly the whole without any particular opposition. The possessions of the Shirké family must also be mentioned, as they continued to hold territory yielding a revenue of Rs. 75,000 a year down to 1768, when the Peshwa put an end to the small state.[4] The *ináms* were however continued to them, and their representatives now live in a very reduced condition at Kutra, immediately below their old Ghát capital Bahirugad, and are known by the surname of Ráje Shirké. It is now necessary to return to the Ángriás as their downfall in 1756 is the next event of importance in the history of the Konkan.

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[1] Bom. Quar. Review, IV. 84.
[2] Du Perron, I. 384, 426.
[3] Bom. Gov. Sel. XXVI. 15.
[4] Sadar Adálat Civil Reports (1825), II. 458.

SECTION VIII.

THE A'NGRIA'S.

Section VIII.
The Angrias, 1700 - 1756.

The family of Ángria is by caste Marátha, and its splendour may be considered almost to have begun and ended with Kánhoji, although his father Tukáji had early distinguished himself in Shiváji's fleet.[1] It has been already stated that Kánhoji's power rapidly increased during the unsettled days of Sambháji and Sháhu, and in 1713 he was recognised as virtually independent, and was in fact master of all the coast with the forts on it from Bombay to Vijaydurg besides a good deal of the inland country. He made Vijaydurg his capital and in doing so showed himself a sailor of a different sort from Shiváji. It may probably also be owing to the same uncompromising spirit that he was from the first on terms of enmity, more or less pronounced, with the Bombay Government. As early as 1717 the English had already made an attempt on Vijaydurg, but were not successful.[2] In 1719 a force from Bombay attempted to take Khanderi from Ángria, but failed.[3] The then Viceroy at Goa is vaguely said to have chastised Ángria,[4] but in November 1720 the Portuguese found it advisable to unite with the English against him, and they burnt sixteen of his vessels which were lying in the Vijaydurg river, but could do nothing against the fort. In 1722 the same allies attacked Kolába with three British ships of the line and a Portuguese army but failed, and in 1724 the Dutch attacked Vijaydurg with a fleet of seven ships of the line, two bomb ketches and some land forces, but they succeeded no better than the others. Kánhoji was naturally encouraged by these failures, and in 1727 he took the *Darby*, a richly-laden English ship besides many Dutch and French ships at different times, and our East India Company are said at this time to have been put to an annual expense of £50,000 in keeping up an armed squadron to protect their trade against the pirates, of whom Kánhoji was the acknowledged chief. In 1728 however he died and his possessions were soon all in confusion. His eldest legitimate son Sakhoji retained possession of Kolába until his death soon afterwards, when his illegitimate brothers Mánáji and Yesáji were put in charge by Sambháji, the second legitimate son, who lived at Suvarndurg. Mánáji and Yesáji having quarrelled, Mánáji with the assistance of the Portuguese took Kolába and put Yesáji's eyes out. Sambháji then attacked him, but Mánáji got assistance from the Peshwa, to whom he yielded

[1] Grant Duff, 163. [2] Milburn, I. 295. [3] Bom. Quar. Review, III. 57. [4] Kloguen, 50.

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the forts of Kutla (probably Kothigad) and Rájmáchi, and repulsed Sambháji.[1] The war between these two continued for a good many years with various alternations of alliances, but the Bombay Government appear always to have opposed the whole family. In 1730 they made an offensive and defensive alliance with Phond Sávant against the Ángriás generally, and in 1733 a similar one with the Sidi,[2] but these appear to have had no particular result. The next hostilities we hear of were in December 1738 when Commodore Bagwel with four grabs was cruising in search of Sambháji's fleet, and on the 22nd came upon nine of his grabs and thirteen gallivats issuing from the Vijaydurg river. They stood up the coast, but the Commodore immediately bore down on them, and they took refuge in the Rájápur river, displaying all their flags. They ran up the river further than the English vessels could follow them, and the Commodore could only give them a few broadsides, which however did much damage and killed their Admiral.[3] After this it was Mánáji's turn to be troublesome, and he took Karanja and Elephanta, but soon afterwards Sambháji attacked him and took Chaul, Álibág, Ságargad, and Thal. Báláji Bájiráv was sent from the Dakhan to help to defend Kolába, and distinguished himself in an attack on an outpost, and with his assistance Mánáji held his own.[4] In the meanwhile the English drove Sambháji's fleet down as far as Suvarndurg, where they cannonaded his camp and refused to allow him to retire to the fort. He however managed to effect his escape. In 1740 Sambháji took possession of Bharatgad, Bhagvantgad, and the greater part of the Vádi possessions in the Sálshi province, and these were not recovered till 1748.[5] About this time Sambháji died and was succeeded by his half-brother Tuláji. He like the rest, whether rendering or refusing obedience to the Peshwás, never failed to plunder the ships of all those who were not too strong for him. The Sávants and the Kolhápur captains did the same, and these both now and later went among the English by the general name of Málvans,[6] as at an earlier period other pirates were called Sunguiceers from Sangameshvar their principal station.[7]

Matters went on in this way till 1755, when the Portuguese having entirely lost their power, and the Maráthás being on unusually good terms both with the English and the Sidi, the two powers determined to reduce Tuláji Ángria by a joint expedition. The Maráthás were to keep Vijaydurg and the English to receive Bánkot with the sovereignty of the Mahád river and a few villages on its banks.[8] Orme has given a long and interesting account[9] of the operations that followed, and his description of the equipment and manœuvres of the pirates is also too apt to the purpose of this history to allow of much curtailment. Facts related by other authorities and in particular by Ives, who was surgeon on board

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1 Grant Duff, 231; Macpherson, 181. 2 Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 119, 200.
3 Bom. Quar. Review, IV. 75. 4 Grant Duff, 247.
5 Hutchinson, 157. 6 Grant Duff, 288; Field Officer, 163.
7 DeCoutto, XII. 30. 8 Grant Duff, 288. 9 History, I. 407-417.

Admiral Watson's ship at the taking of Gheria, will be interpolated in Orme's narrative:

"The piracies which Ángria exercised upon ships of all nations indifferently, who did not purchase his passes, rendered him every day more and more powerful. The land and sea breezes on this coast, as well as on that of Coromandel, blow alternately in the twenty-four hours, and divide the day, so that vessels sailing along the coast are obliged to keep in sight of land, since the land winds do not reach more than forty miles out to sea. There was not a creek, bay, harbour, or mouth of a river along the coast of his dominions in which he had not erected fortifications and marine receptacles to serve both as a station of discovery and as a place of refuge to his vessels; hence it was as difficult to avoid the encounter of them as to take them. His fleet consisted of grabs and gallivats, vessels peculiar to the Malabár coast. The grabs have rarely more than two masts, although some have three; those of three are about 300 tons burthen, but the others are not more than 150. They are built to draw very little water, being very broad in proportion to their length, narrowing however from the middle to the end, where instead of bows they have a prow, projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley, and covered with a strong deck, level with the main deck of the vessel, from which however it is separated by a bulk-head which terminates the forecastle. As this construction subjects the grab to pitch violently when sailing against a head sea, the deck of the prow is not enclosed with sides as the rest of the vessel is, but remains bare, that the water which dashes upon it may pass off without interruption. On the main deck under the forecastle are mounted two pieces of cannon of nine or twelve pounders, which point forwards through the portholes cut in the bulk-head, and fire over the prow; the cannon of the broadside are from six to nine pounders. The gallivats are large row-boats built like the grab but of smaller dimensions, the largest rarely exceeding seventy tons: they have two masts, of which the mizen is very slight; the main mast bears only one sail, which is triangular and very large, the peak of it when hoisted being much higher than the mast itself. In general the gallivats are covered with a spar deck, made for lightness of split bamboos, and these carry only petteraroes, which are fixed on swivels in the gunnel of the vessel: but those of the largest size have a fixed deck on which they mount six or eight pieces of cannon from two to four pounders. They have forty or fifty stout oars, and may be rowed four miles an hour. Eight or ten grabs, and forty or fifty gallivats, crowded with men, generally composed Ángria's principal fleet destined to attack ships of force or burthen. The vessel no sooner came in sight of the port or bay where the fleet was lying, than they slipped their cables and put out to sea. If the wind blew, their construction enabled them to sail almost as fast as the wind; and if it was calm, the gallivats rowing towed the grabs. When within cannon shot of the chase they generally assembled in her stern, and the grabs attacked her at a distance with their prow guns, firing first only at the masts, and

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taking aim when the three masts of the vessel just opened all together to their view, by which means the shot would probably strike one or other of the three. As soon as the chase was dismasted, they came nearer and battered her on all sides until she struck; and if the defence was obstinate, they sent a number of gallivats with two or three hundred men in each, who boarded sword in hand from all quarters in the same instant.

"The Maráthás who were in possession of the main land opposite to Bombay, had several times made proposals to the English Government in the island, to attack this common enemy with their united forces, but it was not before the beginning of 1755 that both parties happened to be ready at the same time to undertake such an expedition. The Presidency then made a treaty with Rámáji Pant, Báláji Peshwa's general in these parts, and agreed to assist the Maráthás with their marine force in reducing Suvarndurg, Bánkot, and some others of Ángria's forts, which lie near to Chaul, a harbour and fortified city belonging to the Maráthás. Accordingly Commodore James, the commander-in-chief of the Company's marine force in India, sailed on the 22nd of March in the *Protector* of forty-four guns, with a ketch of sixteen guns and two bomb vessels; but such was the exaggerated opinion of Ángria's strongholds, that the Presidency instructed him not to expose the Company's vessels to any risk by attacking them, but only to blockade the harbours whilst the Marátha army carried on their operations by land. Three days after the Marátha fleet, consisting of seven grabs and sixty gallivats, came out of Chaul, having on board 10,000 land forces, and the fleets united proceeded to Comara-bay, where they anchored in order to permit the Maráthás to get their meal on shore, since they are prohibited by their religion from eating or washing at sea. Departing from hence they anchored again about fifteen miles to the north of Suvarndurg when Rámáji Pant with the troops disembarked in order to proceed the rest of the way by land. Commodore James now receiving intelligence that the enemy's fleet lay at anchor in the harbour of Suvarndurg represented to the Admiral of the Marátha fleet, that by proceeding immediately thither they might come upon them in the night, and so effectually blockade them in the harbour that few or none would be able to escape. The Marátha seemed highly to approve the proposal, but had not authority enough over his officers to make any of them stir before the morning, when the enemy discovering them under sail, immediately slipped their cables and put to sea. The Commodore then flung out the signal for a general chase; but as little regard was paid to this as to his former intention; for although the vessels of the Maráthás had hitherto sailed better than the English, such was their terror of Ángria's fleet, that they all kept behind, and suffered the *Protector* to proceed alone almost out of their sight. The enemy on the other hand exerted themselves with uncommon industry, flinging overboard all their lumber to lighten their vessels, not only crowding all the sails they could bend, but also hanging up their garments, and even their turbans, to catch every breath of air. The *Protector*,

however, came within gun-shot of some of the sternmost, but the evening approaching, Commodore James gave over the chase, and returned to Suvarndurg which he had passed several miles. Here he found Rámáji Pant with the army besieging, as they said, the three forts on the main land; but they were firing only from one gun, a four-pounder, at the distance of two miles, and even at this distance the troops did not think themselves safe without digging pits, in which they sheltered themselves covered up to the chin from the enemy's fire. The Commodore, judging from these operations that they would never take the forts, determined to exceed the instructions which he had received from the Presidency, rather than expose the English arms to the disgrace they would suffer, if an expedition in which they were believed by Angria to have taken so great a share, should miscarry. The next day, the 2nd of April, he began to cannonade and bombard the fort of Suvarndurg situated on the island;[1] but finding that the walls on the western side which he attacked, were mostly cut out of the solid rock, he changed his station to the north-east between the island and the main; where whilst one of his broadsides plied the north-east bastions of this fort the other fired on Fort Goa, the largest of those upon the main land. The bastions of Suvarndurg however, were so high, that the *Protector* could only point her upper tier at them, but being anchored within a hundred yards, the musketry in the round tops drove the enemy from their guns, and by noon the parapet of the north-east bastions was in ruins, when a shell from one of the bomb vessels set fire to a thatched house, which the garrison, dreading the *Protector's* musketry, were afraid to extinguish; the blaze spreading fiercely at this dry season of the year, all the buildings of the fort were soon in flames, and amongst them a magazine of powder blew up. On this disaster the inhabitants, men women and children with the greatest part of the garrison, in all near 1000 persons, ran out of the fort, and embarking in seven or eight large boats, attempted to make their escape to Fort Goa, where the enemy after suffering a severe cannonade, hung out a flag as a signal of surrender; but whilst the Maráthás were marching to take possession of it, the governor, perceiving that the Commodore had not yet taken possession of Suvarndurg, got into a boat with some of his most honest men, and crossed over to the island, hoping to be able to maintain the fort until he should receive assistance from Dábhol which is in sight of it. Upon this the *Protector* renewed her fire upon Suvarndurg, and the Commodore finding that the governor wanted to protract the defence until night, when it was not to be doubted that some boats from Dábhol would endeavour to throw succours into the place, he landed half his seamen under cover of the fire of the ships, who with great intrepidity ran up to the gate, and cutting down the sallyport with their axes, forced their way into it; on which the garrison surrendered: the other two forts on the

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[1] The fort of Suvarndurg had at this time fifty guns mounted on the ramparts, and the three forts on the shore eighty between them. Milburn, I. 295.

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main land had by this time hung out flags of truce, and the Maráthás took possession of them.[1] This was all the work of one day, in which the spirited resolution of Commodore James destroyed the timorous prejudices which had for twenty years been entertained of the impracticability of reducing any of Ángria's fortified harbours. On the 8th of April the fleet and army proceeded to Bánkot which surrendered on the first summons, and the Maráthás consented that the Company should keep it. Rámáji Pant was so elated by these successes, that he offered Commodore James 2,00,000 rupees if he would immediately proceed against Dábhol and some other of the enemy's forts a little to the southward of that place; and certainly this was the time to attack them, during the consternation into which the enemy were thrown by the losses they had just sustained. But the monsoon was approaching, and the Commodore having already exceeded his orders, would not venture to comply with the Marátha's request without permission from Bombay. But the Presidency, notwithstanding the unexpected successes of their arms, was so solicitous for the fate of one of their bomb ketches, a heavy flat-bottomed boat incapable of keeping the sea in tempestuous weather, that they ordered him to bring back the fleet into harbour without delay. Accordingly on the 11th he delivered the forts of Suvarndurg to the Maráthás, striking the English flag, which for the honour of their arms he had hitherto caused to be hoisted in them, and on the 15th sailed away with his ships to Bombay: the Marátha fleet at the same time returned to Chaul.

"The Maráthás had in the meantime sent a force from Poona and taken some other forts in the Suvarndurg district and threatened Ratnágiri.[2] Bánkot was not given up till after the rains, when the name of the fort was changed from Himmatgad to Fort Victoria, and eventually the sovereignty of the river and ten villages on it were ceded. This was, excepting Bombay, the first territory the English possessed on the west side of India, and besides being valued for the bullocks that could be obtained there, it soon afterwards was found most useful as a recruiting[3] ground for our native regiments. It was probably also valued as a harbour, for the anchorage was then much better than it has since become, and the river was navigable for large vessels.[4] A treaty regulating the trade of the river was concluded in the following year.[5] After the rains the Maráthás under Rámáji Pant again commenced operations in the Konkan, and early in the year 1756 they took Anjanvel and Dábhol after a siege, and reported the prospect of the immediate capture of Govalkot.[3] They then continued their operations, and before the expedition against Vijaydurg started had reduced all the coast forts north of that without any particular loss, except at Rájápur, where 300 men were killed by an accidental explosion of gunpowder.[6]

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[1] The land forts were of little value except as appendages to Suvarndurg. An examination of the fort at Harnai will prove that the present gateway on the land side is quite modern, the only original gateway having opened on to the rocks facing Suvarndurg. The walls on the land side are much stronger and higher than those towards the sea. [2] Grant Duff, 290. [3] Bánkot Manuscript Diaries.
[4] Milburn, I. 294; Forbes, I. 103. [5] Aitchison, VI. 4. [6] Grant Duff, 291.

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"After the rains it was determined to attack Gheria, but it was so long since any Englishman had seen this place, that trusting to the report of the natives, they believed it to be at least as strong as Gibraltar, and like Gibraltar situated on a mountain inaccessible from the sea. For this reason it was resolved to send vessels to reconnoitre it, which service Commodore James, in the *Protector* with two other ships, performed. He found the enemy's fleet at anchor in the harbour, notwithstanding which he approached within cannon shot of the fort, and having attentively considered it, returned at the end of December to Bombay, and described the place such as it really was, very strong indeed, but far from being inaccessible or impregnable.[1] Upon his representation it was resolved to prosecute the expedition with vigour. The Marátha army under the command of Rámáji Pant marched from Chaul, and the twenty-gun ship, and the sloop of Mr. Watson's squadron, were sent forward to blockade the harbour where they were soon after joined by Commodore James in the *Protector* and another ship which was of 20 guns belonging to the Company. On the 11th of February the Admiral with the rest of the ships arrived. The whole united fleet now consisted of four ships of the line, of 70, 64, 60, and 50 guns, one of 44, three of 20, a grab of 12, and five bomb-ketches, fourteen vessels in all. Besides the seamen, they had on board a battalion of 800 Europeans with 1000 sepoys under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Clive. Ives says that the Marátha army consisted of 5000 or 6000 horse and as many foot. Their fleet was three or four grabs and forty or fifty gallivats, and was lying in the Rájápur creek (about four miles north of Gheria), the small fort of which they had taken before the English fleet arrived.[2] On its appearance Angria was so terrified that he left his town to be defended by his brother and went and put himself into the hands of the Maráthás who having crossed the river at some distance from the sea, were already encamped to the eastward of the *peta*. Here he endeavoured to prevail on Rámáji Pant to accept of a ransom for his fort, offering a large sum of money if he would divert the storm that was ready to break upon him. But the Marátha availing himself of his fear, kept him a prisoner, and extorted from him an order directing his brother to deliver the fortress to the Maráthás, intending if he could get possession of it in this clandestine manner to exclude his allies the English from any share of the plunder. The Admiral receiving intelligence of these proceedings, sent a summons to the fort on the morning after his arrival, and receiving no answer, ordered the ships to weigh in the afternoon as soon as the sea wind set in. They proceeded in two divisions, parallel to each other, the larger covering the bomb-ketches and smaller vessels from the fire of the fort. As soon as they had passed the point of the promontory, they stood into the river, and anchoring along the north side of the fortifications, began, at the distance of fifty yards, to

[1] Ives wrote that there was a large town south of the fort crowded and populous and the houses covered with cadjans. Ives, 80. [2] Ives, 82.

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batter them with 150 pieces of cannon; the bomb-ketches at the same time plied their mortars, and within ten minutes after the firing began, a shell fell into one of Ángria's grabs, which set her on fire; the rest being fastened together with her, soon shared the same fate, and in less than an hour this fleet, which had for fifty years been the terror of the Malabár coast, was utterly destroyed. In the meantime the cannonade and bombardment continued furiously, and silenced the enemy's fire. But the governor did not surrender when the night set in. Intelligence being received from a deserter that he intended to give up the place the next day to the Maráthás, Colonel Clive landed with the troops; and in order to prevent the Maráthás from carrying their scheme into execution, took up his ground between them and the fort.

"Ives states with regard to the occurrences of this day that the Admiral summoned the fort to surrender on the day he arrived (the 11th) but received only a defiance. Next morning he sent another message, which was not replied to. The engagement began about two o'clock by the fort firing on the *Kingfisher*. The firing went on over half an hour before the *Restoration* grab, which had belonged to the East India Company and had been taken by Ángria caught fire. From the grabs the fire was communicated to a large ship lying on the shore, and from that to the arsenal, storehouse, suburbs and city, and even to several parts of the fort, particularly a square tower, where it continued burning all night with such violence that the stone walls appeared like red-hot iron. About 6-30 the fire of the fort was entirely silenced, but the bomb vessels continued throwing in shells till daylight. Clive landed about 9 P.M.[1]

"Early in the morning the Admiral summoned the place again, declaring that he would renew the attack and give no quarter if it was not delivered up to him in an hour: in answer to which the governor desired a cessation of hostilities until the next morning, alleging that he only waited for orders from A'ngria to comply with the summons. The cannonade was therefore renewed at four in the afternoon; and in less than half an hour the garrison, unable to stand the shock any longer, called out to the advanced guard of the troops on shore that they were ready to surrender, upon which Lieutenant-Colonel Clive immediately marched up and took possession of the fort. It was found that notwithstanding the cannonade had destroyed most of the artificial works upon which they fired, the rock remained a natural and almost impregnable bulwark; so that if the enemy had been endowed with courage sufficient to have maintained the place to extremity, it could only have been taken by regular approaches on the land side. There were found in it 200 pieces of cannon, six brass mortars, and a great quantity of ammunition and military and naval stores of all kinds: the money and effects of other kinds amounted to 120,000 pounds sterling. All this booty was divided amongst the captors, without

1 Ives, 82.

any reserve either for the nation or the Company. Besides the vessels which were set on fire during the attack, there were two ships, one of them of forty guns, upon the stocks, both of which the captors destroyed.

"Ives describes the cannonade on the second day as longer than Orme says. A magazine in the fort was blown up by it about 2 P.M. and the signal of surrender shown at 4. But the governor not being willing to admit the troops that night fire was again renewed, and full submission made at 5-15. Clive had been making his approaches all this time and had greatly annoyed the enemy with his cannon. The colonel and the whole army marched into the fort on the 14th at sunrise, and found in it ten English and three Dutch prisoners. Our loss in killed and wounded amounted to about twenty.

"Whilst the fleet were employed in taking on board the plunder, the Maráthás sent detachments to summon several other forts, which surrendered without making any resistance. Thus in less than a month they got possession of all the territories wrested from them by Ángria's predecessors, and which they had for seventy years despaired of ever being able to recover. In the beginning of April the fleet returned to Bombay, where Mr. Watson repaired his squadron."

Orme in this says nothing of the charges of treachery and bad faith which have so often been made against the British leaders at Gheria.[1] It is not necessary here to go into the question, but the following seems a fair statement of the case: "The allies (Maráthás and English) seem to have been quite as desirous of outwitting each other as of overcoming the enemy. Both parties meditated an exclusive appropriation of the booty which was anticipated and both took much pains to attain their object. The English were successful. The place fell into their hands, and their Marátha friends were disappointed of the expected prize."[2] This capture of Vijaydurg is one of the few events that have taken place in the Konkan which is thought worthy of mention by all the historians of British India, and it may be mentioned that after Admiral Watson's death in the following year the East India Company erected a monument to him in Westminster Abbey, and that a pillar commemorative of the capture of Suvarndurg is still standing at Shooter's Hill near London.

Tuláji Ángria's family were taken in the fort and he himself sent as a prisoner to a fort near Ráygad and kept in confinement till his death.[3] The tombs of Tuláji and his six wives, one of whom became a *sati*, are shown outside the fort at Vijaydurg. His two sons escaped after twelve or fourteen years' captivity and were protected in Bombay.

The Bombay Government were now exceedingly anxious to keep Vijaydurg and give back Bánkot, but the Maráthás could not be induced to consent to this, as the possession of this fort had been

[1] Grant Duff, 291; Mill, III. 172 & note. [2] Thornton, I. 182. [3] Grant Duff, 292.

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the Peshwa's chief object in making the treaty and the expedition with the English.[1]

As the other branch of the Ángria family which retained the Kolába principality for nearly a hundred years longer never took any prominent part in the affairs of the coast, it is as well to mention here the little that need be said about them. Mánáji was in alliance with the Maráthás till his death in 1759, when he was succeeded by his son Rághoji, who lived and reigned till 1793. He did not forget the piratical instincts of the family, but Forbes who passed through his territories in 1771 on his way from Dásgaon to Bombay heard from some Europeans who were in his service that he was generally beloved by his people and less oppressive than most Marátha princes. He resided in the island of Kolába (as his successors continued to do), where were the palace treasury and other public buildings, but the stables gardens and larger edifices for which the fort could afford no accommodation were at Álíbág.[2] Rághoji was succeeded by his son Mánáji, who was first rejected and then acknowledged by the Peshwa and finally deposed by Daulatráv Sindia in 1799 in favour of another member of the family. But the grandson of the last Mánáji eventually succeeded, and died just before the conquest of the Peshwa's territories by the English.[3] By this time the state had been reduced by gradual encroachments to a very small compass, and the whole revenue did not exceed three lákhs of rupees. The Rája was however considered independent but received investiture from the Peshwa.[4] In 1840 on the death of the last of the Ángriás of the direct and legitimate line the state lapsed to the British Government. Since that the buildings in the fort of Kolába have gone to ruin.

The fort of Ságargad, four miles from Álibág, which is said to have been built by Kánoji Ángria, must have dominated the whole of the Álibág sub-division, except so much as was protected by the Chaul forts. It is very extensive and might certainly have held a large number of troops, but the fortifications cannot be called strong, and the unsubstantial walls and gateways differ much from those of Shiváji's fortresses. The appearance of the fort however from some points is remarkably fine. The outer walls surround the top of the hill, which in many places has a good natural scarp. At the south end the hill stretches out in a narrow tongue, and at the end of this is a tapering pinnacle of rock detached from the hill by a narrow chasm to a considerable depth. It may be assumed that there was no fort here in the sixteenth century as the hill is never mentioned by Portuguese writers.

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[1] Grant Duff, 292. [2] Oriental Memoirs, I. 225.
[3] Grant Duff, 506, 531; Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 181.
[3] Elphinstone in East India House Selections, IV. 153.

SECTION IX.

THE MARATHÁS FROM THE FALL OF THE ÁNGRIÁS TO THE ACCESSION OF BÁJIRÁV.

1756 TO 1796.

Section IX.

The Marathas, 1756-1796.

The chief events in the history of the Konkan between 1739 and 1760 have been related in the last section as referring mostly to the Angriás. A little more must be said to show the general condition of the country during that period, and then the regular course of its history subsequently to 1760 will be taken up.

From the time that the Maráthás by expelling the Portuguese became the paramount power in the North and a great part of the the South Konkan, a period of comparative peacefulness, and therefore of prosperity, began. The English Government at Bombay now first appear on the scene with sufficient influence to interfere with effect among the coast powers. The first treaty they entered into with the Maráthás was concluded at Bassein in 1739 immediately after the capture of that place. It was chiefly occupied with the commercial relations of the two governments, the admission of the Maráthás to the Máhim river (Bándra creek), and the granting of passes by each government to trading vessels. One stipulation shows in a strong light the insecurity of the seas outside Bombay, and the little command the Maráthás had over it, namely that their fishing boats carrying provisions or goods from Máhim to Vesáva should be protected by two fighting gallivats of the English.

The Maráthás however seem to have made as good arrangements as were practicable for the defence of their new possessions and the protection of their subjects. In 1760 the fort of Bassein was in good repair and the gate on the south-east had been closed. The fort at Dáhánu had just been repaired in order to protect the inhabitants against the pirates. The fort at Tárápur was also repaired and a new fort was being built at Kelva.[1] As to their treatment of their subjects other than Hindus mention has been already made of their tolerance towards the Christians of Sálsette and Bassein. Towards the Musalmáns of the North Konkan their conduct was equally praiseworthy. The Portuguese had allowed no *kázis* in their territory, but Báláji Bájiráv re-established the office, bestowing it apparently on Musalmáns who had done service to the Maráthás, and endowing it with *ináms*. He made the *kázi* of Trombay the head of all those in the North Konkan, the *kázis* of Kalyán Bhiwndi and other places being his *náibs*. Similarly, though probably dating from earlier times, the *kázi* of Thal was the head of those in the present Kolába district. The condition of Sálsette in 1760 is said

[1] Aitchison's Treaties, III. 10.

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to have been such that it was full of villages almost all Christian and returned to the cultivators of its soil more than twenty-four lákhs of rupees a year.[1] This must have been an exaggeration, but it is likely that the toleration in religion shown to the inhabitants of whatever creed made them endure without much complaining the additional taxes which the Maráthás imposed immediately after the conquest.

The state of the district between Bombay and Gheria may be gathered from the last section, and all that can be said about the district of Málvan is that it was, as ever, distracted by the strifes of the A'ngriás, the Sávants, and the Kolhápur Maráthás, but until the downfall of the A'ngriás their influence over it appears to have been the strongest.

In 1760 the Maráthás thought it time to recommence operations against Janjira, and Rámáji Pant Phadnavis, the Sar Subhedár of the Konkan, besieged the island assisted by a corps of Portuguese. The English took part with the Sidi and hoisted the British flag at Janjira[2] and thus the Maráthás had a good cause of quarrel with the Bombay Government. But the disastrous battle of Pánipat in 1761, the death of the Peshwa Báláji Bájiráv, and the succession of a minor, with the internal dissensions which followed, restrained for a time the aggressive spirit of the Maráthás. Raghunáthráv, during the youth of the Peshwa Mádhavráv, aspired to rule the Marátha state, and was anxious to keep on good terms with the English, who now desired to possess territory. As most convenient to Bombay their first designs were on Sálsette and Bassein,[3] but Raghunáthráv was not yet prepared to yield places so valuable and so lately conquered, and therefore the articles of agreement now concluded with him contained no territorial concession except a very doubtful one of the island of Underi or Hennery.[4] The whole tone of the agreement, however, shows that the English were now in a much stronger position than they had ever been before, and the independence of the Sidi was so far secured that the Maráthás undertook to restore his territories and not again molest them. By 1766 the Peshwa Mádhavráv had established his own power and so far retrieved the position of the state that the wish of the English to become possessed of Sálsette or even of the islands in Bombay harbour received no attention. Thus matters continued till 1771, when with the death of Mádhavráv began those misfortunes which ended in the destruction of the Marátha state in 1818.

Grant Duff looks on Mádhavráv as superior in character and abilities to any of his predecessors, and though he was only twenty-seven when he died, "he is deservedly celebrated for his firm support of the weak against the oppressive, of the poor against the rich, and, as far as the constitution of society permitted, for his equity to all. He made no innovations; he improved the system

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[1] Du Perron, I. 380, 385. [2] Grant Duff, 324. [3] Grant Duff, 324.
[4] Aitchison's Treaties, III. 22.

established, endeavoured to amend defects without altering forms, and restricted a corruption which he could not eradicate."[1] So also Elphinstone says of him that "he was the first who introduced order into the internal administration, and showed a sincere desire to protect his subjects from military violence, and to establish something like a regular dispensation of justice."[2] It will be useful therefore here to consider the Marátha system of government as it existed at this time for the Konkan, for it is certain that in the troubles which henceforward more or less encompassed the state under such degenerate descendants of the first Peshwás as Raghunáthráv and his son Bájiráv, the limits of authority were but little attended to and the good of the country was entirely neglected; yet while Nána Phadnavis' power was untramelled, the revenue management of some of the districts at least was regular and systematic.[3]

There was from the first a Sar Subhedár of the Konkan, four or five other provinces being ruled by an officer of the same rank and title. His residence was at Bassein,[4] the new town of which was after its occupation by the Maráthás called Bájipur. Under the Sar Subhedár were the *mámlatdárs*, whose districts were much larger than those of the present officers of the same name, and generally yielded about five lákhs of rupees. The amount of revenue expected was fixed by the government at the beginning of the year, and the *mámlatdár* was allowed to levy a moderate extra percentage for himself. He was encouraged in Mádhavráv's time, but apparently not obliged, to live in his districts.[5] There was generally no one in authority between the *mámlatdár* and the *pátils* of the villages; and as criminal and civil justice and police were also administered by the Sar Subhedár the *mámlatdárs* and the *pátils*, it is evident that the latter class must in many cases have had great power. Under this system a few powerful officials ruled large districts in which they were not necessarily resident, holding office only from year to year and with power to pay themselves by percentages: and although this may have worked well enough under the strict and intelligent supervision of Mádhavráv, yet under such rulers as his immediate predecessors and successors it must have been oppressive in the highest degree. And judging by what we are told of the Marátha government of Sálsette it was so,[6] for it is not likely that the administration would be more severe on the people there than in the older possessions which were valued less highly. The ablest of the *mhátrás* who have already been mentioned as village headmen under the Portuguese were made *pátils* by Khandoji Mánkar the first *subhedár* of Sálsette,[6] and this officer began by raising the assessment of all lands ten per cent above what it had been under the Portuguese, and by establishing a house-tax, a tobacco-tax, and

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[1] Grant Duff, 326, 352.
[2] East India House Selections, IV. 146.
[3] Chaplin's Report (1824), 144.
[4] Grant Duff, 324.
[5] Grant Duff, 354. Thus Forbes states that in 1771 the governor of Mahád lived at Poona, while his diván cruelly oppressed the people. Oriental Memoirs, I. 194.
[6] Reg. I. of 1808.

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a shop-tax or *mohtarfa*. Many additional taxes were afterwards imposed,[1] and wherever there seemed room for getting in a fresh one it was levied, even although it might apply only to two or three villages. Sálsette was divided into seven districts, each under a *haváldár* and *kárkuns*, and it would appear from this also that there were no regular civil officers between the *subhedár* and the *pátils*. The island, however, notwithstanding these heavy taxations is said to have been prosperous till the death of Báláji Bájiráv in 1761. Returns of the year 1768 show that the district of Kalyán, which extended from the Pen river to the Vaitarna and from the Gháts about thirty miles towards the sea and contained 742 villages, besides the towns of Kalyán and Bhiwndi, had a revenue of 4½ lákhs from the land and 2½ from customs.[2] This was undoubtedly a very large amount for such a district considering the circumstances of the times. On the other hand Forbes' description of the districts he passed through in 1771 between Álíbág and Dásgaon does not give one the idea of the country being much worse off as to cultivation and population than it is now.[3]

The first event in the Konkan after the accession of Náráyanráv in 1771 was the reduction of Ráygad, the *haváldár* of which had been for some months in rebellion. About the same time a British envoy was sent to reside at Poona, with the chief object of obtaining the cession of Sálsette Bassein and the islands of Bombay harbour,[4] which the Court of Directors had now for several years looked on as a matter of the highest importance, declaring in 1769[5] that Sálsette Bassein and their dependencies and the Maráthás' proportion of the Surat provinces were all that they sought for on the west side of India. Sálsette was wanted because its produce almost supplied Bombay, and with Karanja and Bassein quite sufficed for the wants of the English. Bassein was necessary for the provision of timber for the Company's dockyard.[6] Some of the inhabitants of the island are said to have treated with the Bombay Government for its delivery a little later than this.[7] After the death of Náráyanráv the ambition and unpopularity of Raghunáthráv made the alliance of the English very necessary to him, notwithstanding which he at the end of 1774 positively refused to surrender the coveted territory. But just at this time it was rumoured that a Portuguese armament was on the way from Europe to recover Sálsette, and the Bombay Government being determined that no European nation should again settle themselves so close to Bombay resolved to take the island by force. Thána had just been reinforced by 500 Maráthás: but on December 12 a force of 600 European and 1200 Native troops were sent up the creek from Bombay. The batteries were opened on the twentieth; on the twenty-seventh an attempt was made to fill up the ditch, but was repulsed with the loss of 100 Europeans. On the following evening, however, the fort was carried by assault with

[1] Reg. I. of 1808. [2] Kalyán Manuscript Diaries. [3] Oriental Memoirs, I. 204.
[4] Grant Duff, 359, 371. [5] Mill, III. 603. [6] Historical Account, 9.
[7] House of Commons Reports, VIII. 43.

trifling loss on our side and the greater part of the garrison was put to the sword. Commodore Watson who commanded the naval force had previously been mortally wounded.[1] More than a hundred cannon were found on the walls, but most of them had been damaged or dismounted during the siege.[2]

In the meantime a small force under Colonel Keating had been sent against Vesáva, and two attempts at escalade were repulsed. But on the fourth day when our batteries opened the fort surrendered. Colonel Keating then took another detachment against Karanja, the fort on the top of which was small, badly constructed, and mounted only fourteen guns. This was soon evacuated, and Elephanta and Hog Island were then surrendered without resistance.[3] Thus by New Year's Day of 1775 Sálsette and its dependencies, including Bassein, were in the possession of our Government, and as if to show that Sálsette was not to be given up, the fortifications of Thána were immediately improved by the construction of a glacis and esplanade.[4] Three months later Raghunáthráv, now hard-pushed by what was called the ministerial party of the Marátha state, ceded Sálsette and other possessions to the English[5] by a treaty signed at Surat, and from this arose what is known in history as the First Marátha War. Bassein was, however, restored to the Maráthás[5] and Dásgaon and Kumla, two of the villages belonging to the English on the Bánkot river which had been taken by the Maráthás in February 1775, were retained by them till 1784, it may be presumed by arrangement.[6]

No mention is made anywhere of a declaration of war against the Maráthás but in the same month (December 1774) in which Thána was taken there was a rather serious sea fight off Gheria. The *Revenge* of twenty-eight guns and the *Bombay* grab of twenty-four fell in there with the whole Marátha fleet consisting of the Admiral's ship of forty-four guns, three of twenty-four to thirty-two each, five ketches of twelve to fourteen each, and ten gallivats of six to ten each. The four largest bore down on the English ships, but after a warm engagement the Admiral's ship took fire and blew up, and the rest of the fleet fled and got under shelter of Gheria fort. The two English ships saved thirty-four men out of 420 on board the Admiral's ship and sent them into Gheria.[7]

In 1776 the internal dissensions of the Marátha state enabled an impostor to obtain some power, and circumstances made him choose the Konkan as the field of his exploits. He was known as Sadáshiv Chimnáji professing to be the son of Chimnáji Appa and to have escaped from the field of Pánipat, and he had been for

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[1] Grant Duff, 373-74. [2] Forbes, I. 452. [3] House of Commons Reports, VIII. 166.
[4] Grant Duff, 376; Aitchison's Treaties, III. 24.
[5] Mill, III. 608, 619. As nothing is said of the taking of Bassein by any of the authorities it must be assumed that it was effected by arrangement.
[6] Bánkot Manuscript Diaries.
[7] Parsons, 217. Parsons sailed in the *Revenge* not long after this, so his account may be relied on. Grant Duff (page 386) seems to make the date a little later.

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some time in confinement at Ratnágiri in charge of the Subhedár Rámchandra Paránjpe. This man released him and he soon got a large force together, and by the end of the rains had taken twenty of the Konkan forts and had a following of 20,000 men. He marched through the Konkan and soon had possession of most of it, and in October went up the Borghát. There however he was attacked, and being driven down again tried to get protection at Bombay, as the Government had to some extent countenanced him, but not getting admittance he went on to Kolába. Rághoji Ángria there took him prisoner and sent him to Poona, where he was soon afterwards put to death. A force was then sent into the Konkan under Bháuráv Phanse and speedily reduced it to obedience. Raghunáthráv, now an exile, and ready to ally himself with any one, had left Surat with the ostensible purpose of joining the pretended Sadáshiv Bháu, but had been compelled to seek shelter at Tárápur, from whence he came in November to Bombay in one of the Company's vessels.[1] There was at this time owing to the treaty of Purandhar peace between the English and Maráthás, but in January 1777 it was reported from Goa that the Marátha fleet had left Gheria with the design of attacking the *Revenge* and the *Bombay* grab, so the two vessels sailed off to look for them. After searching in vain about Gheria the Marátha fleet was found on February 16 at the entrance of a port of theirs called Cole Arbour, three frigates, five ketches and ten gallivats. The two ships went within gunshot of them, but they declined action.[2]

To the year 1777 also belongs the account of a curious intrigue carried on by an adventurer named St. Lubin in the name of the French Government. It is not clear how far he was authorised by that Government, but it appears certain that his enterprise was made with their knowledge. He arrived on the coast in a French merchant ship in March or April 1777, the port of landing being called "*Collaby*, a place at the entrance into the river of Chaul." The cargo consisting of artillery, firearms, copper, and cloth, was landed at Chaul, and an escort of twenty-five Arab sepoys, an elephant, twenty camels, and some horse was sent from Poona, with a palanquin, to conduct St. Lubin thither. On his arrival he was well received by Nána Phadnavis, and he presented credentials from the King of France, which the French authorities in India, as well as the English, declared to be forgeries. Nána Phadnavis, however, favoured him, probably with no other object than to annoy the English, whose jealousy of French influence in India was notorious. In January 1778 the Bombay Government were informed that an agreement had been signed at Poona between the ministers and St. Lubin by which Revdanda or Chaul was to be made over to the French, so as to serve them as a port for the disembarkation of troops, and this information is said to have strengthened our Government in their resolution to support Rághoba. But negotiations were still going on with the ministers, and St. Lubin

[1] Grant Duff, 395, 398. [2] Parsons, 243.

was at last dismissed from Poona in July or August 1778, having before this unsuccessfully applied to the Portuguese authorities to allow French troops to march through their possessions. By this time it had apparently become plain to the Marátha government that they would gain nothing by further negotiations with him.[1] But the question of the cession of Chaul and Revdanda to the French was again under discussion in 1786 :[2] so that the French, who were at this time pressing us so hard in the south of India, would seem to have entertained the idea of opposing us near Bombay also.

By the autumn of 1778 Raghunáthráv was again in the ascendant, and on the pretext that the ministerial party had not observed the treaty of Purandhar a new engagement was entered into by our Government with him under which he was to be recognised as Peshwa, and the province of Bassein and the island of Khánderi were to be ceded to Bombay.[3] This led two years later to the only serious campaign in the Konkan in which our troops were ever engaged. The advanced party of the force intended to conduct Raghunáthráv to Poona, took possession of the Borghát, and the main body of the troops left Bombay on November 23, and after taking the fort at Belápur and leaving in it a garrison of sixty men disembarked at Panvel where they remained for several days. After a further unnecessary delay the force went up the Ghát on December 23.[4] The unfortunate events that followed, including the disgraceful convention of Vadgaon do not belong to the history of the Konkan, but while the army was above the gháts all supplies had to be sent from below, and to keep the road open between Panvel and Khopavli (Campolee) a company of Europeans, three of sepoys, and two guns were sent out under the command of Colonel Egerton. Raghunáthráv had also a force at Kalva opposite to Thána, but the enemy had about the district five thousand horse which had come down the Kására Ghát. It appears on the whole that communications between Panvel and Khopavli were not generally kept open, and that the two parties in the Konkan were pretty equally matched.[5]

Negotiations occupied the whole of 1779, and in October of that year the ministerial party at Poona were so assured of their position that Nána Phadnavis[6] told General Goddard that the surrender of Sálsette and of Raghunáthráv were essential preliminaries to

[1] Grant Duff, 399, 404; Historical Account, 115-170. [2] Grant Duff, 468.
[3] Aitchison's Treaties, III. 40. [4] Grant Duff, 412. [5] Hist. Account, 176, 179.
[6] Báláji Janárdhan Bhánu, commonly called Nána Phadnavis, was a native of Velás, a village adjoining Bánkot and within three or four miles of Shrívardhan, the birthplace of Báláji Vishvanáth the first Peshwa of the family that afterwards ruled at Poona. He built a temple at Velás in a romantic situation and supplied it with water brought from the cliff above. He also built at a cost of twelve lákhs the large tank at Cámpoli, and a rest-house for Brahman travellers close by. Nána's brother Gangadhar was Subedhár of Vijaydurg and there built the temple of Rámeshvar, which is remarkable by its gloomy position, and by the road down to it being cut through the solid rock at a very steep incline.

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the making of any treaty. Active operations being then begun various posts between Sálsette and the Gháts were occupied by our troops early in 1780,[1] chiefly to prevent the Maráthás from cutting off supplies from Bombay; for Sálsette which had formerly been so flourishing and prosperous was now pining in decay, so that a few years afterwards it is described as "not cultivating a sufficient quantity of grain to maintain the town and garrison of Thána."[2] This may no doubt be attributed to our Government having held to the Marátha system introduced after the death of Bálàji Bájiráo of farming the lands to the highest bidder. The main part of the army was employed in Gujarát, and it was not till May that Colonel Hartley was sent into the Konkan.[3] A small detachment had possession of Kalyán, and was besieged by a large Marátha army, which was to make the attack on May 25, but Colonel Hartley fortunately arrived on the twenty-fourth, and beating up the Marátha camp in the night drove them out of that part of the Konkan. Two battalions were left at Kalyán for the rains, and on August 3 an attempt was made to surprise the fortress of Malangad (Bhau Malan) which was not successful.[3] Our force, however, occupied the lower works of the fort, and was there surrounded by 3000 Maráthás until relieved by Colonel Hartley on October 1. The next day the Maráthás again took up a threatening position, but Hartley attacked them with such spirit that they shortly afterwards retreated up the Gháts. The rigours of this war are shown by the fact of three emissaries of the Poona government having been blown from guns at Thána in October.[4]

The whole army was now ordered down from Gujarát to the Konkan, the Europeans coming by sea; but General Goddard with the rest of the troops marched from Surat to Bassein. He took twenty-eight days doing this, from the roads being still so deep and the rivers full, and arrived before Bassein on November 13. The fortress at this time is described as a regular polygon without outworks of any description,[5] but it was strong enough to require the siege to be carried on by regular approaches. The first battery of six guns and six mortars was 900 yards distant from the fort and was opened on November 28. On December 9, a battery of nine heavy guns at a distance of 500 yards was opened, and at the same time another battery of twenty mortars. On the tenth, when a breach was nearly effected, a conditional offer of surrender was made but refused, and next morning the garrison surrendered at discretion. The loss on the British side was but small.[6] In the meantime the Marátha chiefs had made great efforts to send down troops, and Hartley had been constantly engaged in the neighbourhood of Kalyán and the Borghát and had a large number of sick and wounded. He however on December 8 moved to Titvála in the direction of Bassein to prevent the Marátha force cutting him off

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[1] Grant Duff, 428, 433-34.
[2] Reg. I. of 1808; Hové, 12-14.
[3] Grant Duff, 437.
[4] Bánkot Manuscript Diaries.
[5] Field Officer, 137.
[6] Mill, IV. 299; Thornton, II. 191.

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from Goddard;[1] and having taken up a strong position in the hills east of Bassein, afterwards known as Hartley's Trap,[2] was for the next three or four days exposed to the constant attacks of the Maráthás, whom he always repulsed with heavy loss though suffering but little himself. In one of these attacks Rámchandra Ganesh was killed, and Haripant Phádke succeeded to the comn and of the Marátha army. Immediately on the surrender of Bassein Goddard hastened to join Hartley, and on the thirteenth the army was united.

The next operation was the reduction of the small island-fort of Arnála, ten miles north of Bassein, and it was not until preparations were made for bombarding it from Agáshi on the mainland that the commandant on January 18, 1781, surrendered.[3] It was now determined to threaten Poona rather than secure the Konkan, and the army marched across to the Gháts, and having met with little opposition forced the Borghát on February 8 and occupied Khandála, General Goddard with the head-quarters remaining at Khopavli. Some negotiations followed, after which 12,000 men under Parashrám Bháu Patvardhan were sent into the Konkan, and getting between Goddard's force and Bombay, they, on the night of March 15, attacked a detachment of two regiments with a convoy of stores which had reached Chauk on their way from Panvel. The English force suffered severely, but with the assistance of a reinforcement from Khopavli the whole convoy was brought into the head-quarters camp on the seventeenth. Soon after this Holkar arrived to reinforce Parashrám Bháu, and the Marátha force now amounting to 25,000 cavalry attacked a large detachment which had been sent to Panvel with unloaded bullocks to bring up stores. The convoy got back from Panvel after a three days' march in which the constant attacks of the Maráthás caused a loss of 106 killed and wounded. The army was now ready to return for the rains to Kalyán and Bombay, but the Maráthás had in the meantime assembled all along that part of the Gháts in great force, and immediately on Goddard leaving the Borghát open, Haripant Phádke followed, and took a considerable quantity of baggage and ammunition, and though the Maráthás dared not molest the army when in camp, yet on the 20th 21st and 23rd of April during the march they so harassed our troops that Goddard's loss before reaching Panvel was 466 killed and wounded, including eighteen European officers. A great part of the army was from here sent down the coast, and the rest after remaining some weeks encamped at Panvel, were sent to Kalyán for the rains.[4]

During the progress of these events Residents had been appointed at Belápur, Kalyán, and Karanja, and from their reports some idea of the state of the country may be gained. The chief object of the Residents was of course to collect the revenues, and in February

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1 Grant Duff, 439.
2 Field Officer, 137.
3 Grant Duff, 440, 442; Field Officer, 321.
4 Mill, IV. 301; Grant Duff, 444.

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1781 (before the operations of that year about Kalyán and the Gháts had begun) it is reported that "Badlápur and Dámod, which were considerable towns, and every village hut and stack on the high road between Khopavli and Kalyán had been burnt, and the inhabitants for the most part fled." The non-return of seventy-five carts and forty-four oxen which had been taken from Ágáshi by the army, would, it was said, cause great distress to the district of Bassein.[1]

No further operations took place in the Konkan after the rains, and in March 1782 the treaty of Salbye was concluded[2] by which all the recent conquests including Bassein were restored to the Maráthás, though the restoration was not absolutely made for upwards of a year,[3] and the cession of Sálsette, Elephanta, Karanja, and Hog Island to the English finally confirmed. No further change of any importance was made in the governing powers of the Konkan for the next thirty-five years, but it may here be mentioned that in 1782 the Maráthás, who had gradually taken from the Jawhár Rája the greater part of his territories, confirmed him in the possession of the small remainder, which he holds to this day.[4] In 1783-84, a dispute which the Marátha state had with the Pant Pratinidhi of Vishálgad about the districts near Ratnágiri held by them jointly was settled by a treaty. These districts included a considerable part of the Sangameshvar Ratnágiri and Rájápur sub-divisions, the Peshwa's *subhedár* at Ratnágiri being the chief authority of that government. The river and port of Sangameshvar are mentioned in this treaty as if they were of importance, and among other stipulations is one that the *khots* and the *pátils* who used to be kept two months in Vishálgad fort for the settlement of their accounts, must not in future be detained more than four days.[5]

It is now time to return to the affairs of the coast, where piracy still flourished not less than before the fall of Angria. In 1765 the piracies on the coast south of Vijaydurg induced the Bombay Government to send a force which took Málvan from the Kolhápur authorities and Ráiri from the Sávants.[6] The name of the island-fort at Málvan was changed from Sindhudurg to Fort Augustus, but in the beginning of the following year the place was restored on payment of Rs. 3,60,000.[7] A promise to pay a further sum was made, and permission given for the establishment of a factory at Málvan, which does not appear to have been made use of. Ráiri was not returned till October 1766, because our Government and the Sávants could not agree as to the price of it.[8] Eventually Rs. 80,000 were paid, and the village and the district of Vengurla was made over and mortgaged for thirteen years.[9] The mortgagee however was not permitted to realize the revenues, and the agreement to abstain

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1 Belápur Kalyán and Karanja Manuscript Diaries.
2 Aitchison's Treaties, III. 49; Mill, IV. 411.
3 Grant Duff, 457.
4 Government Selections, XXVI. 15.
5 Thomas' Treaties, 558.
6 Grant Duff, 508-510.
7 Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 91.
8 Ráiri Manuscript Diaries.
9 Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 125.

from piracy was not observed either by the Kolhápur state or the Sávants.[1] The Bombay Government therefore at the end of the thirteen years refused to restore Vengurla, on which the Sávants in 1780 took it, plundering both public and private property. The Peshwa had in the meantime established a fleet at Vijaydurg under a Marátha named Anandráo Dhulap, whose family remained in power until 1812, and whose descendants still have a small property in the neighbourhood, and though entirely impoverished are considered fit to marry with the families of the Gáikwár and other princes. The Peshwa also hadanother fleet under the Sar Subhedár of Bassein[2] and after 1775 his officers paid no respect even to English ships, which they took if they could, and only restored if the capture was quickly and clearly proved against them. On account of these various piratical fleets the coasting vessels could not at this time ply without being convoyed by the Company's vessels. Sixty or eighty of them generally sailed from Bombay to Surat under a convoy of one or two ships. In 1774 five or six Portuguese merchantmen sailed from Goa to Surat convoyed by a sixty-four gun ship, but were attacked by the Maráthás, the frigate put to flight, and the rest taken into Gheria.[1] In 1780 a ship carrying despatches from the Court of Directors was taken off the coast and carried to Vijaydurg, and the officer sent as a prisoner to Rasálgad, one of the Konkan forts visible from Mahábaleshvar. A more serious affair took place in 1783 after peace had been concluded between the Bombay Government and the Maráthás. The *Ranger*, a ship of the Bombay Marine, siled from Bombay on April 5 with several military officers on board: on the eighth when near Gheria she was attacked by Dhulap, and after a fight of five hours was captured and taken into Gheria, where Dhulap denied all knowledge of the peace. Two officers were killed and three besides the commander of the vessel wounded, and no communication was received at Bombay from the survivors till May 23, when a letter of May 5 arrived. The prisoners were released on the twenty-seventh, and arrived in Bombay in the *Ranger* on the twenty-ninth, she being too much disabled to proceed on her voyage. The bad faith of the Poona government was shown by Dhulap having displayed in the presence of some of the officers the ornaments sent to him from Poona in honour of the achievement.[3]

The Ángriás who still held Kolába were dependent on the Peshwa, and the Sidis retained their old independence, but were allies of the English. In 1784, however, the latter were parties to an agreement by which the rightful heir to the throne who had been dispossessed by another of his family gave up all his rights in the Janjira territories to the Peshwa in exchange for an estate in Gujarát, and he thus became Nawáb of Sachin, and the alliance between Bombay and Janjira was dissolved. But the usurper was

[1] Government Selections, X. 4. [2] Grant Duff, 504, 506, 509.
[2] Annual Register for 1783, 289; Grant Duff, 457.

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in point of fact never dispossessed, and his descendants still rule Janjira, which the Maráthás never succeeded in taking.[1]

In 1777 the Málvan district was overrun by the Kolhápur troops after an insurrection by the chief of Vishálgad and others, and in 1782 there was another expedition in which the chiefs of Vádi were for a time subdued. In 1786 however disturbances again took place, and the Rája of Kolhápur himself took a large army into the Konkan. He stormed Bharatgad, the fort which commands the beautiful and very fertile valley of Masura, Nivti a well-known fort on the coast between Málvan and Vengurla, and Vishálgad which commands the most level part of the Southern Konkan.[2] On account, however, of the Sávants getting assistance from Goa he evacuated Nivti and Vengurla, but appointed *mámlatdárs* and other officials to the rest of the newly-conquered territory. Khem Sávant, instead of going on fighting as was usual to him, negotiated with Sindia, and eventually the district was restored to Vádi in 1793. Málvan was however retained by Kolhápur[3] and for a few years this part of the Konkan enjoyed peace. In 1792 while these events were in progress the Bombay Government had prepared an armament against Kolhápur, but this was not despatched, as a treaty was made by which the English were allowed to have a factory at the island of Málvan (Sindhudurg) and to hoist their flag there till all claims were paid.[4]

A few facts worth recording come into this period and are here mentioned without particular arrangement. In May 1790 a force left Bombay to co-operate with the army which had just invaded Tippoo Sultán's territory. It was disembarked at Sangameshvar, and after halting there five days marched up the A'mba Ghát, the steepness of which is proved by the march up taking only an hour and a half.

Although there was artillery with it, a second detachment went by the same route in the following November. The entrance to the river at Jaygad was at this time defended by forts on each side. A wall of communication ran up the side of the hill on the south shore from a battery of eleven embrasures on a level with the water, which like the other fortifications was in very bad repair.[5] The factory at Fort Victoria was found useful during this war as the Resident purchased and received from Poona between eleven and twelve thousand bullocks,[6] and sent them down the coast for the use of the army.[7] At this time Thána is described as a straggling town with several Portuguese churches and a number of Christian inhabitants. It was garrisoned by a battalion of sepoys and a company of European artillery. The fort is

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1 Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 208; Grant Duff, 507.
2 Account of Kolhápur, 499.
3 Hutchinson, 159.
4 Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 94; Grant Duff, 509.
5 Field Officer, 183; Moor, 2, 9, 47.
6 The average price paid was Rs. 32 per bullock, which seems high for the time.
7 Bankot Manuscript Diaries.

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described as small, well built and, although not a complete, yet a strong fortification and always kept in the highest order.[1]

In 1790 the Konkan, in common with other parts of Western India, was visited by a great scarcity amounting almost to famine,[2] but in this respect this district with its generally very heavy rainfall and its easy water communication suffers much less than the dry plains of the Dakhan. Between 1771 and 1790 a survey and assessment in cash of a great part of the Kalyán district was made by Sadáshiv Keshav, Sar Subhedár of the Konkan, and an assessment in grain of part of the Kolába district by a *subhedár* of Rájpuri in 1784-85.[3] But the general survey and assessment of the Konkan proposed by Nána Phadnavis never went further.

There is nothing more to record of the Konkan either of a warlike or peaceable character until the accession of Bájiráv, whose eventful reign, including the fall of the Marátha state, requires a section to itself.

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[1] Moor, 369. [2] Report on Famines, 117.
[3] Jervis, 125 ; Government Selections, XCXVI. 78, 346.

SECTION X.

THE REIGN OF BA'JIRA'V AND THE BRITISH CONQUEST.

1796 TO 1818.

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Bajirav, 1796-1818.

IN 1796 Nána Phadnavis, unable to secure his own power or to prevent the accession of Bájiráv, fled to the Konkan, and put garrisons in Pratápgad and Ráygad. He himself stayed at Mahád till October, by which time he had collected an army of 10,000 men.[1] These efforts were so far successful that, under the treaty of Mahád concluded in the same month when Bájiráv was enthroned as Peshwa, Nána Phadnavis returned to Poona as minister.[2] But from this time the chiefs and *jághirdárs* were utterly uncontrolled and assumed independence, while the Dakhan was overrun with banditti. This state of affairs culminated in October 1802 with the victory of Yashvantráv Holkar over Sindia and the flight of Bájiráv from Poona.[3] He first went to Sinhgad, but after staying there only three days he hastily retreated to Ráygad, and having released Mahádevráv Ráste, who had been confined there since April of the previous year, he went down to Mahád.[4] He had with him 6000 or 8000 men, and at his request an English vessel was sent down to Bánkot to take him up to Bombay. He wished to send his family and the families of his attendants to Suvarndurg, but the commandant refused to receive them. Grain for the subsistence of his force had to be sent from Bassein and Bombay, this being the year of the great famine. The Sar Subhedár of the Konkan, Khanderáv Ráste, joined him at Mahád from Bassein. About November 22 Holkar with his army came down the Pár Ghát, on which the Peshwa fled to Suvarndurg, while some of his followers took refuge in the English factory at Fort Victoria. Suvarndurg, however, was found to be in a defenceless condition, and the Peshwa therefore embarked in one of his own vessels escorted by two belonging to the Bombay Government. He put into Chaul and stayed there some days, and on again embarking was so harassed by contrary winds that on December 15 he put into Manori in Sálsette, from whence he went on to Bassein, arriving there with about thirty followers on the seventeenth. In the meantime Holkar with 5000 troops had taken with very little resistance Ráygad and Savarndurg and in the latter the Peshwa's family.[5] Colonel Close who had been awaiting the Peshwa's arrival in Bombay with Mountstuart Elphinstone[6] then his

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[1] Grant Duff, 525; Asiatic Annual Register (1803), 58. [2] Grant Duff, 285.
[3] Elphinstone in E. I. House Selections, IV. 147. [4] Grant Duff, 558.
[5] Blue Book relating to Marátha War of 1803, 350-463; Asiatic Annual Register (1803), 23. [6] Bom. R. A. S. Journal, VI. 97.

assistant, went to him at Bassein immediately on his arrival, and there on December 31 was concluded the treaty of Bassein.[1] A field detachment which had been sent to Ghodbandar in the expectation that the Peshwa might find it convenient to take refuge in British territory, was then sent to Bassein, where the Peshwa remained till April 27, 1803.[2] Entrance into the Bassein island being then as now obtainable only by the bridges at Sopára and Gokhivade "a considerable stockade of palmyra trees" was erected to defend the Sopára bridge.[3] Affairs at Poona being at last settled, Bájiráv left Bassein escorted by a British force of 2200 men, including the 78th Regiment, part of the 84th, and some artillery. He stayed at Kalyán for a week and from there marched up the Borghát.[4]

Neither the treaty of Bassein nor either of those concluded in the following year made any difference in the position of the Konkan powers, but the Peshwa had now become to a considerable extent dependent on the British Government, and being supported by them he was able from this time to take vengeance on the chiefs, whose armies were much reduced.[5] A Marátha force was sent against Suvarndurg on account of the Killedár Hari Ballál Kelkar having thrown off his allegiance, and after an unsuccessful investment a small British force returning from the Malabár coast was ordered to take the island and the ports on the mainland.[6] The Peshwa's force was encamped at Kelshi, eight miles north of Suvarndurg, and the garrison of the island was said to be 800 men, Arabs and Maráthás, but it was eventually surrendered without resistance, and 200 Native Infantry put in until the orders of the Peshwa should be received. It would appear from all these last events that the fort had not been kept in a proper state of repair, and although both Nána Phadnavis and the Peshwa had followed the old Marátha custom of retiring into the Konkan when too hard pressed above the Gháts, yet neither their habits nor their mode of government led them either to maintain the forts when in prosperity or to turn them to good account in adversity. These strongholds were often made useful as prisons, of which instances have already been given, but neither now nor at the final fall of the Peshwa's power were they found of much use from a military point of view.

The famine of 1802-3, which was so devastating in some parts, appears to have been very partial in the Konkan, as one of the chief causes was absent, the ravages of Holkar. The influx of starving people from the Dakhan is mentioned as causing much of the scarcity in the Northern Konkan and Kolába. In the latter district many deaths are said to have occurred, and the same is stated of the Khed petha, the most rugged of the whole Konkan and the most easily affected by famine. The Málvan district is

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[1] Aitchison's Treaties, III. 63.
[2] Blue Book as above.
[3] Dickenson's Manuscript Report.
[4] Mill, VI. 419.
[5] Elphinstone in E. I. House Selections, IV. 147.
[6] Manuscript Records.

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said also to have suffered severely; and here the ravages of war no doubt assisted the famine. But on the whole it is doubtful if any villages were deserted or depopulated.[1]

On the death of Khem Sávant in 1803 the district of Málvan again fell into its usual distracted condition, and in 1806 the Rája of Kolhápur before the end of the monsoon descended into the Konkan and took Bharatgad and Nivti, but as he soon returned above the Gháts the Vádi troops quickly retorted by overrunning the district and burning the suburbs of Málvan. The cruelties committed on this occasion were something uncommon even in that district, and the Kolhápur Rája then returned and carried on the war in the Vádi districts, while an advanced party raised the siege of Bharatgad just begun by the Vádi troops. Nivti and Ráiri however had fallen to the Sávants. In 1808 the Kolhápur troops had to retreat, and in the next year Phond Sávant had to fly before Mánsinghráv Pátankar who followed him as far as Rájápur and levied a heavy contribution on that town though generally quite beyond the range of Vádi politics. In 1810 the Dakhan troops had again to leave the Konkan, and Ráiri and Nivti were retaken by the Vádi chiefs.[2] The piracies of both these powers had continued unchecked,[3] and their serious import to this Presidency may be judged of by the fact that the Duke of Wellington only two days after the battle of Assaye wrote (with his own hand as was usual to him) a short despatch on the subject to the Bombay Government.[4] The pirates appear to have been equally bold on the seas north of Bombay, for in 1803 an officer going to Cambay had a guard of sepoys with him who kept their muskets loaded and were constantly on the look-out for pirates.[5] The remedy adopted was the blockade of the ports belonging to Kolhápur and Vádi, but this of course could not continue for ever, and in 1812, when the settlement between the Peshwa and Kolhápur was made, the harbour and forts of Málvan were ceded to the English by Kolhápur, and the fort of Vengurla with some land adjoining by the Sávants.[6] Nivti was left to the latter but a guard of British troops was stationed there to see that no piratical vessels made use of the port. From this time till the cession of the whole Konkan, the Bombay Government kept a civil and military establishment both at Málvan and Vengurla. The cession brought to an end the troubles of this district from the Kolhápur state, but the Sávants by their internal quarrels kept the country in confusion for several years longer.[7] The claims of the different governments on the district were complicated and extraordinary, the revenue being divided among the Peshwa, the Rája of Kolhápur, the Sávants, and the Pant of Bávda, with separate payments for the forts at Málvan. In January 1813 the

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[1] Report on Past Famines, 116. [2] Hutchinson, 161-165.
[3] Two brothers named Bápuji and Hiráji, who are remembered by persons still (1883) living, as having spent their last days at Málvan in great poverty, were, when young, noted for the cruelty and daring of their piracies.
[4] Manuscript Records. [5] Field Officer, 458.
[6] Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 97, 129. [7] Asiatic Journal, VIII. 78.

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Sávants again took Bharatgad from the Kolhápur authorities, and it was not restored till a British detachment was sent from Kolhápur in March. This force afterwards went on to Ráiri, but returned above the Gháts before the monsoon.[1] In 1815 the districts belonging to Vádi in two *tarafs* north of Málvan were occupied by a force from Málvan,[2] but this was only to prevent aggression on the part of the Sávants.

Before coming to the events which led immediately to the overthrow of the Peshwa it is necessary to say something about the management of his districts in the last years of the Marátha government. Long previously to this all the districts had been let out on farm, but Bájiráv allowed every aggravation of this evil, for leases of districts were often summarily annulled on a higher offer being made, and thus the element of uncertainty was added to the other inducements the farmer had to extortion. And if a farmer failed in his payments, not only his own property but that of his securities was confiscated, and very frequently he himself sent to a hill-fort. To the farmers was committed the superintendence of both civil and criminal justice in their districts, which enabled them to increase their exactions by fines. And, as the complaints of the people were never listened to by those in authority at Poona, the farmers would seem to have had no inducement towards leniency, and it may be thought strange that they ever failed to make their contracts pay.[3]

Bráhmans and other influential people got their lands at lower rates than the common cultivators, and were also exempt from many of the cesses, and this gave rise to what was called the Pándharpesha tenure.[4] As an instance of summary repression of crime it may be mentioned that the *pátil* of Chauk in 1810 caught two Bhils (more probably Khátkaris) and hung them up by the heels in the sun naked till they died. This is said to have had a good effect on the Bhils.[5]

Among the minor results of the loose system of government that prevailed, may be mentioned the frequent changes in the stations of *mámlatdárs*, of which the following is an instance. Nasrápur was originally the head-quarters of the district about Karjat, but on a Devrukhi Bráhman getting the farm of the district he removed his office to Dahivali close to Karjat, where there was a large settlement of Devrukhis. But about 1811 a Chitpávan became farmer or *mámlatdár*, and a Devrukhi village not been agreeable to him he removed his head-quarters to Kadva. Places may often be found in tolerable proximity, which have at one time or other been the head-quarters of a district, and this may probably often be accounted for by reasons similar to the above.

But notwithstanding the badness of the government the districts below the Gháts were so much better off than those of the Dakhan that they derived considerable advantage from the contrast. There

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[1] Hutchinson, 161-165. [2] Hutchinson, 6; Grant Duff, 621.
[3] Grant Duff, 624. [4] Manuscript Records. [5] Seely, 36.

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was so little cultivation in the Dakhan owing to the constant movements of Pendháris and armies, and the population of Poona was so large that the Konkan *tálukás* below the Gháts where the peace was but little disturbed became the chief granaries of the Marátha government. The Nasrápur division in particular benefited by this state of things, and the average price of rice received by the cultivator in the later days of Marátha rule is said to have been as much as two rupees a *man*.[1]

Chatursing, brother of the Rája of Sátára, had for several years carried on predatory operations against the Peshwa's government, but he was taken prisoner in 1812 by Trimbakji Dengla, who seduced him to a conference, and was confined until his death in 1818 in the fort of Kángori, where two European officers were also imprisoned in 1817. After Chatursing's imprisonment an impostor carried on the rebellion in his name, and the Rámoshis under him were very active in taking forts and plundering the country. Troops were constantly out after them, but they were never suppressed as long as the Peshwa's government lasted, and the districts of Suvarndurg and Anjanvel are said to have suffered particularly from their raids.[2] In the beginning of 1817 three or four distinct bodies of Pendáris descended into the Konkan intending to sweep the whole coast as far as Surat. One band completely sacked some large villages near Suvarndurg ; another body plundered Mahád in February, but did not venture to attack Dásgaon which was defended by a body of invalids.[3] At the same time a body of six or seven hundred was at Panwel, and either this or another force of them advanced as far as Bhiwndi, but were prevented by the rivers from entering the rich coast districts of Bassein and Máhím. They however marched by Asheri to Tárápur and from there up to the Portuguese frontier, the inhabitants of course fleeing before them, and at Bordi, a rich coast village, only a few of the latter had come back in the following year.[4]

Bájiráv three or four years before his deposition had built a palace at Guhágar,[5] six miles south of Dábhol, both as a hot-weather retreat and to enable him to perform his religious rites on the sea-shore. Every one who has been to this delightful place will acknowledge Bájiráv's good taste in fixing on the "Bay of the Bráhmans" as it was called by the Portuguese and early navigators.[6] He visited it for some years in succession,[7] his route being down the Kumbhárli Ghát and through Chiplún, where the building now used as the *kacheri* was erected for his accommodation. The greater part of the palace at Guhágar was pulled down shortly after our Government took the Konkan, and the materials used for Government buildings at Ratnágiri.[5]

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1 J. M. Davies' Manuscript Reports of 1836.
2 Grant Duff, 632, 654, 678 ; E. I. House Selections, III. 783 & IV. 140, 148.
3 Asiatic Journal, III. 626 & IV. 315.
4 Dickenson's Manuscript Report.
5 Waddington's Manuscript Report.
6 De la Valle, III. 143.
7 Grant Duff does not mention these expeditions, but Thornton says that Bájiráv went there every year between his restoration and final deposition. History, IV. 431.

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Trimbakji Dengla, when given up by the Peshwa to our Government, was for his many enormities confined in the fort at Thána. The story of his escape thence in September 1816 is told by Bishop Heber with a tinge of romance which certainly makes it more agreeable reading than the official report of the circumstance would be: "Trimbakji was kept in confinement at Thána near Bombay; and while there a common-looking Marátha groom with a good character in his hand came to offer his services to the commanding officer. He was accepted, and had to keep his horse under the window of Trimbakji's prison. Nothing remarkable was observed in his conduct except a more than usual attention to his horse, and a habit while currying and cleaning him of singing verses of Maráthi songs all apparently relating to his trade. At length Trimbakji disappeared, and the groom followed him; on which it was recollected that his singing had been made up of verses like the following:

'Behind the bush the bowmen hide
The horse beneath the tree,
Where shall I find a knight will ride
The jungle paths with me?
There are five and fifty coursers there,
And four and fifty men;
When the fifty-fifth shall mount his steed
The Deccan thrives again.[1]'"

The treaty of Poona in June 1817 which was concluded after several months of resistance to the British demands, gave our Government possession of the whole of the North Konkan, described as "the districts of Bailapoor, Autgong, and Culleaun, and all the territories to the north of those districts as far as Gujarát lying between the Gháts and the sea."[2] It was intended also to procure the cession of the Southern Konkan to complete our command of the coast and because it was believed to be "a fertile country full of strong military positions," but being the native country of the Peshwa and of almost all the principal Bráhman families[3] connected with the Poona government so much opposition was made that the cession could not be insisted upon.[4] The delivery of Ráygad as well as Sinhgad and Purandhar had in the previous month been demanded as an earnest of the Peshwa's intention to act fairly by us,[5] and Mr. Elphinstone in a despatch of May 9 wrote that in the event of war there was little doubt that Bájiráv would fly to Ráygad where he might establish himself during the rains without the possibility of military operations being

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[1] Heber's Journal, II. 8. The story is told at greater length but in a less romantic form in the novel Pandurang Hari. [2] Aitchison's Treaties, III. 87.

[3] Besides the Bráhmans and Maráthás already mentioned as Konkanis, Haripant Phadke was a native of Guhágar, as was Gangádhar Shástri murdered at Pandharpur. The Patvardhan chiefs of Miraj originally came from the village of Ganpati-pula near Ratnágiri; the Ghorpáde chiefs of Ichalkaranji from Mhápan near Vengurla. The chiefs of Rámdurg and Nargund of the Bháve family were also Konkani Bráhmans, and Bájiráv's second wife was of the Ok family of Guhágar, if not herself a native of that place.

[4] Blue Book Pendhári and Marátha Wars, 112. [5] Grant Duff, 634.

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undertaken against him.[1] As however on this occasion the Peshwa yielded at the last moment he lost his last chance of saving himself by the old Marátha safeguard of retreating to the Konkan forts. It is possible that his experiences of Ráygad and Suvarndurg in 1802-3 rendered him less ready to shut himself up in the Konkan than Mr. Elphinstone anticipated. It was said that he had entrusted the principal forts to some of his chief officers, Revdanda being made over to Angria's diwán, and it was believed that the forts were in a better state of defence than proved to be the case.[2]

Ráygad was restored to the Peshwa in August,[3] but after the rains the Bhils and Rámoshis were enlisted by him, and employed in shutting up the passes through the Gháts.[2] They also invaded the Kalyán district, and numbers of the inhabitants took refuge in the forts of Bassein and Máhuli.[4] Early in November these marauders held the Borghát. The Bombay troops kept open communications between Khopali and Panwel, but a despatch from General Smith near Poona to the Commander-in-Chief in Bombay had to be sent round by Bánkot.[5] When the Peshwa moved northwards in December, preparations were made to prevent him from going down into the North Konkan,[6] and in point of fact he was on one occasion close to the Nánaghát.[4] The fort of Kotligad in the North Konkan was at this time taken for the Peshwa by a Sardár named Bápuráv Lámbia, but on December 30 was retaken by Captain Brooks without loss.[7] No other operations were necessary north of Bombay, but small forces were prepared for the reduction of the forts in the Southern Konkan. Hostilities were begun by the capture, at the end of November, of Suvarndurg, which made little resistance. In January 1818 a force under Colonel Prother, consisting of 380 Europeans 800 Native Infantry and a battering train, took Karnála, and within a month afterwards the forts of Avchitgad, Songad, Páli which was bombarded for two hours, and Bharap, the last a strong place the fall of which hastened the surrender of the Pant Sachiv to the British authority.[8] It was cannonaded for twenty-four hours before surrendering, and an immense store of provisions found in it.[9] About the same time Mandangad, where there were two forts with a triple stockade in the space between,[10] was taken by escalade by a small force from Suvarndurg under Colonel Kennedy,[11] and here a seaman was killed and nine or ten sepoys wounded.[9] These operations were in many cases very difficult from the necessity of dragging guns up to the top of the hills on which the forts stood. The acquisition of these was considered especially necessary, because the families of our sepoys belonging to this district had been so persecuted by the Peshwa's officers that in January 1818 proclamation was made offering pardon to all sepoys who might on that account have

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[1] Blue Book as above, 94-98.
[2] Blue Book relating to War in India (1819), 80.
[3] Grant Duff, 646.
[4] Dickenson's Manuscript Report.
[5] Blue Book, 119, 129.
[6] Grant Duff, 656; Blue Book, 140.
[7] Asiatic Journal, VI. 96.
[8] Blacker, 246; Blue Book, 128, 177, 245.
[9] Manuscript Records.
[10] As. Journal, VI. 320.
[11] Blue Book, 208.

deserted from our army.[1] It was also rightly anticipated that outside of the forts we should meet with no opposition.

The Peshwa had now fled so far to the north that fears were no longer entertained of his descending into the Konkan, and Colonel Prother's force was therefore called up into the Dakhan.[2] There he reduced many forts, including Rájmáchi and Kuári which commanded the two most direct routes from Bombay to Poona.[3] In the meantime a detachment under Major Kennett took the fort of Nawapura by escalade. Captain Barrow defeated at the Kasur Ghát (which had for many years been much used by troops passing between the Dakhan and Gujarát) a body of Arab Musalmáns and Kolis commanded by Bápuráv Lámbia, which had plundered and burnt villages in that part of the Konkan. Colonel Kennedy's force reduced Rámgad and Pálgad in the Khed district and paid the *killedár* Rs. 5000 for the possession of Rasalgad, a place of strength in the same neighbourhood, after which the force occupied Khed.[4] In April Colonel Prother's force returned to the Konkan with the chief object of taking Ráygad where the Peshwa's wife was. He was reinforced by six companies of the 67th Regiment, and a detachment of the 89th which up to this time had been at Málvan.[5] The force first destroyed a stockaded post near Indápur, and there slaughtered a number of the enemy, and after taking the forts of Tala and Ghosála reached Mahád on April 24. On the morning of that day a detachment of the force carried a stockade at the foot of Ráygad and occupied the *petha* and thus cut off the escape of the Peshwa's family for which two elephants and a number of camels and horses were found prepared. A passport was sent to the Peshwa's wife, which however did not reach her, as the Arabs fired on the flag of truce. On the twenty-sixth the whole force besieged the fort, and after ten days the garrison began to treat for the surrender, being chiefly impelled to this by a shell from our batteries having set the palace on fire and done a great deal of damage. The negotiations were carried on till May 10, when the fort was surrendered and five lákhs of rupees taken in it. The garrison consisted of 100 Arabs and about 800 other troops. Nearly all the buildings had been destroyed, but there were "marks of grandeur where streets of length with apparently once beautiful and regular buildings had been." The temples and tomb of Shiváji could with difficulty be made out, but most of the destruction had been caused before this siege. The work of Colonel Prother's force, which from first to last had suffered very few casualties, was concluded by the capture of the forts of Lingána, Kángori, Chandangad, and Mahipatgad.[6] The European troops then returned to Bombay, the Native Infantry were cantoned for the rains at Páli, and a new battalion, composed of those who had deserted from our regiments and had been allowed to return, was formed at Kuári.[5]

[1] Blue Book, 212; As. Journal, VI. 219. [2] Blue Book, 235; Wilson, II. 324.
[3] Hamilton, II. 152. [4] Asiatic Journal, VI. 320. [5] Blacker, 246, 310.
[6] Blue Book, 264-311; Wilson, II. 324; Grant Duff, 679.

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In the meantime a force from Málvan under Colonel Imlach had taken the forts belonging to the Peshwa in the Sálshi district. Siddhagad was at first unsuccessfully attacked, but with the help of a detachment of the 89th Regiment, which put into Málvan on account of adverse winds, a second attack was successful.[1] Bhagvantgad made some resistance, and its capture was followed by the occupation of Achra. Devgad was taken and an attempt made on Vijaydurg, but so heavy a fire was opened on our vessels that they were forced to cut their cables and return to Devgad. There a number of the enemy held some stockades on the opposite side of the river and commanded the harbour, but a party attacked and defeated them with considerable loss.

The force under Colonel Kennedy having got possession of all the forts in the Suvarndurg district took Anjanvel on May 17, and from there went on to Govalkot, where it was found that a large body of Rámoshis had been plundering through the district and had taken possession of Chiplún. They however professed peaceable intentions and evacuated the town. The force then took the forts of Bairamgarh and Bháwangarh, and an order was obtained from the Deshmukh of Ratnágiri at Sátára for the surrender of the forts in that táluka, namely Ratnágiri, Purangad, Jaygad, and Sátavli. These were not in our possession till the beginning of June,[2] and in that month the conquest of the Southern Konkan was completed by the unconditional surrender of the district and fort of Vijaydurg,[3] which were held by two brothers of the Dhulap family, one of whom was *subhedár* of the district and the other *killedár* of the fort and Admiral of the Peshwa's fleet. The Dhulaps are said not to have been in the fort at the time of our force appearing before it, but two Musalmán brothers fired a few shots from the walls till they were both killed on the spot by the bursting of one of the guns, after which no further resistance was made.[4] The Admiral's vessel of 430 tons burden, 156 feet long and 33 feet beam, was taken in the river, and the dock, 355 feet long and 257 feet in the broadest part, remains to this day. There was also a small building-yard and a mast-house.[5]

While the South Konkan forts had thus been falling into our hands one by one, Captain T. Dickenson, of the Engineers, had been examining those in the North Konkan ceded to us in the previous year. The chief of these was of course Bassein, but that fortress formerly so much coveted was now found to be "an acquisition of no military importance." Its circumference was upwards of a mile and a half, but it had "fundamental weaknesses in the too great distance between the main defences and the absence of any ditch or parapet of greater pretensions than a breastwork, while the ramparts were in many places overgrown

[1] Asiatic Journal, VI. 320.
[2] Asiatic Journal, VI. 418; Blue Book, 219, 248-264, 286.
[3] Asiatic Journal, VII, 57. [4] Local information.
[5] Asiatic Journal, IX. 123; Waddington's Manuscript Report.

with jungle, and there was scarcely a public building habitable." Arnála was the next in importance of the coast forts, and Tárápur the next, both from its better state of repair and its central position, being about 500 feet in length and breadth, with walls about ten feet thick and, including the parapet, thirty feet high. There were eight other forts on the coast between the Vaitarna and the Daman frontier, and these were generally in rather better condition than those inland, but of little use from their small size, being chiefly kept up as a security against pirates and to command creeks. Of inland forts there were sixteen, mostly insulated and in the middle of the jungle, and there were four which might be called Ghát forts. The gateways of all were said to be the best part, but "it is hardly possible to conceive a more neglected state than the forts generally are in. It would seem that for the last twenty years not the labour of a single person or the expenditure of a rupee has been sanctioned by the Peshwa's government either upon the works themselves or the interior buildings. Even the water in many places has been allowed to become unfit for use." Asheri Malangad and Máhuli Captain Dickenson considered impregnable, but owing to their isolated position useless under our Government, and of the whole he said that "the most insignificant is adequate against a siege by a native enemy, but the best in their present state untenable perhaps for any length of time against Europeans."[1] In the end it was decided that the coast forts should not then be destroyed, as the inhabitants might have a feeling of insecurity without them, and they mostly remain untouched except by natural decay to the present time. Of the inland forts the interior parts were destroyed as far as possible, but the outer works being left, the hills have scarcely lost in picturesqueness. Bassein Arnála and Tárápur, and the Ghát fortresses of Gorakgad Kotligad and Siddhagad held small detachments of soldiers for a short time,[2] but all have now for many years past been abandoned to solitude.

Thus the operations in the Konkan were brought to an end, and the whole of the districts which had been the Peshwa's came under the British Government. There were still parties of marauders wandering about, and in September 1818 a body of 500 Arabs Maráthás and Patháns were attacked at Poládpur by Lieutenant Crosby, who had been left at Mahád with seventy-five sepoys and 140 horse, and were defeated with considerable loss.[3]

Two prisoners of importance were kept in the Konkan during the rains of 1818, Chimnáji Appa the Peshwa's brother, who was allowed to remain at Bassein till the season should admit of his proceeding to Benáres,[4] and Trimbakji Dengla who more than any one else might be called the cause of the Peshwa's destruction. He was again confined in Thána fort, from which he had escaped in 1816, and after the rains was sent to a prison more distant from the scene of his exploits.[5]

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[1] Dickenson's Manuscript Report. [2] Manuscript Records.
[3] Asiatic Journal, VII. 434. [4] Blue Book Pindhari and Marátha War, 347.
[5] Wilson, II. 365.

SECTION XI.

THE ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE KONKAN PREVIOUS TO 1818.

Section XI.

The English, 1611-1818.

WE have now reached the period when the successive Native governments had given place to the English throughout the whole Konkan. Before proceeding with the history of the Konkan under British rule it is necessary to go back and describe the early settlements made for purposes of trade, and the measures taken for the management of the small possessions of our Government in this part of the Presidency previous to 1818.

As early as 1611 the English East India Company had directed their attention to Dábhol with a view to the establishment of a factory, but they were opposed by the Portuguese.[1] Sir Henry Middleton with three ships went there in February 1612, and stayed some little time, receiving great civility from the Sidi governor, and procuring some trade.[2] But the Company's settlement at Surat was for some years sufficient for their requirements. In 1618 further attempts were made to trade at Dábhol,[3] and in 1624 and for two or three years afterwards difficulties both with the Dutch and the Moghals caused a proposal that the factory and establishment should be removed there from Surat, as the inhabitants had made most friendly offers of accommodation and protection.[4] This was not carried out, but ten years later a phirman for a factory at Dábhol was asked for and refused, and no further attempt seems to have been made.[5] In 1638-9 the first Freetraders or Interlopers, the association of Sir William Courten, established a factory at Rájápur in the Southern Konkan, and when, owing to the great power of the Dutch, in the following year the English East India Company desired a place which would be secure from them and capable of fortification, Rájápur was recommended as the best after Bombay. In 1649-50 the Musalmán governor offered the trade of this town to the President at Surat because of the bad character of the Interlopers, who had incurred heavy debts there. The offer was accepted as at Rájápur pepper and cardamoms could be obtained without exposure to the opposition of the Dutch,[6] and it is also said that the finest *batelás* and muslins were at that time produced about there.[7] But just about this time Courten's association was incorporated with the East India Company, so that the factory at Rájápur was continued on the same footing as before. In 1660 several factories were

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[1] Bruce, I. 165. [2] Orme's Fragments, 323.
[3] Milburn, Introduction, xviii. [4] Bruce, I. 261, 274.
[5] Bruce, I. 334. Hamilton states that the English had a factory at Dábhol, but the writer found no confirmation of the statement, except that Grose in 1750 mentions it as one of the places at which the English have forts factories or settlements: Knox, II. 488; Pinkerton, VIII. 350.
[6] Bruce, I. 357, 568, 444; Macpherson, 115. [7] Hamilton in Pinkerton, VIII. 352.

abandoned but Rájápur was retained.[1] It appears however to have been given up after its plunder by Shiváji in 1664[2] and not re-established till 1674, though for some years previously there had been proposals for replacing it; for Shiváji, and Sambháji after him, though they oppressed the factors and hampered their trade, always professed to be very anxious to have a factory there.[3] But it did not succeed, and in 1676-77 its withdrawal was resolved on owing to the continual extortions of the Maráthás. Shiváji would not however let the factors go and the establishment was not withdrawn till 1681. The list of factories in 1702-3 includes none in the Konkan,[4] but according to Milburn[5] that at Rájápur was again established between 1698 and 1708. It could however have been continued but a short time. A French factory had also been established there in 1670.[6]

Rájápur, which has not often been mentioned in the earlier parts of this history, is by far the best preserved and oldest-looking town in the Konkan. It is built, like so many of the other towns, at the highest navigable point of a considerable river, and as the hills rise almost immediately from the water the whole town is built on a slope, except that part close to the river. The streets are steep and narrow, and the bazárs are covered over as well as paved. The old English factory, a massive stone building with an enclosure leading down to the water, is now used as the *kacheri* and the walls of another building of European construction, and equally large, are probably the remains of the French factory. Rájápur is the only Konkan port to which Arab buggalows still come direct, and to it only two or three in the year. The rest of the great trade which used to pass to the Konkan ports from Arabia, the Persian gulf, and the Red Sea is now all swallowed up in Bombay.[7]

It does not seem that our East India Company had ever any other factory in the Konkan previous to their acquisition of Bánkot or Fort Victoria in 1756 (see Section VIII). But in 1668 when the Sidi made overtures to the English at Bombay to assist him, the Factors there suggested to the Supreme Council at Surat the many advantages which Janjira possessed over Bombay.[8] No notice was taken of the suggestion, but as the history of Janjira does not come within the scope of this memoir it may here be mentioned that, after Bombay and Goa, there is no bay or inlet on the coast of the Konkan of such striking natural beauty as Janjira, while the two rocky islets in the bay are in their present condition much

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1 Bruce, I. 437, 556.
2 Grant Duff, 80. Orme says it was plundered in 1670. Fragments, 26.
3 Bruce, I. 366 and II. 285, 304, 442, 487.
4 Bruce, II. 399, 472 and III. 90. 5 Introduction, xli. 6 Bruce, II. 285.
7 Rájápur is also made interesting by two well-known objects of Hindu pilgrimage, a temple over an intermittent spring, popularly called Ganga, which rises at the end of the cold weather and lasts for two or three weeks, and the temple of Dhopeshvar (properly Dhutápápeshvar 'the cleanser from sin') situated in a romantic ravine, to which a very pleasant paved road has been made within the last few years. The rise of Ganga is looked for with anxiety by the inhabitants, as its non-appearance is considered a bad omen. 8 Grant Duff, 99.

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more picturesque than any European power would have been likely to leave them.

Of the French as connected with the Konkan besides their factory at Rájápur and the intrigue of St. Lubin, given in Section IX., the only thing that can be mentioned is that in June 1696 there was an indecisive engagement off the Vengurla rocks between seven Dutch and five French ships. The Dutch retired to Goa and the French to Surat.

The successes of the Dutch against the Portuguese have already been described. After the decline of the Portuguese the Dutch still had their fortified factory at Vengurla, but do not appear ever to have come into collision with the English in the Konkan. There was always however great jealousy between the two nations, and in the treaty concluded with the Marátha state in October 1756 the first article provided that the Dutch should be excluded from the Marátha dominions, and another article forbad their admission to Dánda-Rájápur.[1] In 1767 they are said to have wished to have a factory at Bassein, and still later the jealousy between them and the English at Surat and elsewhere was very strong.[2]

As has been already stated the acquisition of Bánkot and its dependent villages in 1756 gave our Government its first territorial possessions on this coast, and from that time different arrangements, though of course at first on a very small scale, became necessary. The fort and factory however were what were chiefly considered. No provision for the administration of criminal justice was made except as regarded the most trifling offences, but the Residents were in the habit of sending offenders for examination and trial before the Courts in Bombay,[3] and in 1797 the then Resident was superseded for having gone beyond his powers in punishing a *deshmukh* for 'contumacy.'[4] The pay of the civil officers and the number of the sepoys were increased or reduced rather with reference to the finances of the Presidency than on any other consideration, and in 1772 there were but 120 sepoys with a proper proportion of officers. In 1780 the armament of the fort was two twelve-pounders, five nine-pounders, twelve six-pounders, and four four-pounders. In 1781 the financial embarrassments of the Presidency caused the whole expenses of Bánkot, including the troops, to be reduced to Rs. 2000 a month.[4] The Chiefs constantly complained of their small profits, but Dr. Hové in 1789 wrote[5] that the Chiefs of this factory commonly retired after a few years with immense sums, and that the post was calculated as good as the councilship at Bombay. In 1802 however the pay of the Chief was raised to Rs. 600, and private trade forbidden to him.

Sálsette, our next acquisition, which had been so prosperous under the Portuguese and so fertile as to have supplied not only the

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[1] Aitchison's Treaties, III. 17.
[2] Stavorinus, III. 107; House of Commons Reports (1806), 42.
[3] Reg. I. of 1811. [4] Bánkot Manuscript Diaries. [5] Tours, 12, 14.

neighbouring islands but Goa also,[1] appears to have been in 1818, after forty years of our government, little, if any, better than those districts just taken from the Maráthás. In 1787 Dr. Hové for the space of twelve miles saw no village nor marks of present culture: remains of large buildings testified to its former prosperity, but all was now "pining in decay. Here and there are remains of wells and marks of former culture, but no person now thinks culture an honourable employment." An intelligent writer in 1794 mentioned with approval a proposal that had been made a few years before to establish a colony of Chinese in the island.[2] In 1804 Lord Valentia found that little had been done to increase the produce of the island, the greater part being useless jungle, and even wood being only procurable at a very high price, owing chiefly to want of arrangement.[3] In 1811 the Secretary to the Bombay Government wrote of "the present half-populated and half-cultivated state of Sálsette."[4] And in 1824 Bishop Heber speaks of Sálsette as "strangely unimproved neglected and uncivilised, having no towns except Thána and Ghodbandar, very little cultivation except the *tara* palm and cocoanut, which grow almost spontaneously amid the jungle, and displaying in the cottages of its peasantry a degree of poverty and rudeness which I have seen nowhere in India except among the Bhils."[5] A striking description of the wildness of the inhabitants is also given in Hamilton's Gazetteer.

It must be remembered however that Lord Valentia's visit was immediately after the famine of 1802-3, and that 1824 also succeeded two years of drought. But the records of Government show that not much had been done up to 1808 to restore the island from the condition into which it had fallen during the occupation of the Maráthás. For fourteen years after we took it no change was made in the system of revenue and collections. Lands were still farmed out to the highest bidder, and the English Chief of Sálsette was paid by the cesses called *sar deshmukhi* and *sarpáteli* imposed by the Maráthás. The grain assessment had yielded under the Portuguese 10,077 mudás of rice, under the Maráthás it fell to 7465, and under our Government in 1794-95 to 6075. In 1798 the *jamábandi* was fixed at two-thirds of the Portuguese assessment, and most of the cesses imposed by the Maráthás were abolished. But the tax on grazing lands and on wood-cutting, the *mohtarpha* or tax on trades, and that on fisheries were retained, and the result was that the village of Bándra paid altogether over Rs. 12,000 in revenue, and was said to be "most lightly assessed."[6] The fact is that our Governors, who in those days were always more or less in financial difficulties, had not foresight enough to see the virtue of really light assessments, and thought they were doing wonders when they relieved the people of a few of the extraordinary number of taxes imposed by the Maráthás. But the relief was insufficient, and the effect very small.

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[1] Fryer, 73. [2] Moor, 442. [3] Travels, II. 198. [4] Manuscript Records.
[5] Journal, II. 128-9. But the cocoanut tree does not grow wild in the Konkan.
[6] Reg. I. of 1808.

In 1801 a permanent settlement was offered to the then holders of land in Sálsette, with a decennial settlement of commutation rates, but it was accepted by only four individuals,[1] although *sanads* had been prepared and printed at an expense of several thousand rupees.[2] In 1807 the grain assessment had risen to 8320 mudás, but apparently with less land under cultivation. At the end of the previous century large estates had been granted to a few British subjects in Sálsette with a view to the improvement of the country, and several of the present (so-called) khots of Sálsette derive their rights from these original grantees. Between 1798 and 1803 the Sion causeway was built,[3] which was undoubtedly the greatest possible benefit to Sálsette, and in the last-mentioned year the customs duties which had been hitherto levied on all goods passing between the two islands were abolished.[2] Thus it will be seen that the Bombay Government of those times were not so much indifferent to the welfare of the territory they had gained as ignorant of the greatness of the abuses which the Maráthás had allowed, and slow in removing them.

But where their financial position was not affected, they showed more consideration, for provision for the administration of criminal justice was made very soon after the acquisition of territory. In Sálsette and Karanja the Residents had from the first been empowered to investigate all offences and misdemeanors not capital with the assistance of two native assessors, while capital cases were sent to Bombay for trial by the Mayor's Court. In 1799 a Judge and Magistrate was appointed for the islands vested with civil criminal and police jurisdiction.[4] In civil suits an appeal was reserved to the Governor in Council sitting as the Sadar Adálat, while the more serious criminal cases were committed to the Court of Session, which consisted of the Junior Member of Council and two civilians nominated for the occasion. Quarterly sessions were held at the stations of the Magistrates, and capital sentences required the confirmation of the Governor in Council. Provision was even made for the trial of suits against Government, and the jurisdiction of the Judge and Magistrate of Sálsette was in 1803 extended to Bánkot and its dependencies, and the Court required to sit in that district for 20 days in each year.[5] In 1807 the junior member of Council became sole Session Judge of Sálsette.[6] The arrangement however only lasted till 1810, and after that the Provincial Court of Circuit and Appeal at Surat received jurisdiction over Sálsette.[7] By the same Act separate Magistrates were appointed for Karanja, as inconvenience was felt from the island being dependent on the periodical visits of the Sálsette Magistrates, and from there being no communication with the other stations for three months in each year. These arrangements continued till the cession and conquest of the rest of the Konkan in 1817-18, and the history of the district since that era may now be continued.

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1 Reg. I. of 1808. 2 Manuscript Records.
3 It was at first constructed with a drawbridge in the centre. Hamilton, II. 169.
4 Reg. V. of 1799. 5 Reg. III. of 1803. 6 Reg. I. of 1807. 7 Reg. II. of 1811.

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BRITISH RULE.

Section XII.

British Rule, 1818-1884.

In 1818 the whole Konkan, with very little more exception than at the present time, was under the British Government. The state of Sálsette has been described in Section XI, and it is also of importance to show the condition of the rest of the Konkan at the time of its acquisition. No one who knows the Konkan now will suppose that it can have been very flourishing under the Maráthás, and it is in fact easy to prove that bad as was the condition of Sálsette that of the rest of the district was far worse.

The system of farming out offices to the highest bidder was in the later years of the Peshwa's government rendered still more odious by the insecurity of the possession of these farms: for so-called leases were often summarily annulled on a higher offer being made. At the same time the taxation was exceedingly oppressive: in the Northern Konkan a list of thirty-six different taxes is given, cesses being levied even on cattle, vegetables, and poultry. The poverty of the people in general and the number of deserted villages were sufficient evidence of the evils of this system. "The Kolis, Bhils, Kátkaris, Thákurs, and other almost savage tribes who inhabit the jungles" were in the habit of plundering the villages at every opportunity, and were said to be in the most degraded state of human nature.[1] In the neighbourhood of the forts (which it must be remembered were scattered all over the districts) "the country was for miles round with scarcely an inhabitant, almost without an implement of any kind, or an artificer of the humblest description."[2] Only one exception is mentioned to the generally wretched state of the country, the island and sub-division of Bassein, where sugar-cane and plantains were as now produced in abundance. "From Bassein to Dántivra every inch of the ground is highly cultivated, and the comparative and well-known wealth of the inhabitants is ascribable to the fertility and highly cultivated state of the island."[3] There was also an excellent road from Dántivra to the Damanganga, but here the coast villages seem to have been freely plundered by the Pendháris.[2]

The Southern Konkan, which had of late years suffered less from the miseries of war, appears to have been in a better condition,

[1] East India House Selections (1826), III. 767, 770.
[2] Dickenson's Manuscript Report. [3] East India House Selections, III. 770.

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though even there very few of the villages consisted of "more than a rude cluster of thatched mud huts," and it was stated as their misfortune that there were no village walls for defence, so that the Thags and Rámoshis were frequent visitors.[1] "A man wearing a decent turban or ever so coarse a dress attracts one's attention as being above the lower orders."[2] The sub-divisions of Suvarndurg and Anjanvel were said to be the most prosperous of all in the Southern Konkan, and the revenue there soon after the establishment of our Government was "easily and punctually collected."[1] It seems probable that the *khots*, while themselves forming a body of men less poverty-stricken than the ordinary ryots, protected the latter to some extent from the rapacity of the Peshwa's officers.[3] The produce of the whole district was reported as very small: still the natural remark was made that "on viewing the face of the country, which to a cursory observer presents little less than bare hills, rocks, ravines, jungle, and mountains, the surprise is rather that there is so much, than that there is no more." The population was put down at 640,000, and as this included some part of the present Kolába district, while the present population of Ratnágiri alone is put down as over a million, the difference will be seen to be very great.

This being the general state of the country it must be stated that at least three causes concurred to depress rather than to improve the condition of the people during the first years of British rule. In the first place the Konkan suffered in a very excessive degree from the return of the military men now thrown out of employ, as, besides numbers who had served in the cavalry and infantry, most of the forts in the Dakhan as well as along the Ghâts and in the Konkan had been in a great measure garrisoned by Konkanis.[2] Secondly the great demand for grain, especially rice, in the Dakhan and particularly at Poona which resulted from the absence of cultivation above the Ghâts and the presence of a great Court and army at Poona, suddenly ceased, for the Court and army disappeared together, and the immediate increase of cultivation in the Dakhan made it independent of the supply of Konkan grain, so that it soon became an exporting instead of an importing country.[4] Thirdly the ruin of the Chitpávan dynasty which had always kept the great offices of the State to a great extent in the hands of members of that caste and had favoured other natives of the Ratnágiri district, could not have been otherwise than a most serious loss to so poor a country as the Southern Konkan. The measures taken for the improvement of the district were to a great extent counterbalanced by these inevitable causes of distress.

Before entering on the general settlement of the country it was necessary to define the rights of those Marátha states which under

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[1] Pelly's Manuscript Report. [2] E. I. House Selections, III. 765-769, 784, 790.
[3] Wingate's Manuscript Report. [4] J. M. Davies' Manuscript Reports.

the supremacy of the Peshwa had held a great part of the coast of the Southern Konkan. Málvan, the sea-port of the Kolhápur territories, had been ceded since 1812, so that the arrangements now made with that state did not affect the Konkan. But to gain the forts of Nivti and Ráiri in consequence of the injuries committed on the inhabitants of our villages by the Sávantvádi state, a force under Sir William Grant Keir, consisting of a wing of the 89th Regiment, 2½ battalions of Native infantry, and three troops of Native cavalry and artillery, entered the Konkan in January 1819. The heavy stores and ordnance were sent by sea. Nivti which had a garrison of 300 men, was invested and surrendered on February 4 without resistance, and the force proceeded by sea to Ráiri, the defences of which were found to be formidable. On the thirteenth at day-break fire was opened on the fort by four battery guns and four eight-inch mortars, which in an hour dismantled the whole of the guns in the outworks, and then directed their fire against the general defences till 3 P.M., when the storming party of 330 men of the 89th Regiment in two columns assaulted the fort, and gained the outworks with a loss of eight killed and twenty-seven wounded, the latter including two officers. The enemy retained possession of the inner works that night, but most of them escaped before morning, and the remainder then surrendered.[1] A treaty was concluded by which the whole of the coast villages from Málvan to the Portuguese frontier were ceded and about twenty inland villages composing the districts of Pát and Ajgaum. These last however were restored in the following year and the coast villages alone retained.[2]

It was not found necessary to deprive the Kolába state of any part of its territories, which by gradual encroachments of the Poona government had been much curtailed, but a treaty defining the conditions of its dependence on the British Government was concluded in 1822. Finally, the Pant Sachiv of Bhor, who had rights over many villages in the Konkan, was settled with on the principle of exchange of villages and revenue.[3]

For several years after this and up to 1830 the Kolis and other forest and hill tribes in the North Konkan gave constant trouble by their depredations both above and below the Gháts, and made it necessary to send out small detachments for the protection of the country.[4] Notwithstanding this the generally peaceable character of the Konkan may be gathered from the fact that as early as 1820 there were not more than three battalions scattered over its whole extent, the Northern Konkan and down to Bánkot being included in the Poona Division of the Army and the Southern Konkan remaining a separate command, only because of its distance from Poona and Bombay.[5] Thána had of course been maintained as a military

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1 Wilson, II. 446; Asiatic Journal, VIII. 291; Blacker, 484.
2 Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 132.
3 Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 182, 45; East India House Selections, IV. 153.
4 Bom. Geo. Soc. Trans., 327. 5 Bombay Selections, CIV. 4, 7.

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station ever since our Government got possession of Sálsette, and at the beginning of this century there was also a military establishment at Vesáva,[1] fifteen miles north of Bombay.[2] Vesáva had been spoken of by Gemelli[3] as one of the three forts of Sálsette and the harbour is mentioned by Hamilton as deep enough to receive ships of the greatest burden.[4] A small force was kept at Bhiwndi for some time and also at Panwel. There have now for many years been no troops in the district, except a wing of a Native Infantry Regiment at Thána.

In the Southern Konkan small detachments were kept for some years at Bánkot Málvan and Vengurla, which had all been for some time in our occupation, and also at Harnai. It was thought necessary, however, to make one regular military station, and Dápoli was fixed upon. About 1840 the regular troops were removed, and the veteran battalion alone kept there, and after 1857 this also was abolished, and the Southern Konkan left without any military force whatever.

Thána had from the first been the civil station of Sálsette, and became naturally the capital of the North Konkan. On July 11, 1825, Bishop Heber consecrated the church which had just been finished, and which he describes as "extremely elegant and convenient, and the effect very pleasing."[5] It was necessary also after we took the country in 1818 to fix on a place for civil head-quarters in the Southern Konkan. Bánkot Málvan and Vengurla were out of the question as being at the extremities of the district. Officers sent to report on the matter considered that Jaygad Vijaydurg and Ratnágiri were the three most suitable spots,[6] and eventually the choice fell on the last-named, which has since been the head-quarters of the district. About 1830, however, the North and South Konkan were joined into one collectorate, but this arrangement did not last long.

The first Collector of the North Konkan, Mr. Marriott, lost no time in recommending the abolition of a great number of the taxes, and within a year or two a rough survey was made of the whole collectorate.[7] But even in 1833 Sir John Malcolm wrote of "the hitherto unproductive island of Sálsette," and only looked forward to its improvement by "respectable and opulent natives of Bombay" settling in it.[8] Yet for several years after he had left India our Government levied duties at the rate of twenty-five per cent on all goods imported from the east into Sálsette and the other parts of the district which had belonged to the Portuguese. This was a Marátha impost, and our rulers apparently thought it so harmless as

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[1] The proper name of the village in which the fort is situated is Madh, which a military author romantically translated "Isle de Mer." The Native Regiment stationed there in 1810 "had every amusement and comfort that men could require, an excellent mess, good houses &c." Seely, 2.
[2] Lord Valentia, II. 182. [3] Churchill, IV. 198. [4] Pinkerton, VIII. 343.
[5] Heber's Journal, II. 144. [6] Manuscript Records.
[7] E. I. House Selections, III. 769. [8] Government of India, 81 and Appx. 63.

to retain it when many other taxes were abolished.[1] The ruggedness of both Konkans and the intersection of the country by large tidal rivers prevented the improvement of the greater part of it by road-making, so that it is only within the remembrance of the present generation that anything has been done to open out the inland parts of the district. But before the end of 1830 a great military road had been constructed from Panwel to Poona, and the Borghát opened for wheeled vehicles, which the Poona Government had on political grounds refused to let our Government repair as long as it was in their power.[2] This new road was said by Sir John Malcolm "to break down the wall between the Konkan and the Deccan." About the same time the road from Thána to Násik (afterwards part of the Agra road) was made, and the opening of the Talghát, though it was not available for wheeled vehicles, had the greatest effect on trade, for up to that time Berár cotton used to reach Bombay by the circuitous route of Surat. The Kumbhárli Ghát was also made at this time, although not then passable for carts, and the road across Mahábaleshvar from Sátára to Mahád was completed at the joint expense of the Rája of Sátára and our Government.[3]

Thus something was done to improve the inland parts of the province, and the coast villages have from the beginning of our rule flourished and increased. The Konkani Bráhmans had not lost their old aptitude for government, nor the Konkani Maráthás their inclination towards military employ : so that, though a great part of the district had not, up to a few years ago, made much progress, and a small portion was and still is inhabited by some very uncivilised tribes, yet as a whole the Konkan probably felt the blessings of peace and strong government as much as most other parts.

In 1836-38 a new assessment was made all over the Thána district, chiefly by Mr. J. M. Davies. It was found that owing to the fall in the price of grain in the Konkan Sadáshiv Keshav's assessments of 1788 which had then represented one-third of the produce were now equivalent to one-half, and a reduction of rates had to be made accordingly. Up to this time and for several years after the cultivation of the hill lands, which is now so largely carried on, was of very trifling extent, and scarcely any restrictions were placed on the destruction of trees which from their abundance were thought of little value.[1] In the Southern Konkan owing to the peculiarity of the tenures the survey was delayed almost up to the present time.

The two political events of chief consequence in the Konkan between 1820 and 1850 were the lapse of the state of Kolába in 1840 on the death of the last of the A'ngriás of the direct and legitimate line,[4] and the insurrection and military operations in the Vádi district in 1844-45. The sub-divisions of the Kolába state with those of Pen, Rájpuri, Mahád, and Thal, which had hitherto been

[1] J. M. Davies' Manuscript Reports.
[2] Seely, 59.
[3] Malcolm, 107, Appendix 86, 89.
[4] Aitchison's Treaties, VI. 182.

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the charge of the First Assistant Collector of Thána, were formed into a sub-collectorate and recently into an independent collectorate. The Sávantvádi disturbances scarcely extended to the Málvan sub-division although its villages are much mixed up with those of the Vádi state, but one of the insurgent leaders attempted to raise the people of Málvan against our Government.[1] The Konkan was only affected by the mutinies of 1857 by a wing of the Native Infantry Regiment which mutinied at Kolhápur being at Ratnágiri and the fears entertained that the mutineers would march down. A steamer was sent to take away the ladies and children from Ratnágiri, but no disturbance took place. The ruffian, afterwards known as Nána Sáheb, was the son of a poor Bráhman of Vengaon a village of Karjat, and was adopted at the age of four by the Peshwa Bájiráv. Nána with his parents and brothers then went to live with his adoptive father in Bengal, and the Konkan had no more to do with him. The gifted French naturalist Victor Jacquemont in October 1832 contracted the illness of which he died two months later by his botanical exploration in "the pestilential jungles of Sálsette."

Since 1850 the condition of the Northern Konkan has been entirely changed by the railways that pass through it, and the roads which now render most parts accessible. Sálsette in particular now (1883) presents a very different appearance from that described forty years ago. The hills are still covered with jungle, but are therefore more valuable than if scanty crops were grown on them, and much even of the better land is every year left uncultivated, but only because the grass gives a valuable return without the trouble and expense of tillage. The great numbers of carts which during the whole fine season pass along the roads and the flourishing appearance of the villages prove that Sálsette has now to a great extent at least recovered the prosperity it had 200 years ago. The rest of the Northern Konkan is in various stages of progress, part having improved nearly as rapidly as Sálsette and two or three sub-divisions being still, owing to want of population, not much better than the whole was described as being in 1818. Of the Southern Konkan the two northern sub-divisions, that is those nearest Bombay, are but little behind Sálsette, but the greater part of it is, and by the nature of its position must remain much isolated, while its greater poverty prevents the rapid extension of its communications, so that up to about 1860 it was probably but little different from what it was in 1818. But a cart-road now runs through the whole length of it, and steam navigation has of course been in its favour. The district still manages to attract to itself money earned in other parts of India, while those of the natives who take service elsewhere generally return to end their days in the place where they were born. During the years of the great public works in Bombay thousands of labourers used to go up there for the working season

[1] Bombay Selections, X. 19.

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and return home for the rains, and though this practice declined with the decline of speculation in Bombay, greater numbers than ever find their subsistence in the factories of Bombay.

Looking at the future prospects of the Konkan it must be said that the Northern Konkan at present suffers in its inland parts from a want of population and capital, but the whole of it may in time be as flourishing as the coast villages are now. The Southern Konkan is overpopulated, and nothing can make any but a small part of it fertile, nor does it seem likely that it will be ever distinguished by manufactures, or that mineral wealth will be developed. But it holds a race of men who in the last century conquered nearly the whole of India, and who show no signs of degeneration, and no one can for a moment suppose that the progress of education and science will leave the country of the most intelligent and industrious of Indian races unknown and unimproved.

EARLY

HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN

Down to the Mahomedan Conquest.

BY

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PREFACE.

In this second edition of the "Early History of the Dekkan," I have embodied the results of fresh researches published by others and myself within the last ten years. Some of my own have, however, been laid before the public now for the first time in this book.

R. G. B.

Poona, 10th January, 1895.

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CORRECTIONS.

Page 154, *line*	6 from bottom,	*for*	Vasishṭîputra	*read*	Vâsishṭîputra
„ 161 „	23 „ „	„	Śri & Sri, *here as elsewhere*	„	Śrî
„ 167 „	5 „ „	„	Yajna	„	Yajña
„ „ „	18 „ „	„	paid	„	said
„ 171 „	12 „ top	„	Guṇâdhya	„	Guṇâḍhya
„ 187 „	11 „ bottom	„	Gurjara	„	Gûrjara
„ „ „	22 „ „	„	Traikûtaka	„	Traikûṭaka
„ 189 „	27 „ top	„	Âshaḍha	„	Âshâḍha
„ 190 „	11 „ „	„	Paṭṭaḍakal, *here as elsewhere.*	„	Paṭṭadakal
„ 191 „	9 „ „	„	Vinayaditya	„	Vinayâditya
„ 192 *lines* 6 & 11	„ „	„	Brahamaṇism & Brahmaṇism	„	Brâhmaṇism
„ „ *line*	7 „ „	„	in the Southern	„	in Southern
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„ 199, marginal note.		„	Sarva	„	Śarva
„ „ *line*	34 from top	„	Nârâyana	„	Nârâyaṇa
„ 200 „	5 „ „	„	Silâhâra	„	Śilâhâra
„ 201, marginal note.		„	Krishna, *here as elsewhere.*	„	Kṛishṇa
„ 206, *line*	17 from top	„	Khârepâṭan, *here as elsewhere.*	„	Khârepâṭaṇ
„ „ „	22 „ „	„	doub	„	doubt
„ 207 „	10 „ „	„	Kâlanjara	„	Kâlañjara
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„ 218 „	5 „ bottom	„	Gaddaka, *here as elsewhere*	„	Gadag
„ 235 „	13 „ „	„	Singhaṅa	„	Siṅghaṇa
„ 237 „	12 „ „	„	Sûktimuktavali	„	Sûktimuktâvali
„ 238 „	12 „ „	„	Sukt-, *here as elsewhere.*	„	Sûkt-

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN.

ADDITIONS AND FURTHER CORRECTIONS.

P. 187, *footnote* 1, *add at the end*, Kárhâḍ plates recently put into my possession and not yet published.

P. 195, *line* 35, *after* Wardhâ, *here as well as everywhere henceforward except in l.* 14, *p.* 207, *add* and Karhâḍ *and make the necessary grammatical changes.*

P. 199, *line* 30, *after* death, *add* The Karhâḍ charter represents the fire of his prowess to have burnt the Châlukya race.

P. 205, *line* 23, *after* months, *add* In the Bhadan grant[1] the latter is represented to have reigned for a year.

P. 207, *lines* 6 *and* 7, *for the sentence ending with* dominions, *substitute* He expelled the prince Rachchhyâmalla from the throne of the Gaṅga country and placed on it a person of the name of Bûtuga, or Bûtayya which name has been Sanskritized into Bhûtârya ; and destroyed the Pallavas to whose race the Dantiga killed by him probably belonged.

P. 207, *line* 20, *at the end add* The Karhâḍ charter was issued in 880 S'aka, *i. e.* 18 years after the Wardhâ grant. It contains two stanzas more about Kṛishṇa III. than the latter ; and these must in consequence be regarded as alluding to events which occurred between S'aka 862 and 880. As stated therein, to consolidate his power Kṛishṇa deprived some of his feudatories of their principalities, and granted them to others who were meritorious ; some were separated from each other and others joined together. "With the idea of conquering the south, he uprooted the Chola race, placed the territory ruled over by it under his own dependents, made the kings of the Chera, Pâṇḍya, and other countries along with Siṁhala or Ceylon his tributaries, and erected a triumphal column at Re(â)mes'vara." In an inscription at Âtakûr in the Maisur territory, dated 872 S'aka, Kṛishṇarâja is represented to have fought with the Chola prince Râjâditya and killed him. In this last act he was assisted by Bûtuga, his Gaṅga feudatory mentioned above, and Bûtuga was rewarded for his services by being granted additional territory.[2] In a village in the Chingleput district of the Madras Presidency, which must have formed a part of the ancient kingdom of the Pallavas, there are two inscriptions dated in the seventeenth and nineteenth years of the reign of Kannaradeva, *i.e.* Kṛishṇadeva, in which he is spoken of as the conqueror of Kachchi or Kâñchîpura the capital of the Pallavas and Tañjai identified with Tanjor (Tañjâvûr or Tañjâpura) which was the capital of the Chola princes. Another inscription at Vellore is dated in the twenty-sixth year of his reign ; and there are two more containing his name in South Arcot[3] which was probably included in the Chola kingdom. These facts bear out the statement in the

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[1] Published by Prof. Kielhorn, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., p. 271.
[2] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II., pp. 172-74.
[3] *Ib.* Vol. III., pp. 282-85.

Karhâḍ grant of his having uprooted the Chola race and held the country by placing it under his dependents, and another in this and the Wardhâ grant that the Pallavas were destroyed by him. This latter event, however, took place before S'aka 862 the date of the Wardhâ grant, while the conquest of the Chola prince came on later. By the Karhâḍ charter which was issued on Wednesday the 13th of the dark half of Phâlguna when 880 years had elapsed since the time of the S'aka king, the cyclic year being *Kâlayukta*, Kṛishṇa granted,—while encamped at Melpâṭî with his victorious army for the purpose of apportioning the southern provinces among his dependents, taking charge of all the possessions of Areles'vara, and constructing temples to be dedicated to certain gods,—the village of Kaṅkiṁ in the district of Karahâṭaka to the great S'aiva ascetic Gaganaśiva who was the pupil of Îśânaśiva and was conversant with the S'ivasiddhântas or sacred books of the S'aiva sect, for the benefit of the whole group of ascetics. It would appear from this that S'aivism flourished about the district of Karhâḍ at this period.

P. 210, *to the dates under Kṛishṇa III. add* 872, 880.

Page 138, *line* 18 from bottom	*for*	Brâhmana	*read*	Brâhmaṇa
„ 146, *lines* 19 and 36 from top	„	Mysor	„	Maisur
„ „ *line* 21 „ „	„	Saliyaputta	„	Satiyaputta
„ 157 „ 31 „ „	„	Dakshiṇapatha	„	Dakshiṇâpatha
„ 160 „ 14 „ „	„	Mahârâshṭtra	„	Mahârâshṭra
„ „ „ 33 „ „	„	Dakshinâpatha	„	Dakshiṇâpatha
„ 174 „ 6 from bottom	„	Kânara	„	Kânarâ
„ 178 „ 11 „ top	„	Râshṭrakûta	„	Râshṭrakûṭa
„ 179 „ 4 „ bottom	„	Lâṭ *here as elsewhere*	„	Lâṭa
„ 181 „ 24 „ „	„	Mangalîśa	„	Maṅgalîs'a
„ 188 „ 16 „ „	*insert*	date *after* latest		
„ „ „ 7 from top	*for*	Tajika	*read*	Tâjika
„ 197, *footnote* 1	„	IV	„	III
„ 200, *line* 16 from top	„	Mahâpurâna	„	Mahâpurâṇa
„ 201 „ 30 „ „	„	Lâta	„	Lâṭa
„ 202 „ 10 „ „	„	Akâlavasha	„	Akâlavarsha
„ 203 „ 8 „ „	„	-sâri	„	-sârî
„ 205 „ 13 „ „	„	Sâhâsaṅka	„	Sâhasâṅka
„ 222 „ 20 „ „	„	Kâkateya	„	Kâkatîya
„ 226 „ 20 from bottom	„	Lingâyata *here as elsewhere.*	„	Liṅgâyata
„ 237 „ 12 „ „	„	Jahlâṇ's	„	Jahlaṇa's
„ 239 „ 1 „ „	„	यजार्जुनं	„	ययार्जुनं

EARLY
HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN.

INTRODUCTORY.

Introductory.

INDIA has no written history. Nothing was known till within recent times of the political condition of the country, the dynasties that ruled over the different provinces which composed it, and the great religious and social revolutions that it went through. The historical curiosity of the people was satisfied by legends. What we find of a historical nature in the literature of the country before the arrival of the Mahomedans comes to very little.

I. We have a chronicle of Kaśmir called the Râjataraṅgiṇî, in which, however, there is a good deal which is not supported by contemporary evidence. Now and then, a bountiful prince or minister found a poet to sing his glories; and the works thus composed, contain a good deal of historical information, though, of course, an undue praise of the patron and his ancestors is to be expected. But a few such works only have hitherto been discovered; and the oldest of them gives an account of a prince who lived in the first half of the seventh century. The literature of the Jainas of the S'vetâmbara sect contains accounts mostly of the later princes of Gujarât and other noted personages. There are also similar accounts of the princes of Râjaputâna. In the beginning or at the end of some Sanskrit works the names of the princes under whose patronage or in whose reign they were composed, are given; and sometimes we find a long genealogy of the family to which the particular prince belonged, with some short observation with reference to each of his ancestors. Lastly, the Purâṇas contain genealogies of the most powerful royal families which ascend to a higher antiquity than the works noticed hitherto.

II. But the information to be gathered from all these sources is extremely meagre; and there are many provinces on the history of which they do not throw any light. And the facts mentioned in them cannot be systematically arranged, or even chronologically connected, except with the assistance of other sources of information to which we shall now proceed. The invasion of Alexander the

Introductory.

Great brought the Greeks in contact with the Hindus; and his successors in Syria kept up an intercourse with the Indian emperors for a long time. The notices of Indian persons and events contained in the writings of the Greeks, when compared with the statements occurring in the Purâṇas, admit, in some cases, of an easy identification; and from the known dates of the corresponding Greek persons or events, we are able to determine those of the Indian persons or events. In this manner the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty by Chandragupta has been determined to be about 322 B.C., and a good many other dates in Indian history have been ascertained. The writings of Chinese authors also throw a great deal of light on some periods of Indian history. Buddhism was introduced into China in the first century of the Christian era; and from time to time men from that country came to India as pilgrims; and some Indian Buddhists also must have found their way to China. The Chinese pilgrims wrote accounts of what they saw and did in India, and these works, which have come down to us, are very valuable for the elucidation of Indian history. The Chinese possessed a perfect system of chronology, and the dates of the pilgrimages are useful for the purposes of the Indian antiquarian. Valuable accounts of India written by the Arabic visitors to the country in the Middle Ages have also become available.

III. Another very important source, and fuller than any hitherto noticed, consists of inscriptions. Some of these are cut on stones or rocks, and others engraved on copperplates. These last are in all cases charters conveying grants of land made mostly by princes or chiefs to religious persons or to temples and monasteries. A great many of these are dated in one of the current eras. It is usual in these charters to give the pedigree of the grantor. The names of his ancestors together with some of their famous deeds are mentioned. As the authors who composed the grants cannot be expected to be impartial in their account of the reigning monarch, much of what they say about him cannot be accepted as historically true. And even in the case of his ancestors, the vague praise that we often find, must be regarded simply as meaningless. But when they are represented to have done a specific deed, such as the conquest of Harshavardhana by Pulakeśi II. of the early Châlukya dynasty, it must be accepted as historical; and when we have other sources available, we find the account confirmed, as Hwhan Thsang does that of Pulakeśi's exploit. Even in the case of the reigning monarch, the specific deeds such as wars with neighbouring princes, which are mentioned, may be accepted as historical; though, however,

legitimate doubts may be entertained as regards the reported results.

The stone-inscriptions are intended to commemorate the dedication of a temple or monastery or any part thereof, and of works of public utility such as tanks and wells, and sometimes grants of land also. A good many of these benefactions are by private individuals; but not seldom the name of the king, in whose reign the dedication was made, is given together with the year of his reign, as well as the date in the current era. When it is a royal benefaction that is commemorated, we have a longer account of the reigning prince, and sometimes of his ancestors.

The great pioneer in the deciphering and interpretation of inscriptions was James Prinsep; but no great progress was made after him, in this branch of antiquarian work, till the establishment of the "Indian Antiquary" and the institution of the Archæological Survey. These gave a strong impetus to it, and many scholars entered into the field with zeal. Twenty years ago, it would have been impossible to write the following pages.

IV. I must not omit to mention old coins as a valuable source of information as to the names of the successive monarchs of a dynasty, and sometimes their dates. A study of these too has led to very important results.

The materials for the history of the development of Indian thought and of changes in the social condition are the whole literature itself. But this is an independent inquiry with which we are not here directly concerned; and the conclusions arrived at are applicable to the whole Hindu race, and not to any particular province. I have consulted general literature only in discussing points concerning the Âryan settlement of the Dekkan. The materials used in the preparation of the other sections, which fall under each of the four classes noticed above, are as follows:

I.—Bilhaṇa's Vikramâṅkacharita, Introduction to the Vratakhaṇḍa, Introduction to Jahlaṇa's anthology, the Purāṇic genealogies; and scattered notices in the Kathâsaritsâgara, Hâla's Saptaśatî, Vâtsyâyana's Kâmasûtra, Kavirahasya, Digambara Jaina works—such as the Harivaṁśa, the Uttara Purâṇa, the Yaśastilaka, the Praśnottararatnamâlikâ &c.—Vijñâneśvara's Mitâksharâ, the Abhilashitârthachintâmaṇi, the Basava Purâṇa, the Lekhapañchâśikâ, the Śabdârṇavachandrikâ, the Jñâneśvarî, and a few others.

II.—Ptolemy's geography, the Periplus, Hwhan Thsang's Itinerary.

III.—Inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India; Rudradâman's inscription at Junâgaḍ; stone inscriptions in the Southern Maratha Country; copperplate charters of the early Châlukyas, the

Introductory.

Râshṭrakûṭas, and other dynasties, of which we have now a large number.

IV.—Coins of the S'âtavâhanas found at Kolhâpur and in the lower Godâvarî district.

Since the political history of the Dekkan before the advent of Mahomedans was entirely unknown before, and the difficulty of ascertaining facts is very great, my object has been to collect as many of them as possible. The absence of proportion in the space allotted to important and unimportant events due to this circumstance will, it is hoped, be excused. This does not pretend to be a literary production, but merely a congeries of facts.

SECTION I.

Etymology of the word "Dekkan" and its denotation.

Section I. Etymology of the word "Dekkan."

The word "Dakkhan" represents the vernacular pronunciation of the Sanskrit word Dakshiṇa, meaning "southern," used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmadâ. The name more usually met with in Sanskrit works and elsewhere is Dakshiṇâpatha or "the Southern Region." That this name was in ordinary use in ancient times is shown by the fact that the author of the Periplus calls that portion of the country Dakhinabades.[1] In the vernacular or Prâkṛit speech of the time, the Sanskrit Dakshiṇâpatha must have become Dakkhiṇâbadha or Dakkhiṇâvadha by the usual rules, and the Greek writer must have derived his name from this popular pronunciation. The shorter form of the name also must have been in use, since in the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, Fah-Hian,[2] the Chinese traveller, was told at Benares that there was a country to the south called Ta-Thsin, which word corresponds to the Sanskrit Dakshiṇa.

Denotation of the word Dekkan.

Dakshiṇâpatha or Dakshiṇa was the name of the whole peninsula to the south of the Narmadâ. Among the countries enumerated in the Mârkaṇḍeya,[3] Vâyu,[4] and Mâtsya[5] Purâṇas as comprised in Dakshiṇâpatha are those of the Cholas, Pâṇḍyas, and Keralas, which were situated in the extreme south of the peninsula, and correspond to the modern provinces of Tanjor, Madura, and Malabâr. In the Mahâbhârata, however, Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pâṇḍu princes, is represented in his career of conquest to have gone to Dakshiṇâpatha after having conquered the king of the Pâṇḍyas.[6] This would show that the country of the Pâṇḍyas was not included in Dakshiṇâpatha. Again, the rivers Godâvarî and others springing from the Sahyâdri are spoken of in the Vâyu Purâṇa as rivers of Dakshiṇâpatha[7], while the Narmadâ and the Tâpî are not so styled; whence it would seem that the valleys of those rivers were not included in Dakshiṇâpatha. The word thus appears not to have been always used in the same sense. In modern times it is the name of the country between the Narmadâ on the north and a variable line along the course of the Kṛishṇâ to the south, exclusive of the provinces lying to the extreme east. It is thus almost identical

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[1] Indian Antiquary, VIII. 143. [2] Travels of Fah-Hian by S. Beal, 139.

[3] Chap. 57 Verse 45, Edition Bibliotheca Indica. The reading of the second line, however, is wrong. It ought to be, Pâṇḍyâś cha Keralâś chaiva Cholâḥ Kulyâs tathaiva cha, as it is in the manuscript I have consulted.

[4] Chap. 45 Verse 124, Edition Bibliotheca Indica.

[5] Chap. 112 Verse 46, Poona Lithographed Edition.

[6] Sabhâparvan, Chap. 31 Verse 17, Bombay Edition.

[7] Chap. 45 Verse 104, Ed. Bib. Ind.

Section I.

with the country called Mahârâshṭra or the region in which the Marâṭhî language is spoken, the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghâṭs and the sea being excluded. A still narrower definition is that which excludes from this tract the valleys of the Narmadâ and the Tâpî; and to this extent we have seen that there is authority for it in the Vâyu Purâṇa. Thus the word Dekkan expresses the country watered by the upper Godâvarî and that lying between that river and the Kṛishṇâ. The name Mahârâshṭra also seems at one time to have been restricted to this tract. For that country is, in the Purâṇas[1] and other works, distinguished on the one hand from Aparânta or Northern Konkan, and from the regions on either side of the Narmadâ and the Tâpî inhabited by the Pulindas and S'abaras, as well as from Vidarbha on the other. In a comparatively modern work entitled Ratnakośa,[2] Mahârâshṭra, Vaidarbha, Tâpî-taṭa-deśa and Narmadâ-taṭa-deśa (*i. e.*, the countries on either side of those rivers), and the Koṇkan are spoken of as distinct from each other. The Dekkan or Mahârâshṭra in this the narrowest sense of the word forms the subject of the present notice.

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[1] See the chapters of the three Purâṇas referred to in the notes on page 133.
[2] Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 352.

SECTION II.

Settlement of the Âryas in the Dekkan.

Section II.

Settlement of the Âryas in the Dekkan.

It is now a recognised fact that the Âryas who came to India were at first confined to eastern Afghanistan and the Panjâb. Thence they emigrated to the east and for a time the easternmost province occupied by them was Bramhâvarta or their holy land, lying between the rivers Sarasvatî the modern Sarasuti, and Drishadvatî,[1] a stream in the vicinity, that is, the country about Thanesar. There the system of castes and orders and the sacrificial religion seem to have been fully developed. Thence they spread to the east and the south, and gradually occupied the whole country between the Himâlaya and the Vindhya. This last mountain range must for a long time have formed the southern boundary of their settlements. For the name Âryâvarta or the region occupied by the Âryas, as explained by Manu[2] and even by Patañjali,[3] the author of the Mahâbhâshya on Pâṇini's grammar, signified exclusively the part of the country situated between those mountain ranges. The Vindhya, which by its height seemed to obstruct the passage of the sun, was impassable to them. The name Pâriyâtra was given to the more northern and western portion of the range from which the rivers Chambal and Betvâ take their rise, probably because it was situated on the boundary of their Yâtrâ or range of communication. After a while, however, the sage Agastya, in poetical language, bade the mountain not to grow high, that is, crossed it and established an Âśrama or hermitage to the south and thus led the way to other settlements. The first or oldest Âryan province in the southern country must have been the Vidarbhas or the Berârs. For in the Râmâyaṇa when Sugrîva the monkey-king sends his followers to the different quarters in search of Râma's wife Sîtâ and Râvaṇa her ravisher, he directs them to go among other southern countries to Vidarbhas, Ṛichîkas, and Mahishakas, and also to Daṇḍakâraṇya (the forest of Daṇḍakâ) and the river Godâvarî.[4] This shows that while the country about the Godâvarî, that is, the Dekkan or Mahârâshtra in the narrowest sense of the terms, was a forest, Vidarbha was an inhabited country. In the Mahâbhârata also Agastya is represented to have given a girl that he produced by his miraculous powers to the king of Vidarbha, and after she had grown to be a woman demanded her of the king in marriage.[5] In the Râmâyaṇa, Râma is represented to have lived for a long time in Daṇḍakâraṇya, at a place called Pañchavaṭî situated on the banks

Vidarbha, the first Âryan province in the South.

[1] Manu, II. 17. [2] Manu, II. 23.
[3] Patañjali's Mahâbhâshya under Pâṇini, II. 4, 10.
[4] Râmâyana, IV. Chap. 41, Bombay Edition.
[5] Mahâbhârata, Bombay Edition, III. Chap. 96, 97.

Section II.

Daṇḍakâraṇya, the same as Mahârâshṭra.

of the Godâvarî about two yojanas from the hermitage of Agastya.[1] That this Daṇḍakâraṇya was the modern Mahârâshṭra is shown by the fact stated above, that it was watered by the river Godâvarî, and by several others. According to the Hindu ritual it is necessary when beginning any religious ceremony to pronounce the name of the country in which it is performed. The Brâhmaṇs in Mahârâshṭra do not utter the name Mahârâshṭra but Daṇḍakâraṇya with the word *deśa* or "country" attached to it. In the introduction to Hemâdri's Vratakhaṇḍa, a work written more than six hundred years ago, Devagiri, the modern Daulatâbâd, is spoken of as situated in a district on the confines of Daṇḍakâraṇya. Nâsik claims to be the Pañchavaṭî where Râma lived. But the poet could hardly be expected to have brought his hero from the Vindhya to such a remote westerly place as Nâsik. The river Godâvarî must, from the description occurring in the Râmâyaṇa as well as in Bhavabhûti's Uttara Râmacharita, have been wide at Râma's Pañchavaṭî. It could hardly have been so at Nâsik, which is very near its source. On the other hand, "the region about the northern part of the Sahyâdri through which flowed the river Godâvarî and in which Govardhana was situated" is in the Purâṇas represented as "the most charming on earth; and there, to please Râma, the sage Bhâradvâja caused heavenly trees and herbs to spring up for his wife's enjoyment, and thus a lovely garden came into existence."[2] In the Mârkaṇḍeya, Govardhana is spoken of as a town; but the Vâyu and the Mâtsya seem to mean it to be a mountain. This Govardhana must, from the given position, be the same as the village of that name near Nâsik; and thus the three Purâṇas must be understood as supporting the identification of Pañchavaṭî with Nâsik.

Pañchavaṭî.

The complete subjugation of Mahârâshṭra by the Âryas, proved by the prevalent dialect of the country.

But though Mahârâshṭra was the last country occupied by the Indian Âryas, their subjugation of it was no less thorough than that of all the northern countries. Here, as there, they drove some of the aborigines to the fastnesses of mountains and jungles, and incorporated the rest into their own society. The present Marâṭhî language is as much an offshoot of the Sanskrit as the other languages of Northern India. The ancient representatives of these dialects—the Mahârâshṭrî, the S'aurasenî, and the Mâgadhî, as well as an earlier form of speech, the Pâli—show extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, reducible however to a few general laws. These cannot be accounted for by the natural operation of the causes which bring about the decay of a language spoken throughout its history by the same race. For, this operation is slow and must be in continuance for a very long time in order to produce the wide-going phonetic changes which we observe in those Prâkṛit dialects, as they are called. This long-continued process must at the same time give rise to a great many changes in other respects. Such,

[1] Râmâyaṇa, III. 13, 13 Bom. Ed.

[2] Mârkaṇḍeya, Chap. 57 Verses 34-35; Vâyu, Chap. 45 Verses 112-114; and Mâtsya, Chap. 112 Verses 37-39. The passage, however, is corrupt. The three Purâṇas evidently derive their reading from the same original, but the text has been greatly corrupted. The most ancient version of it seems to be that in the Vâyu

however, we do not find in those dialects, and they do not in those respects show a very wide departure from the Sanskrit. The extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, therefore, must be accounted for by the supposition that the language had to be spoken by races whose original tongue it was not. Those alien races could not properly pronounce the Sanskrit words used by the conquering Âryas; and thus the Prâkṛit forms of Sanskrit words represent their pronunciation of them. A few sounds unknown to Sanskrit as well as some words not traceable to that language are also found in the Prâkṛits, and these point to the same conclusion. It thus appears that the Indian Âryas in their progress through the country came in contact with alien races, which were incorporated with their society and learnt their language, at the same time that they preserved some of their original words and phonetic peculiarities.[1] This was the state of things in the north down to the Marâṭhâ country. But farther south and on the eastern coast, though they penetrated there and communicated their own civilization to the aboriginal races inhabiting those parts, they were not able to incorporate them thoroughly into their own society and to root out their languages and their peculiar civilization. On the contrary, the Âryas had to learn the languages of those races and to adopt a portion at least of their civilization. Thus the Kanarese, the Telugu, the Tamil, and the other languages now spoken in Southern India are not derived from the Sanskrit but belong altogether to a different stock, and hence it is also that southern art is so different from the northern. The reason why the result of the Âryan irruption was so different in Southern India from what it was in the north appears to be that when the Âryas penetrated to the south there existed already well-organized communities and kingdoms. In the passage in the Râmâyaṇa, referred to above, the monkey-soldiers are directed to go to the countries of the Andhras (Telugu people), the Pâṇḍyas, the Cholas, and the Keralas, in the south; and are told that they will there see the gate of the city of the Pâṇḍyas adorned with gold and jewels. And these races, their country, and their kings are alluded to in other Sanskrit works, as will be noticed hereafter. In the north, however, at the time of the Âryan invasion, the condition of the country must have been similar to that of Daṇḍakâraṇya, which is represented in the Râmâyaṇa as a forest infested by Râkshasas or wild tribes who disturbed the religious rites of the Brâhmaṇ sages. And throughout the older portion of Sanskrit literature, which is to be referred to the times when the Âryas were gradually progressing from the Panjâb, the wild tribes they met with are spoken of under the name of Dasyus, Râkshasas, and others.

The subjugation of the country farther South, partial.

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[1] These points I have developed in my Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prâkṛit languages derived from it; Jour. Bom. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI. pp. 290-91.

SECTION III.

Approximate Date of the Âryan settlement in the Dekkan and notices of Southern India in ancient Indian Literature and Inscriptions.

Section III.

The Âryas acquainted with Northern India in the time of the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa.

We will now endeavour to determine approximately the period when the Âryas settled in Daṇḍakâraṇya, and trace the relations between the civilized Âryan community of the north and the southern country at different periods of Sanskrit literature and at well known dates in Indian history. In the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, which is anterior to the whole of the so-called classical Sanskrit literature, the sage Vis'vâmitra is represented to have condemned by a curse the progeny of fifty of his sons to "live on the borders" of the Âryan settlements, and these, it is said, "were the Andhras, Puṇḍras, S'abaras, Pulindas, and Mûtibas, and the descendants of Viśvâmitra formed a large portion of the Dasyus."[1] Of these the first four are spoken of as people living in the south, the Puṇḍras in the Râmâyaṇa, and the other three in the Purâṇas.[2] From the later literature, the Pulindas and S'abaras appear to have been wild tribes living about the Vindhyas.[3] Ptolemy places the former along the Narmadâ. The Andhras, who in these days are identified with the Telugu people, lived about the mouth of the Godâvarî or perhaps farther to the north. If these were the positions of the tribes in the time of the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, the Indian Âryas must at that time have been acquainted with the whole country to the north of the Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range.

Also in Pâṇini's time.

Pâṇini in his Sûtras or grammatical rules shows an extensive knowledge of the geography of India. Of the places and rivers mentioned by him a good many exist in the Panjâb and Afghanistan; but the names of countries situated in the eastern portion of Northern India also occur in the Sûtras. The countries farthest to the south mentioned by him are Kachchha (IV. 2, 133), Avantî (IV. 1, 176), Kosala (IV. 1, 171), Karûs'a (IV. 1, 178)[4]

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[1] Aitareya Brâhmana, VII. 18. Pulindas are omitted in the corresponding passage in the Śâṅkhâyana Sûtra.

[2] See the passages above referred to.

[3] In his Kâdambarî Bâṇa places the S'abaras in the forest on the Vindhya range.

[4] This name does not occur in the Sûtra, but is the second in the list or Gaṇa beginning with Bharga. As regards the words occurring in these Gaṇas, I have on a previous occasion expressed my opinion that though it is not safe to attribute a whole Gaṇa to Pâṇini (and in several cases we have clear indications that some of the words were inserted in later times), still the first three words might without mistake be taken to be his. This was objected to by Professor Weber. But as my reasons were, as I thought, obvious, I did not think it necessary to defend my view. I may, however, here state that since Pâṇini refers to these Gaṇas in his Sûtras by using the first word in the list with *âdi*, equivalent to "and others," added to it, and since he uses the plural of the noun so formed, and the plural of a noun cannot be used unless three individuals at least of the class are meant, it is proper that we should understand him to be thinking of the first and two words at least more. This observation is meant to be applicable generally. In the present case, however, the expression *Bhargâdi* forms a part of the compound, and the plural is not actually used, though it is clearly implied.

and Kaliṅga (IV. 1, 178).[1] The first is the same as the modern country of that name, Avantî is the district about Ujjayinî, and Kaliṅga corresponds to the modern Northern Circars. Kosala, Karûśa, and Avantî are mentioned in the Purâṇas as countries situated on the back of the Vindhya.[2] In the Ratnâvalî, a dramatic play, Kosala is also placed near that mountain range. Supposing that the non-occurrence of the name of any country farther south in Pâṇini's work is due to his not having known it, a circumstance which, looking to the many names of places in the north that he gives, appears very probable, the conclusion follows that in his time the Âryas were confined to the north of the Vindhya, but did proceed or communicate with the northernmost portion of the eastern coast, not by crossing that range, but avoiding it by taking an easterly course.

Southern India unknown in all likelihood in Pâṇini's time.

Southern India known to Kâtyâyana but unknown to Pâṇini.

Kâtyâyana, however, the object of whose aphorisms called Vârtikas is to explain and supplement Pâṇini, shows an acquaintance with southern nations. Pâṇini gives rules for the formation of derivatives for the names of tribes of warriors which are at the same time the names of the countries inhabited by them, in the sense of "one sprung from an individual belonging to that tribe," and also, it must be understood, in the sense of "king of the country." Thus a man sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pañchâlas, or the king of the country Pañchâlas, is to be called Pâñchâla; a descendant of a Sâlva, or the king of the country of the Sâlvas, is to be called Sâlveya, &c. Kâtyâyana notices here an omission; the name Pâṇḍya is not explained by Pâṇini. Kâtyâyana therefore adds, "one sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pâṇḍus or the king of their country, should be called a Pâṇḍya."[3] Similarly, Pâṇini tells us that in either of these senses no termination should be appended to the word *Kambojas*, which was the name of a non-Âryan people in the north-west, nor should any of its vowels be changed; but that the word *Kamboja* itself means "one sprung from an individual of the Kamboja tribe, or the king of the country of the Kambojas."[4] Kâtyâyana says that in this rule, the expression "and others" should be added to the word *Kambojas*; for the rule applies also to the names "Cholas and others," that is, persons sprung from an individual of the Chola and other tribes, and the kings of the Chola and other countries should be called by the names "Chola and others." Similarly, Pâṇini tells us that the countries Kumudvat, Naḍvat, and Vetasvat are so called because they contain Kumudas or water-lilies,

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[1] In the so-called Pâṇinîya S'ikshâ the expression Saurâshṭrikâ nârî or "a woman of Surâshṭra" occurs. But this should by no means be regarded as showing that Pâṇini was acquainted with Surâshṭra. The Pâṇinîya S'ikshâ cannot be the work of Pâṇini; for the author of that treatise begins by stating that he is going to explain S'ikshâ according to the views of Pâṇini and ends with a few verses in praise of the great grammarian. Besides, the author notices the Prâkṛit dialects to which there is no allusion whatever in Pâṇini's great work and writes in verse. Grammatical treatises in verse are later than those in the form of Sûtras. The Pâṇinîya S'ikshâ therefore must have been composed long after Pâṇini.

[2] See the passages cited above.

[3] Pâṇḍor dyaṇ, which is a Vârtika on Pâṇ. IV. 1, 168.

[4] Pâṇ. IV. 1, 175.

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Nadas or reeds, and Vetas or canes, respectively.[1] Kâtyâyana adds, "Mahishmat is so called because it contains Mahishas or buffaloes."

Now Mahishmat appears to be the same southern country which in the Purâṇas is associated with Mahârâshṭra and is called Mahishakas. Mâhishmatî on the banks of the Narmadâ was probably its capital. Here we may, I think, argue, as Professor Goldstucker has done in many similar cases, that had Pâṇini known the Pâṇḍyas, Cholas, and Mahishmat, he would not have omitted the names from his rules, considering how careful a grammarian he was. Very likely, then, he did not know them, and this supposition is strengthened by the fact alluded to above that the name of no other southern country occurs in his Sûtras. Thus then the Âryas of the north were not familiar with the southern countries and tribes in the time of Pâṇini, but were so in the time of Kâtyâyana. The latter author also mentions a town of the name of Nâsikya,[2] which is very likely the same as our modern Nâsik.

Patañjali intimately acquainted with Southern India.

Patañjali shows an intimate acquaintance with the south. As a grammarian he thinks it his duty to notice the lingual usages in the south, and tells us that in Dakshiṇâpatha the word *Sarasî* is used to denote large lakes.[3] He mentions Mâhishmatî,[4] Vaidarbha,[5] Kâñchîpura[6] the modern Conjeveram, and Kerala[7] or Malabâr. Patañjali's date, B.C. 150, may now be relied upon. That author notices variant readings of Kâtyâyana's Vârtikas as found in the texts used by the schools of the Bhâradvâjîyas, Saunâgas, and others. Some of these might be considered as emendations of the Vârtikas, though Patañjali's introduction of them by the verb *paṭhanti*, "they read," is an indication that he regarded them as different readings. A sufficiently long time therefore must have elapsed between Kâtyâyana and Patañjali to give rise to these variants or emendations. I am therefore inclined to accept the popular tradition which refers Kâtyâyana to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas, and to assign to him the first half of the fourth century before Christ. In this manner the interval between Kâtyâyana and Patañjali was about two hundred years. Now, Professor Goldstucker has shown from an examination of the Vârtikas that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Pâṇini but are taught by Kâtyâyana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Pâṇini's time. I have followed up the argument in my lectures "On the Sanskrit and Prâkṛit languages,"[8] and given from the Vârtikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, *viz.*, either that Pâṇini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time. The first is of course inadmissible; wherefore the second must be accepted. I have also

Chronological relations between Kâtyâyana and Patañjali.

Between Kâtyâyana and Pâṇini.

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[1] Pân. IV. 2, 87.
[2] In a Vârtika on Pân. VI. 1, 63.
[3] Mahâbhâshya on Pâṇ. I. 1, 19.
[4] On Pân. III. 1, 26.
[5] IV. 1, fourth Âhnika.
[6] IV. 2, second Âhnika.
[7] IV. 1, fourth Âhnika.
[8] Jour. Bom. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI. p. 273.

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shown from a passage in the introduction to Patañjali's Mahâbhâshya, that verbal forms such as those of the perfect which are taught by Pâṇini as found in the Bhâshâ or current language, not the Chhândasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, and participles had come to be used instead.[1] Professor Goldstucker has also given a list of words used by Pâṇini in his Sûtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Kâtyâyana, and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Pâṇini's time but was known to Kâtyâyana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that elapsed between Pâṇini and Kâtyâyana was so great that certain literary works which either did not exist in Pâṇini's time or were not old to him came to be considered by Kâtyâyana to be as old as those which were old to Pâṇini. No less an interval of time than about three centuries can account for all these circumstances. Pâṇini, therefore, must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still; and against this conclusion I believe no argument has been or can be brought, except a vague prejudice. And now to our point, the Indian Âryas had thus no knowledge of Southern India previous to the seventh century before Christ; they had gone as far as the Northern Circars by the eastern route, but no farther; and the countries directly to the south of the Vindhya they were not familiar with. About that time, however, they must have begun to penetrate still further, since they had already settled in or had communication with the countries on the northern skirts of the Vindhya and Kaliṅga, and first settled in Vidarbha or Berâr, approaching it still, it would appear, by the eastern route; but in the course of some time more they crossed the Vindhya and settled in Daṇḍakâraṇya along the banks of the Godâvarî, that is, in Mahârâshṭra or the Dekkan. Before B.C. 350 they had become familiar with the whole country down to Tanjor and Madura.

The Âryas penetrated to the Dekkan after the beginning of about the seventh century B.C.

Chronological value of the Epics.

A chronological conclusion based on the occurrence of certain words or names in the great epics is not likely to be so safe. Though a Mahâbhârata existed before Pâṇini and Âs'valâyana, it is highly questionable whether our present text is the same as that which existed in their times. On the contrary, the probability is that the work has been added to from time to time; and the text itself has undergone such corruption that no one can be positively certain that a particular word was not foisted into it in comparatively modern times. The text of the Râmâyaṇa also has become corrupt, though additions do not seem to have been made to it. Still the Bengali rescension of the poem like the Bengali rescensions of more recent works does contain additions. The text prevalent in this part of the country and in the south is more reliable; and though innumerable differences of reading exist in the different manuscripts even on this side, still there is hardly any material difference. But

[1] Jour. Bom. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., pp. 269-71.

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the date of the Râmâyaṇa is uncertain; the present Hindu belief based on the Purâṇas is that Râma's incarnation is older than Krishṇa's, and consequently the Râmâyaṇa older than the Mahâbhârata; but it is not a little curious that while there is an allusion to Vâsudeva and Arjuna and to Yudhishṭhira in Pâṇini, and Patañjali frequently brings in Mahâbhârata characters in his illustrations and examples, there is not one allusion to Râma or his brothers or their father Daśaratha in the works of those grammarians. Even a much later author, Amarasiṁha the lexicographer, in his list of the synonyms of Vishṇu, gives a good many names derived from the Krishṇa incarnation; but the name of Râma, the son of Daśaratha, does not occur, though Râma or Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛishṇa, is mentioned. Still, whatever chronological value may be attached to the circumstance, the occurrence of the names of places in the Dekkan contained in those epics I have already to some extent noticed. Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pâṇḍyas, Draviḍas, Uḍras, Keralas, and Andhras,[1] and also to have visited Kishkindhâ, which was probably situated somewhere near Hampi, the site of the Pampâ lake or river, where Râma met Sugrîva the monkey chief, though the country Kaishkindha is placed by the Purâṇas among those near the Vindhyas. He went also to S'ûrparaka, the modern Supârâ near Bassein, Daṇḍaka, the same as Daṇḍakâraṇya but not mentioned as a forest, Karahâṭaka the modern Karhâḍa on the confluence of the Kṛishṇâ and the Koinâ, and to others. The countries mentioned in the passage in the Râmâyaṇa, alluded to above, as lying to the south are Utkala, probably the modern Ganjam, Kaliṅga, Daśârṇa, Avantî, Vidarbha, and others. The district near Bhilsâ must have been called Daśârṇa in ancient times; for its capital was Vidiśâ, which was situated, as stated by Kâliḍâsa in the Meghadûta, on the Vetravatî or Betvâ, and is thus to be identified with the modern Bhilsâ. All these are thus in the vicinity of the Vindhya or nearly in the same line with it farther east. But between these and the southernmost countries of the Cholas, Pâṇḍyas, and Keralas, the Râmâyaṇa mentions no other place or country but Daṇḍakâraṇya. This condition of the country, as observed before, is to be considered as previous to the Âryan settlements in the Dekkan, while that represented by the Mahâbhârata in the place indicated seems subsequent; and herein we may see a reason for believing that the Râmâyaṇa is the older of the two epics. The name Mahârâshṭra does not occur in either of them.

Places in the Dekkan alluded to in the poems.

Names of peoples in the Dekkan in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

In the middle of the third century before Christ, Aśoka, the great king of the Maurya dynasty reigning at Pâṭaliputra in Magadha, speaks in the fifth Edict of his rock-inscriptions, which are found at Girnâr in Kâṭhiâvâḍ on the west, Dhauli in Katak and Jaugaḍ in Ganjam on the eastern coast, at Khalsi in the Himâlaya, Shahbaz-garhi in Afghanistan, and Mansehra on the northern frontier of the Panjab, of his having sent ministers of religion

[1] Sâbbap, Chap. 31.

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to the Râstikas and the Petenikas and to the Aparântas.[1] The last which we know best is Northern Konkan, the capital of which was Sûrparaka. Petenikas is not unlikely the same as Paiṭhaṇakas, *i.e.*, the people or country about Paiṭhaṇa on the Godâvarî. The vernacular pronunciation of the name of the city, which in Sanskrit is Pratishṭhâna, was in those days, as it now is, Peṭhaṇa or Paiṭhaṇa, for both the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy call it Paithana or Baithana. The Râsṭikas, or, according to the Mansehra version, Raṭrakas, corresponding to the Sanskrit Râshṭrikas, were very likely the people of Mahârâshṭra, for a tribe of the name of Raṭṭas has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Dekkan. One branch of it assumed the name of Râshṭrakûṭas and governed the country before the Châlukyas acquired power. It re-established itself after about three centuries, but had to yield to the Châlukyas again after some time. In later times, chieftains of the name of Raṭṭas governed Sugandhavarti or Saundatti in the Belgaum districts. In the thirteenth Edict in which the countries where As'oka's moral edicts were respected are enumerated, the Petenikas are associated with Bhojas instead of Râsṭikas. Bhojas, we know, ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berâr[2] and also in other parts of the Dekkan. In the inscriptions in the caves at Kuḍâ,[3] the name "Mahâbhoja" or Great Bhoja occurs several times, and once in an inscription at Beḍsâ. Just as the Bhojas called themselves Mahâbhojas, the Râshṭrikas, Raṭṭis, Raṭṭhis, or Raṭṭhas called themselves Mahâraṭṭhis or Mahâraṭṭhas, as will be shown below, and thus the country in which they lived came to be called Mahâraṭṭha, the Sanskrit of which is Mahârâshṭra. In the second and the thirteenth edicts, the countries of the Cholas, Pâṇḍyas, Ketalaputras (Chera or Kerala), and the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned. Thus about a hundred years before Patañjali, the whole of the southern peninsula up to Cape Comorin was in direct communication with the north, and the Dekkan or Mahârâshṭra had regular kingdoms governed by Raṭṭas and Bhojas.

Etymology of the name "Mahârâshṭra."

The occurrence of the names "Mahâraṭṭhi," "Mahâraṭṭha" and "Mahârâshṭra" in books and inscriptions.

In the Mahâvaṁso, a Ceylonese chronicle which was written in the third quarter of the fifth century of the Christian era, and in the Dîpavaṁso, which is much older, the Buddhist saint Moggaliputto, who conducted the proceedings of the third convocation said to

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[1] ये वाप्यन्येऽपरांता: is the Sanskrit of the original Prâkṛit. It might be translated as "and also those other called Aparântas," *i.e.* also that other country called Aparânta. If we take it in this way, Aparânta is clearly Northern Konkan; for that is the name of that part of the country found in Sanskrit and Pâli Literature from the remotest times. In the Mahâvaṁśa and Dîpavaṁśa quoted below, Mahârâshṭra is associated with Aparântaka. It is possible to translate it as "and also other western countries" as M. Senart does. But the word "other" certainly refers to *Rastika-Petenikânâm* and not to the preceding Yonam Kambojam &c., as he takes it so as to make these last also western countries. (Inscriptions of Aśoka, Vol. II., p. 84.)

[2] In the Daśakumâracharita, the family of Bhojas has been represented as having held sway over the Vidarbha country for a long time.

[3] Kuḍâ inscriptions Nos. 1, 9, 17, 19, 23, and Beḍsâ No. 2; Arch. Surv. of West. Ind., No. 10.

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have been held in the time of As'oka, is represented to have sent missionaries to Mahâraṭṭha, Aparântaka, and Vanavâsi.[1] Whether the name Mahâraṭṭha or Mahârâshṭra had come into use in the time of Aśoka does not appear clear from this, but that it was used in the early centuries of the Christian era admits of little doubt. In some inscriptions in the cave-temples at Bhâjâ, Beḍsâ, and Kârli which are to be referred to the second century, the male donors are called Mahâraṭhi and the female Mahâraṭhinî, which names, as observed before, correspond to Mahâbhoja and Mahâbhojî and signify the great Raṭhi (man and woman).[2] Similarly, in the large cave at Nânâghâṭ a Mahâraṭhi hero is mentioned. Of the old Prâkrits the principal one was called Mahârâshṭrî, because we are told it was the language of Mahârâshṭra. We have a poem in this dialect entitled Setubandha attributed to Kâlidâsa and mentioned by Daṇḍin, and a collection of amorous verses attributed to Śâlivâhana. It is the language of Prâkṛit verses put into the mouths of women in Sanskrit dramatic plays. Its grammar we have in Vararuchi's Prâkṛit Prakâs'a; but the date of this author is uncertain, though there is reason to believe that he was one of the nine gems of the court of Vikramâditya and was thus a contemporary of Varâhamihira and Kâlidâsa. Though the date of Kâlidâsa has not yet been satisfactorily determined, still he is mentioned as a poet of great merit in the first half of the seventh century by Bâna in his Harshacharita in the north,[3] and in an inscription at Aihole[4] dated 556 S'aka in the south. A hundred years is not too long a period to allow for the spread of his fame throughout the country, perhaps it is too short. Kâlidâsa may therefore be referred to that period of Sanskrit literature in which the nine gems flourished, and which has been placed by Dr. Kern in the first half of the sixth century.[5] The Mahârâshṭrî dialect, therefore, in which Kâlidâsa wrote the Setubandha and the Prâkriṭ verses in his plays, must have undergone a course of cultivation for about two or three centuries earlier and been called by that name, since it has been known by no other in the whole literature. Varâhamihira also, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century, speaks of Mahârâshṭra as a southern country; and in the Aihole inscription alluded to above Mahârâshṭra is mentioned as comprising three

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[1] Mahâvaṁso, Turnour's Ed., pp. 71 and 72, and Dîpavaṁso, Oldenberg's Ed., p. 54. The latter however omits Vanavâsî.

[2] Arch. Surv. of West. Ind. No. 10; Bhâjâ No. 2; Beḍsâ No. 2; Kârli Nos. 2 and 14. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl appears to me clearly wrong here in taking Mahâraṭhi to be equal to the Sk. Mahârathi and translating it as "a great warrior," for in Beḍsâ No. 2, a woman is called Mahâraṭhinî where the word certainly cannot mean a great warrior, and to interpret it as "the wife or daughter of a great warrior" is simply begging the question. Mahâraṭhi appears clearly to be the name of a tribe and is the same as our modern Marâṭhâ. It will appear from this inscription that there were intermarriages between the Mahâbhojas and the Mahâraṭhis, for the lady mentioned in this inscription was the daughter of a Mahâbhoja and a Mahâraṭhinî or the wife of a Mahârathî.

[3] Dr. Hall's Vâsavadattâ, Preface, p. 14.

[4] Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII., p. 243.

[5] Ed. of Varâhamihira, Preface, p. 20.

countries and ninety-nine thousand villages. Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, calls the country ruled over by the Châlukyas in the second quarter of the seventh century, Moholocha, which has been properly identified with Mahârâshṭra. The occurrence of the name of Mahârâshṭra in the Purâṇas has already been noticed.

SECTION IV.

Political History of the Dekkan or Mahârâshtra—Analysis of the Historical Inscriptions in the Cave-Temples of Western India.

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No clue to the political history of Mahârâshṭra in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is now available. The Purâṇas contain lists of kings and dynasties whose chronology has been to some extent determined by their known connection with the successors of Alexander the Great; but clear traces of their occupation of the south have not yet been found. Chandragupta, who founded the Maurya dynasty in about B.C. 320, ruled over Northern India as far as Kâṭhiâvâḍ, and his grandson Aśoka, who reigned from B.C. 263 to B.C. 229, retained possession of the province.[1] The rock-inscriptions of the latter, which were evidently planted in the countries which owned his sway, show that his empire extended to Kaliṅga or the Northern Circars in the east and Kâṭhiâvâḍ in the west. But stray edicts have been discovered farther south; a fragment of the eighth being found at Supârâ and three minor ones on the northern frontier of Mysor. In the second rock-edict he speaks of his own dominions as "the conquered countries" and mentions Chola, Pâṇḍya, Ketalaputta, and Saliyaputta down to Tambapanni or Ceylon as outlying provinces. These therefore did not own his sway. But in the fifth edict he mentions the Râsṭikas, Petenikas and Aparântas and a few more provinces as those for the benefit of which he appointed religious ministers. If these were as much a part of his dominions as the many others which are not named, there is no reason why they should be named. Again he includes most of these in the thirteenth edict among countries which received his moral teaching, along with Chola, Pâṇḍya and others, and the territories ruled over by Antiochus and four other Greek princes. It would thus appear that though the countries of the Râsṭikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, and Aparântas were not outlying provinces like those of the Cholas, the Pâṇḍyas, and Ketalaputtas, they enjoyed a sort of semi-independence; and only owned allegiance to him as suzerain. The appearance of fragments of his inscriptions at Supârâ and on the confines of Mysor is to be accounted for by this fact, or by the supposition that his dominions extended up to Supârâ on the western coast and along a strip in the centre of the peninsula to Mysor, leaving the western countries of the Râsṭikas, the Bhojas, and Petenikas, and the southern coast in a state of semi-independence. And there is some positive evidence to that effect. Vidarbha, the country of the Bhojas, must have existed as a separate kingdom about that time. For in the dramatic play of Mâlavikâgnimitra, the political events narrated in which may be accepted as historical, Agnimitra the son of Pushyamitra, the first king of the Śuṅga dynasty, who reigned in

Extent of the dominions of Chandragupta and Aśoka.

Vidarbha, a separate kingdom in the time of Śuṅgas.

[1] See inscription of Rudradâman; Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 260, line 8.

the second and third quarters of the second century before Christ, is represented to have reigned at Vidiśâ, which I have before identified with Bhilsâ, probably as his father's viceroy. He had made proposals of marriage with Mâlavikâ to her brother Mâdhavasena, the cousin of Yajñasena, king of Vidarbha. Between these cousins there was a quarrel as regards the succession to the throne. When Mâdhavasena was secretly on his way to Vidiśâ, the general of Yajñasena, posted on the frontier of the kingdom, captured him. His counsellor Sumati and Mâlavikâ escaped, but Mâdhavasena was kept in custody. Thereupon Agnimitra demanded of Yajñasena the surrender of Mâdhavasena. Yajñasena promised to give him up on condition that his wife's brother, who was the counsellor of the last Maurya king and had been imprisoned by Agnimitra or his father Pushyamitra, should be released. This enraged Agnimitra, who thereupon sent an army against Yajñasena and vanquished him. Mâdhavasena was released, and the country of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, each ruling over each side of the river Varadâ.

Paiṭhaṇ, the capital of a kingdom.

Paiṭhaṇ also must have been the capital of a kingdom about the time. In the inscriptions in the caves at Pitalkhorâ near Châlisgâṁv, which from the forms of the characters in which they are engraved must be referred to the second century before Christ, the religious benefactions of merchants from Pratishṭhâna are recorded, as well as those of the physician to the king and of his son and daughter.[1] The king referred to must be the ruler of Pratishṭhâna or Paiṭhaṇ. No more particular information is available. On the history of the early centuries of the Christian era and the first century previous, however, the inscriptions in the cave-temples on the top of the Sahyâdri throw a good deal of light. I will here bring together the information deducible from them, noticing the inscriptions in the chronological order clearly determined by the forms of the characters.

Inscriptions of king Kṛishṇa and others of the Śâtavâhana race at Nâsik and Nânâghâṭ.

An inscription[2] in a small cave at Nâsik mentions that the cave was scooped out by the lieutenant at Nâsik of king Kṛishṇa of the S'âtavâhana race. In a cave at Nânâghâṭ there is another, which is much mutilated and the purport of which consequently is not quite clear. In that same cave figures of persons are carved on the front wall, and the following names are inscribed over them: 1, Râyâ Simuka Sâtavâhano, *i. e.*, king Simuka Śâtavâhana; 2, Devî Nâyanikâyâ raño cha Siri Sâtakanino, *i. e.*, of queen Nâyanikâ and king Śrî S'âtakarṇi; 3, Kumâro Bhâyâ, *i. e.*, prince Bhâyâ; 4, Mahâraṭhiganakayiro, *i.e.*, the heroic Marâṭhâ leader or the hero of the Marâṭhâ tribe; 5, Kumâro Haku Siri, *i.e.*, prince Haku S'rî; 6, Kumâro Sâtavâhano, *i.e.*, prince S'âtavâhana. Of these the second who has been mentioned along with his queen must have been the reigning prince, the first was an earlier king of the same

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[1] Inscriptions, pp. 39, 41. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

[2] No. 6, Nâsik Inscriptions, Vol. VII., Jour. B. B. R. A. S., and p. 338, Trans. Oriental Congress, 1874.

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Ushavadâta's principal inscription at Nâsik.

dynasty, the fourth was a local Marâṭhâ warrior, and the rest were young princes of the Sâtavâhana dynasty.

In another Nâsik cave there are four inscriptions. In the first we are told that the cave was caused to be constructed on mount Triraśmi in Govardhana or the Nâsik District by the benevolent Ushavadâta, the son-in-law of king Kshaharâta Nahapâna and son of Dînîka. Ushavadâta gave away three hundred thousand cows; constructed flights of steps on the river Bârṇâsâyâ; assigned sixteen villages to gods and Brâhmaṇs; fed a hundred thousand Brâhmaṇs every year; got eight Brâhmaṇs at Prabhâsa or Somanâth Paṭṭaṇ married at his own expense; constructed quadrangles, houses, and halting places at Bharukachchha or Bharoch, Daśapura in Mâlvâ, Govardhana, and S'orpâraga, the modern Supârâ near Bassein; made gardens and sank wells and tanks; placed ferry boats over the Ibâ, Pârâdâ, Damaṇâ, Tâpî, Karabeṇâ, and Dâhanukâ, which were rivers along the coast between Ṭhâṇâ and Surat; constructed rest-houses and endowed places for the distribution of water to travellers on both sides of these rivers; and founded certain benefactions in the village of Nânaṁgola, for the Charaṇas and Parishads (Vedic schools of Brâhmaṇs) in Pîṇḍitakâvaḍa, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha, S'orpâraga, and Râmatîrtha. One year in the rainy season he marched at the command of his lord to the relief of the chief of a tribe of Kshatriyas called Uttamabhadras, who had been attacked and besieged by the Mâlayas. At the sound of his martial music the Mâlayas fled away, and they were made the subjects of the Uttamabhadras. Thence he went to Poshkarâṇi and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village.[1]

Ushavadâta's other inscriptions.

In the second inscription Ushavadâta is spoken of as having, in the year 42, dedicated the cave monastery for the use of the Buddhist mendicant priests coming to it from the four quarters. He deposited with a guild of weavers residing in Govardhana a sum of two thousand Kârshâpaṇas at an annual interest of one hundred Kârshâpaṇas. Out of this interest he directed that a garment should annually be given to each of the twenty priests residing during the rains in his cave monastery. With another guild he deposited one thousand Kârshâpaṇas, the interest on which was seventy-five Kârshâpaṇas. Out of this other things (Kus'aṇa) were to be provided for the priests. The carrying out of these directions was secured by their being declared in the corporation of the town of Govardhana and inscribed on the door of the monastery. In the years 41 and 40 he gave away a large sum of money[2] for gods and Brâhmaṇs. The third inscription, which is a short one, mentions that the apartment on which it is engraved was the religious benefaction of Ushavadâta's wife Dakhamitrâ.[3] The fourth is greatly mutilated but sufficient remains to show that that also records similar gifts of Ushavadâta's.[4] In the cave-temple of Kârli there is an inscription

[1] No. 17. Násik Inscriptions, Vol. VII., Jour. B. B. R. A. S. and Trans. Oriental Congress, 1874, p. 326. [2] Nos. 18 and 16, *Ibid*, which together form one inscription. [3] First part of No. 16, *Ibid.* [4] No. 14, *Ibid.*

in which Ushavadâta is represented to have granted the village of Karjika for the support of the mendicant priests in the cave monastery of Valûraka, as the hill or the country about it seems to have been called at the time.[1] There also is given an account of his charities similar to that in the first of his Nâsik inscriptions. In an inscription at Junnar, Ayama, the minister of the lord Nahapâna the great Kshatrapa, is mentioned as having caused a tank to be dug and a hall to be constructed.[2] The minister appears to have been a Brâhmaṇ, since he is spoken of as belonging to the Vatsa Gotra.

Inscriptions of Gotamîputra Sâtakarṇi and Puḷumâyi at Nâsik.

Next in order come the inscriptions in which certain kings of the names of Gotamîputra Sâtakarṇi and Puḷumâyi are mentioned. In the longest of the four occurring in the cave-temple at one extremity of the hill at Nâsik, we are told that in the nineteenth year of the reign of king Puḷumâyi, the son of Vâsishṭhî, the cave was caused to be constructed and dedicated for the use of Buddhist mendicants of the Bhadrâyanîya sect by Gotamî, the mother of king Sâtakarṇi Gotamîputra. She is there called "the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king." Gotamîputra is spoken of as king of kings and ruler of Aśika, Aśmaka, Mûḷaka,[3] Surâshṭra, Kukura, Aparânta, Anûpa, Vidarbha and Akarâvantî.[4] He was the lord of the mountains Vindhyâvat, Pâriyâtra, Sahya, Kṛishṇagiri, Malaya, Mahendra, S'reshṭhagiri, and Chakora. His orders were obeyed by a large circle of kings, and his feet were adored by them. His beasts of burden drank the waters of the three seas. He protected all who sought an asylum with him, and regarded the happiness and misery of his subjects as his own. He paid equal attention to the three objects of human pursuit, *viz.*, duty, worldly prosperity, and the satisfaction of desires, appointing certain times and places for each. He was the abode of learning, the support of good men, the home of glory, the source of good manners, the only person of skill, the only archer, the only hero, the only protector of Brâhmaṇs. He conferred upon Brâhmaṇs the means of increasing their race, and stemmed the progress of the confusion of castes. His exploits rivalled those of Râma, Keśava, Arjuna, and Bhîmasena, and his prowess was equal to that of Nabhâga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayâti, Râma, and Ambarîsha. He was descended from a long line of kings. He vanquished the host of his enemies in innumerable battles, quelled the boast and pride of Kshatriyas, destroyed the S'akas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, left no trace or remnant of the race of Khagârâta, and re-established the glory of the Sâtavâhana family. In the last line of the inscription mention

[1] No. 13, Kârli Inscriptions—Arch. Surv., W. Ind., No. 10.

[2] No. 25, Junnar Inscriptions, *Ibid.*

[3] Aśmaka and Maulika are mentioned among the southern countries in the Purâṇas.

[4] Surâshṭra is Southern Kâṭhiâvâd, Kukura, a portion of Râjputânâ, and Aparânta, Northern Konkan. Anûpa is mentioned in the Purâṇas as a country situated in the vicinity of the Vindhyas. It was the country on the upper Narmadâ with Mâhishmati for its capital, according to the Raghuvaṁśa. Akarâvanti must be the eastern portion of Mâlvâ.

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is made of the grant of a village for the support of the establishment in the cave-temple.[1]

Charter of Puḷumâyi.

In a later inscription engraved in smaller characters below this, Vâsishṭhîputra S'rî Puḷumavi, the lord of Navanara, issues orders to his lieutenant in Govardhana, Sarvâkshadalana. He calls his attention to the fact that the village granted by the "lord of Dhanakaṭa"[2] (Gotamîputra) in accordance with the above, was not liked by the Bhadrâyanîyas, and therefore assigns another to them by this charter.

Charter of Gotamîputra.

On the wall to the left of the verandah of the cave is another inscription. It purports to be an order or notice issued from the camp of the victorious army of Govardhana, by Gotamîputra Sâtakarṇi, lord of Dhanakaṭaka, to Vishṇupâlita, his lieutenant in Govardhana, informing him that the king has granted a field measuring 200 Nivartanas, which was up to that time in the possession of one Ushabhadâta, for the benefit of recluses. The charter here engraved is represented to have been originally issued in the year 18, that is, in the year preceding that in which the cave-temple was completed and dedicated. Below this is inscribed another charter issued in the form of an order to Śramaka, the governor of Govardhana, by the queen of Gotamîputra S'âtakarṇi, who is also called the royal mother. She therein speaks of a field granted before, probably the one conveyed by the above charter, and says that it measures one hundred Nivartanas, and she assigns another hundred by this charter out of a field belonging to the crown which was her patrimony. It appears that two hundred Nivartanas were granted by the first charter, but probably it turned out that the field measured one hundred only; hence she now makes it up by granting another hundred out of another field. The date of this grant is 24, *i. e.*, it was made six years after the first.[3]

Of the wife of Gotamîputra.

Private inscriptions containing Puḷumâyi's name.

Besides these, there are two inscriptions at Nâsik recording the benefactions of private individuals, dated in the second and seventh years of the reign of Siri (Srî) Puḷumâyi, and two in the cave at Kârli,[5] dated in the seventh and twenty-fourth years of his reign.

Relations between the kings and queens mentioned in the inscriptions in Gotamî's cave.

Since Gotamî is spoken of as the mother of a king and the grandmother of a king, and the wife of her son Gotamîputra Sâtakarṇi is

[1] Inscription No. 26, Vol. VII. Jour. B. B. R. A. S. and Trans. Or. Congr. 1874, p. 307.

[2] Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl and Dr. Bühler, whose transcripts and translations of the Nâsik inscriptions were published about ten years after mine, read the expression thus understood by me as धनकटसमनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटश्रमणैः. But what the S'ramaṇas or Buddhist priests of Dhanakaṭa, which was situated hundreds of miles away on the lower Krishṇâ, could have to do with the matter of the granting of a village near Nâsik to the Bhadrâyanîya mendicants of the place it is impossible to conceive. The expression must, I think, be taken as धनकटसामिनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटस्वामिभिः or धनकट-सामियेहि corresponding to महासामेयेहि in the first part of No. 25, the Sanskrit of which is महास्वामिकैः. The form सामिनेहि must have come into use on the analogy of such forms as अत्तेनहि for आत्माभिः and राजानोहि for राजभिः

[3] No. 25, *Ibid.*

[4] Nos. 3 and 27, *Ibid.*

[5] Nos. 14 and 20, Arch. Surv. West. Ind. No. 10.

represented as the mother of a king, and since the only other king besides Sâtakarṇi mentioned in these inscriptions is Puḷumâyi, it appears that this last was the grandson and son respectively of these two ladies. He was therefore the son and his mother Vâsishṭhî the wife of Gotamîputra Sâtakarṇi. Sâtakarṇi issued the charter contained in the second inscription in the year 18, which must be the eighteenth year of Puḷumâyi's reign, since dates referring to his reign only are found at Nâsik and Kârli and not to that of Gotamîputra. Even the date of the large inscription noticed above in which Gotamîputra's great deeds are recorded is referred to Puḷumâyi's reign. And the grant of the village alluded to in that inscription and the one below appears to have been made by Gotamîputra, since he is spoken of as "the lord of Dhanakaṭaka," though the portion of the rock containing the words that would have rendered the sense clear has been cut away. Gotamî is spoken of as dedicating the cave in the present tense, wherefore it must be understood she was alive at the time. The father and the son appear thus to have reigned at the same time, the son on this side of the country since the inscriptions are dated in his reign, and the father at Dhanakaṭaka, which has been identified with Dharaṇikoṭ in the Gantur district of the Madras Presidency. And this is confirmed by the fact, mentioned above, of Gotamî's having been called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time.[1] Since the charter of the year 24, intended as supplementary to that of 18, was issued by Vâsishṭhi, while the first was issued by her husband, it appears probable that Gotamîputra had died in the interval and Vâsisṭhî reigned as regent at the capital, while Puḷumâyi continued to govern the Dekkan or Mahârâshṭra. The years given in the charter must be those of Puḷumâyi, since even the large inscription is dated in the nineteenth year of his reign. These kings belonged to the Sâtavâhana dynasty.

The names of other kings, apparently of the same dynasty, are found in other inscriptions. In one of the caves at Kânheri near

[1] Dr. Bühler (Arch. Surv. of West. Ind., Vol. IV., p. 110,) supposes me to have rested my conclusion as regards this point on this statement alone, and calls it a mistake. But he will find my other reasons also stated in the remarks at the end of my article in the Transactions of the Oriental Congress of 1874. And even this statement has a very high corroborative value. For, if the object of the writer was to represent Gotami's "special claim" to honour, that is better served by supposing that her son and grandson were great kings at one and the same time. Every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the mother of a king and grandmother of a king; and there is nothing special in the fact if the son and the grandson bore the title at different times. If the son was dead, no object is gained as regards this point by saying she was the mother of that son that is not gained by saying she was the grandmother of a *living* great king. And if it was a fact that Gotamîputra was dead when the cave-temple was dedicated and Puḷumâyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him. If Puḷumâyi became king only after Gotamîputra, the latter must have died nineteen years before the dedication of the temple, and it certainly is not what one acquainted with the manner and motive of Hindu inscription-writers would expect that a king who had been dead for nineteen years should be highly extolled in the inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence.

Section IV.

Madharîputra. Yajña Srî.

Thânâ, a grant is recorded in the eighth year of the reign of Madharîputra Sakasena.[1] In two other inscriptions at the same place the name of the reigning prince is given as Gotamîputa Siri Yañña Sâtakani (Gotamîputra Srî Yajña Sâtakarni).[2] In one of these the year that is given is not legible, but still appears to be the sixteenth of his reign. There is one inscription at Nâsik which is dated in the seventh year of that king.[3] Pandit Bhagvânlâl has brought to light the name of another prince. There is according to him an inscription on the Nânâghât in which is recorded the dedication of a cistern of water in the thirteenth year of Vâsiṭhiputa Chatarapana Sâtakani.

Chatarapana.

Names of princes on the coins found at Kolhâpur.

A large number of coins of copper and lead were discovered a few years ago, buried in what appears to have once been a Buddhist stûpa at Kolhâpur. Another hoard had been found some time previous in about the same locality. The legends on those coins are in characters the forms of which greatly resemble those in the cave inscriptions above noticed. They are as follows[4]:

Rañño Vasiṭhîputasa Viḷivâyakurasa.
Rañño Gotamîputasa Viḷivâyakurasa.
Rañño Madharîputasa Sevalakurasa.

Here we have the same names as before; but the words Viḷivâyakurasa and Sevalakurasa have not yet been interpreted by any student of Indian antiquities. On a former occasion I put forth a conjecture that they were the names of the viceroys of those kings appointed to govern the country about Kolhâpur.[5] For, coins of two of these princes and of a few others belonging to the same dynasty are found near Dharanikoṭ in the Gantur District about the site of Dhanakaṭaka, the old capital. The legends on these do not contain those words, and the coins are of a different type from those found at Kolhâpur. These last, therefore, it appeared to me, were struck on this side of the country, and consequently bore the names of the viceroys under whose authority they were issued. The truth of this conjecture I will demonstrate further on. It will be seen from what is to be stated hereafter that the Vâsiṭhîputa of these coins who had Vilivâyakura for his viceroy can be no other than Vâsishṭhîputra Puḷumâyi.

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[1] No. 19, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI. and Vol. XII., p. 409. In the first copy the name is clearly Sakasenasa, but in the second, which is Pandit Bhagvânlâl's rubbing, something like an effaced mark for the vowel *i* appears above the first two consonants. The Pandit, therefore, reads the name as Sirisenasa for Srîsenasya, but the *k* is distinct even in his copy. *Siki* cannot mean anything, wherefore it appears that the indistinct marks which do not occur in the first copy are due to some flaw in the rock, and do not represent the vowel *i*. Dr. Bhâu Dâji also read the name as Sakasenasa. But the copy of the inscription given in Plate LI. Vol. V. of the Archæological Survey of Western India and marked No. 14 leaves no doubt whatever on the point. The name there is distinctly *Sakasenasa*. Further confirmation if necessary will be found later on. It is therefore clearly a mistake to call the king *Sirisena*.

[2] Nos. 4 and 44, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI.

[3] No. 4, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., and Trans. Or. Congr., 1874, p. 339.

[4] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., p. 305, and Vol. XIV., p. 153-54. There are in my possession coins of lead of the same size as those figured here, and a good many smaller ones in which I find the same legends as those given above. They also were found at Kolhâpur. Some of the smaller ones appear to be of bronze.

[5] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIV., p. 154.

The Gotamîputa must be Gotamîputra Yajña Śâtakarṇi of the inscriptions; for the father of Puḷumayi did not reign on this side of the country, as none of the inscriptions are dated in his reign though his exploits are described in the Nâsik Caves. Maḍharîputa must have come after Gotamîputa and not after Vâsiṭhîputa, as is maintained by some scholars; for his viceroy was a different person from that of the other two. The fact that these two had the same viceroy shows that one of them immediately succeeded the other. Another prince with a different viceroy could not come between them. In the stûpa dug out at Supârâ, Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl found a silver coin in a copper casket. On the obverse of the coin, which bears a well-shaped head of the king, we have the legend Rañño Gotamiputasa Siri Yañña Sâtakaṇisa, which means "[this coin is] of the king Gotamîputra Śrî Yajña Śâta, karṇi." This therefore is the prince in whose name the coin was issued. There is another legend on the reverse which though some of the letters are not distinct appears to be *Gotamiputa-Kumâru-Yañña-Sâtakani-Chaturapanasa* the sense of which is "[this coin is] of Chaturapana Yañña Sâtakani, prince of Gotamiputa.'"[1] The coin was thus like the Kolhâpur coins issued in the names of two persons; of whom Yajña Śrî Śâtakarṇi was the reigning sovereign, as his name appears round the bust, and Chaturapana who was his son represented him as viceroy in the province in which the coin was issued, and which from the shape and get-up of the coin appears to have been once ruled over by the Kshatrapas of Ujjayinî or Kâṭhiâwâḍ.

Names of princes on the Supârâ coin.

There is an inscription at Kãnheri which is in a mutilated condition, but which with the help of Mr. West's eye copy and an impression given in one of Dr. Burgess' Reports has been partially restored by Dr. Bühler. Therein is made the dedication of a water cistern by Śateraka who was the confidential counsellor of the Queen of Vâsishṭhîputra Śâtakarṇi, who belonged to the family of the Karddamakas and was the daughter of a Mahâkshatrapa whose name is obliterated. The opening letters of the second line have also been effaced, but what we might expect to find there is the name of her son, after we have had those of her husband, family, and father. From the letters in West's copy which look like *Sakarâja* one might think the son meant was Śakasena; still the conjecture is somewhat hazardous.[2] The name of this Vâsishṭhî-

Chaturapana in a Kânheri Inscription.

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[1] The nether portions of the letters *chaturapanasa* only are impressed on the coin so that the reading is somewhat doubtful; but *panasa* is distinct enough. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl puts *Chaturapanasa* at the beginning of the legend and reads *Chaturapanasa Gotamiputa Kumâru Yañña Sâtakaṇi* which he translates "Yajña Śâtakarṇi, son of Gotamîputa, and prince of Chaturapana;" and states his belief that Chaturapana was the name of Yajña Śrî's father. But to connect Kumâru, which forms a part of a compound with the genitive, Chaturapanasa, is grammatically not allowable; while the genitive which is always required to show whose coin it is, is wanting. Hence Chaturapanasa is the last word and the whole is a compound, Kumâru is probably a mistake for Kumâra and Yañña Sâtakani is the father's name placed before Chaturapanasa to show that he was his son. (Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., pp. 305-6.)

[2] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI. and Archæol. S. of W. I., Vol. V., Inscription No. 11; also p. 78 of the latter. There would be nothing improbable in it if we here read the name of Śakasena. For this name and that of his mother Maḍharî point to a connection with the Śakas whose representatives the Kshatrapas were, and this connection is unfolded in this inscription.

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putra is S'âtakarṇi, wherefore he was not Puḷumâyi, but very likely Chatushparṇa (Chatarapana) Śâtakarṇi.

Thus then, from these inscriptions and coins we arrive at the names of the following kings arranged in the chronological order indicated by the forms of the characters used and by other circumstances :

Kṛishṇarâja.
Śâtakarṇi.
Kshaharâta Nahapâna and his son-in-law Ushavadâta.
Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi.
Vâsishṭhîputra Puḷumâyi.
Gotamîputra S'rî Yajña S'âtakarṇi.
Vasishṭîputra Chatushparṇa (Chaturapana or Chatarapana) Śâtakarṇi.
Maḍharîputra Śakasena.

Besides these, we have the name of Simuka S'âtavâhana, a king that reigned earlier than the second in the above list. We shall hereafter assign to him his proper place.

SECTION V.

Native and Foreign Princes mentioned in the Inscriptions.—Identification of the former with the Andhrabhrityas of the Purâṇas.

Section V.
Nahapâna, a S'aka.

The first thing that will strike one on looking at the list given at the end of the last section, is that the name Kshaharâta Nahapâna is not Indian but foreign. The title Kshatrapa or Mahâkshatrapa also used in the case of that king, is not Indian, though it is the Sanskritised form of a foreign one, very likely the Persian *Satrap*. From the statement in the inscription of Gotamîputra that he destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, it appears that the country was at that time very much exposed to the inroads of these foreigners. Yavanas were the Bactrian Greeks, but Kshaharâta Nahapâna does not look a Greek name. He must, therefore, have been either a S'aka or Pahlava. Again, we are told that Gotamîputra left no remnant of the race of Khagarâta or Khakhârâta which name seems to be the same as Kshaharâta or Khaharâta as it is spelled in the Kârli and Junnar inscriptions. It follows, therefore, that the S'akas or Pahlavas made themselves masters of the country some time between the second king in the above list and Gotamîputra S'âtakarṇi, and that they were driven out by Gotamîputra who, by thus recovering the provinces lost to his dynasty, re-established, as stated in the inscription, the glory of the S'âtavâhana race to which he belonged. All the other kings named above belonged to that dynasty.

S'akas and Pahlavas overthrown by Gotamîputra.

Purâṇic dynasties.

Now, in the Purâṇas we have lists of kings and dynasties that ruled over the country. The earliest dynasty with which we are here concerned is the Maurya founded by Chandragupta in B.C. 320, as determined by his relations with Seleucus, one of the generals and successors of Alexander the Great. It ruled over Northern India for 137 years according to the Purâṇas, and the last king Bṛihadratha was murdered by his general Pushyamitra or Pushpamitra, who founded the S'uṅga dynasty. This was in power for 112 years and was succeeded by the Kâṇva family which ruled for forty-five years. The Kâṇvas were overthrown by Sipraka, Sindhuka, or S'isuka, as he is variously named, who founded what the Purâṇas call the dynasty of the Andhrabhṛityas, that is, Andhras who were once servants or dependents. The second king of this dynasty was Kṛishṇa according to all, the third was Śâtakarṇi or Śrîsâtakarṇi according to the Vâyu or Vishṇu, while the Bhâgavata corrupts the name slightly to Śântakarṇa. The Mâtsya interposes three more kings between Kṛishṇa and Śâtakarṇi, while the Vishṇu has another Śâtakarṇi to correspond with that of the Mâtsya. Gotamîputra is the *thirteenth* prince according to the Vâyu, fifteenth according to the Bhâgavata, seventeenth according to the Vishṇu, and twenty-second according to the Mâtsya. Pulimat, Purimat or Pulomat was his successor

Section V.

according to the Vishṇu, the Bhâgavata, or the Mâtsya. These are so many mislections for the Puḷumâyi of our inscriptions and coins. The Vâyu omits his name altogher. His successor was S'iva Śrî according to the Vishṇu and the Mátsya, while the Bhâgavata calls him Vedaśiras, and the Vâyu does not notice him. Yajña Śrî occurs in all, being placed after S'ivaskandha, the successor of S'iva Śrî, by all except the Vâyu, which assigns to him the next place after Gotamîputra.

The S'âtavâhanas of the inscriptions same as the Andhrabhṛityas of the Purâṇas.

Thus then, the names occurring in the inscriptions and on the coins as well as the order sufficiently agree with those given in the Purâṇas under the Andrabhṛitya dynasty to justify us in believing that the kings mentioned in both are the same. There is, however, no trace of Chatushparṇa Sâtakarṇi unless we are to identify him with Chaṇḍaśrî Śâtakarṇi. The name Maḍharîputra Śakasena also does not occur in the Purâṇas; and he appears to have belonged to a branch of the dynasty. We shall hereafter assign to him his place in the list. Simuka, whose name occurs in the Nânâghâṭ inscription, and who, as I have already observed, was an earlier occupant of the throne than the reigning prince S'âtakarṇi, the third in the Purâṇic list, must be the same as Śiśuka, the founder of the dynasty. For the Devanâgarî *ma* is often so carelessly written as to look like *sa*; hence the true Simuka was corrupted to Sisuka, S'isuka, or Śiśuka, in the course of time. The Sindhuka of the Vâyu and the Sipraka of the Vishṇu are further corruptions. This identification is rendered probable also by the consideration that he who caused the cave to be constructed, and the statues of himself and the younger princes to be carved, might, to give dignity to his race, be expected to get the founder of the dynasty also represented there, especially as he was removed only one degree from him. In this manner the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty of the Purâṇas is the same as the Śâtavâhana dynasty of the inscriptions.

SECTION VI.

Chronology of the Andhrabhrityas or S'âtavâhanas.

Section VI.

The dynasty of Nahapâna not the same as that of the Satraps of Ujjayinî and Kâṭhiâvâḍ.

The next question we have to consider is as regards the dates of these princes. In my paper on the Nâsik cave inscriptions[1], I have accepted A.D. 319 as the date of Gotamîputra's accession, arrived at by taking B.C. 315 as the year in which Chandragupta founded the dynasty of the Mauryas at Pâṭaliputra, and 664 years to have elapsed between him and Gotamîputra, since the periods assigned in the Purâṇas to that dynasty and the subsequent ones, and the durations of the reigns of the Andhrabhṛitya princes who preceded Gotamîputra according to the Mâtsya when added, give 664. The "race of Khagârâta," which Gotamîputra is, as observed before, represented in one of the Nâsik inscriptions to have exterminated, I identified with the dynasty of the Kshatrapas whose coins are found in Kâṭhiâvâḍ, as well as a few inscriptions, since Kshaharâta or Khagârâta was also a Kshatrapa and had been placed at the head of the dynasty by previous writers. The latest date on the coins of those princes then known was 250, which referred to the S'aka era, is A.D. 328. This comes so close to Gotamîputra's A.D. 319, that the two seemed to corroborate each other. But there are several objections to this view, some of which occurred to me even then. (1)—The inscriptions and coins of the Kshatrapa dynasty concur in carrying the genealogy backward to Chashṭana and no further, and as yet nothing has turned up to show that any connection existed between him and Nahapâna. (2)—If the Kshatrapa or Satrap dynasty held sway over Mahârâshṭra for about three hundred years as it did over Kâṭhiâvâḍ, we might reasonably expect to find in that country inscriptions or coins of most of the princes, but a few coins of the later ones only have been discovered in a village near Karâḍh[2] and no inscription whatever. (3)—Rudradâman in his Junâgaḍ inscription calls a S'âtakarṇi, 'lord of Dakshiṇapatha', which he would not have done if he had been the ruler of even a part of the Dekkan. (4)—And the dates occurring on some Satrap coins recently discovered are said to be 300 and 304[3] which referred to the Śaka are A.D. 378 and 382, that is, the Satraps were in power even long after A.D. 340, which is the date of Gotamîputra's death according to the Purâṇic accounts. For these reasons it would appear that the "race" of Khagârâta or Nahapâna which Gotamîputra put an end to and which ruled over this country before him, could not have been the dynasty of the Satraps. (5)—Besides, according to my former view, the interval between Nahapâna and Gotamîputra is about 200 years; but the difference in form between the characters in Ushavadâta's and Gotamîputra's inscriptions is not great enough for that period. Hence the two princes must be brought closer together.

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[1] Trans. Or. Congr., 1874.
[2] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., p. 16.
[3] Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 57, Note, and Genl. Cunningham's Arch. Report, Vol. XI., p. 127.

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Ptolemy's Siro Polemios the same as Siri Puḷumâyi and his Baleocuros the same as Viḷivâyakura.

From the Greek geographer Ptolemy we learn that in his time the country inland from the western coast was divided into two divisions of which the northern was governed by Siro Polemios whose capital was Paiṭhaṇ, and the southern by Baleocuros who lived in Hippocura. Siro Polemios is evidently the same name as the Siri Puḷumâvi or Puḷumâyi of the inscriptions corresponding to the Pulomat, or Pulimat of the Purâṇas. But there were two kings who bore that name, one the son of Gotamîputra, mentioned in the inscriptions, and another an earlier prince of the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty. This last does not appear to have been a prince of any note; wherefore very likely the former is the one spoken of by Ptolemy. But the question is almost settled by the mention of Baleocuros as the Governor of the southern provinces. We have seen that in the legends on the Kolhâpur coins the name Viḷivâyakura is associated with that of Puḷumâyi and of Gotamîputra. Viḷivâyakura is the same as Baleocura, and I have already stated that the reason why his name, in my opinion, occurs along with those of the two princes of the Śâtavâhana dynasty, and on Kolhâpur coins alone, while it does not occur on those found in the lower Godâvarî districts, is that he was the viceroy of those princes ruling over the country about Kolhâpur. This country answers to the southern division mentioned by the Greek geographer as being governed by Baleocuros. The Siro Polemios therefore of Ptolemy is the same as the Puḷumâyi of the inscriptions and coins.

Puḷumâyi began to reign about 130 A.D.

Ptolemy died in A.D. 163, and is said to have written his work after A.D. 151. Puḷumâyi, therefore, must have been on the throne some time before this last date. We will now proceed to reconcile this date with those mentioned in the inscriptions, and to determine more particularly the date of Puḷumâyi's accession. Some of Ushavadâta's benefactions were founded in the years 40, 41 and 42, and the latest date connected with Nahapâna is that in the inscription of his minister Ayama at Junnar, *viz.*, 46. These dates should, I think, be referred to the Śaka era. For, we have seen that before the time of Gotamîputra, the country was subject to the inroads of Śakas and other foreign tribes, and the Scythians who are identified with the Śakas had, according to the Greek geographers, established a kingdom in Sind and even in Râjputânâ. The era known by the name of the Śaka and referred to in all the early copper-plate grants as the era of the Śaka king or kings must have been established by the most powerful of the Śaka invaders,[1] who for the first time obtain-

[1] Prof. Oldenberg thinks Kanishka to be the founder of the era; but this view is, I think, untenable. (1)— A dynasty of three kings only cannot perpetuate an era. The dynasty of the Guptas composed of seven kings was in power for more than a hundred and fifty years, but their era died a natural death in the course of a few centuries. (2)—The characters in Kanishka's inscriptions, especially the *ya* as conjoined with a preceding consonant, are later than those we find in the first century. One has simply to compare Inscription No. 1 in Plate XIII. of the third volume of General Cunningham's Arch. Reports with No. 4 to see the great difference in the forms of the letters in the times of the earliest Kshatrapas and of Kanishka. The former belongs to the time of the Kshatrapa Śodâsa and the letters are almost like those we find in Ushavadâta's inscriptions at Nâsik; whilse those in the latter, which is dated in the ninth

ed a permanent footing in the country, and Nahapâna and Chashṭana[1] or his father must have been his Satraps appointed to rule over Western India, and Mâlvâ. On this supposition the latest date of Nahapâna must correspond to A.D. 124. Gotamîputra or Puḷumâyi therefore must have acquired possession of this country after that year. The earliest date of Puḷumâyi occurring in the inscriptions is the second year of his reign; and since the inscription could not have borne that date if Nahapâna or his successors had been in power, it is clear that Puḷumâyi began to reign after the overthrow of the latter. Now, we also learn from Ptolemy that Tiastenes reigned at Ozene about the time when he wrote, and was therefore a contemporary of Puḷumâyi. Tiastenes has, I think, been reasonably identified with Chashṭana. But according to the Junâgaḍ inscription noticed above, Chashṭana's grandson Rudradâman was the reigning prince in the year 72, which, taking the era to be the S'aka, is 150 A.D. Chashṭana and Puḷumâyi therefore could not have been contemporaries in 150 A.D. Ptolemy's account must, in consequence, refer to a period much earlier, *i.e.* to about the year 132 A.D., since about eighteen or twenty years at least must be supposed to have elapsed between the date of his information when Chashṭana was on the throne and the year 150 A.D. when his grandson was in possession of it, his son Jayadâman having occupied it for some time in the interval. Again, in the nineteenth year of Puḷumâyi, Gotamîputra was in possession, according to the large inscription at Nâsik, of a good many of those provinces which, according to the Junâgaḍ inscription, were conquered and ruled over by Rudradâman. The date 72 in the inscription seems to refer to the being swept away by a storm and excessive rain of the dyke on one side of the lake therein mentioned and not to the cutting of the inscription on the rock. So that it is doubtful whether Rudradâman had conquered those

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year of Kanishka, are considerably later; and both the inscriptions exist in Mathurâ. (3)—There is no ground to believe that Kanishka reigned over Gujarât and Mahârâshṭra, but the S'aka era began to be used very early, especially in the last country. (4)—The Guptas whose gold coinage is a close imitation of that of the Indo-Scythian dynasty, came to power in A.D. 319: while the last of the three kings Kanishka, Hushka, and Vâsudeva must, if the reign of the first began in A.D. 78, have ceased to reign about A.D. 178, *i.e.*, about 100 years after the foundation of the dynasty. And the latest date of Vâsudeva is 89. If so, an interval of 140 years must have elapsed between the last of the Indo-Scythian kings and the first Gupta; but the close resemblance in the coinage necessitates the supposition that it was much shorter. Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era was 241 Śaka, *i.e.*, 319 A.D., has been pronounced unreliable by some antiquarians. As to this point and the era of the Satrap dates, see Appendix A.

[1] Professor Oldenberg considers Chashṭana to be a Satrap appointed by Gotamîputra, a supposition which is unwarrantable, since a prince like Gotamîputra whose aim was to expel and destroy foreigners cannot be expected to appoint a foreigner, as Chashṭana's name indicates he was, to be a viceroy, and to use a foreign title; and we have seen that Baleocuros, who was a viceroy of that monarch or of his son, does not use that title. Rudradâman, the grandson of Chashṭana, appointed, as we see from his Junâgaḍ inscription, a Pahlava of the name of Suviśâkha, who was the son of Kulaipa, to govern Surâshṭra and Ânarta. This circumstance confirms what we gather from other sources, namely, that this was a dynasty of princes of a foreign origin, who had adopted Hindu manners and even names, had in some cases entered into marriage alliance with native royal families, and were domiciled in the country.

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provinces before 72 or did so after 72 and before the incision of the inscription. Supposing he conquered them before 72, the nineteenth year of Puḷumâyi must correspond at least to the second or third year before A.D. 150, that is, Puḷumâyi must have begun to reign, at the latest, about the year A.D. 130. And even if we understand him to have conquered them after 72, Puḷumâyi's accession cannot be placed much later, for the interval between Chashṭana who was Puḷumâyi's contemporary and his grandson Rudradâman who was reigning in 150 A.D. will be considerably shortened. Nahapâna or his successor must thus have been overthrown by Gotamîputra or Puḷumâyi about five or six years at the most after his latest recorded date, *viz.* A.D. 124.

Relations of Gotamîputra and his successors with Nahapâna, Chashṭana and Rudradâman.

The history of the relations of these princes appears to be this. Nahapâna was a Satrap ruling over Mahârâshṭtra. His capital was probably Junnar since the inscriptions at the place show the town to have been in a flourishing condition about that time, and we have a record there of the gift of his minister. He must have died soon after 46 S'aka or A. D. 124. Gotamîputra and Puḷumâyi came from the south-east to regain the provinces lost to their family, overthrew Nahapâna's successor, whoever he was, killed all his heirs, and re-established their power over this side of the country. This appears to be what is meant by Gotamîputra's having been represented in the Nâsik inscription to have "left no remnant of the race of Khagârâta," and to have "regained the prestige of his family." Chashṭana founded or belonged to another dynasty of Satraps which reigned at Ujjayinî. In the Junâgaḍ inscription, men of all castes are represented to have gone to Rudradâman and chosen him their lord for their protection;[1] and he is spoken of as having re-established the kingdom that had been lost,[2] himself assumed the title of the Great Kshatrapa, conquered Akarâvantî, Anûpa, Surâshṭra, Aparânta and other provinces which, as we have seen, were owned by Gotamîputra, and some more; and as having twice subdued S'âtakarṇi, the lord of Dakshinâpatha, but still not destroyed him in consequence of his connection[3] with him not being remote

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[1] The expression is सर्ववर्णैरभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृतेन. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 260, l. 9.

[2] In Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's transcript in Vol. VII., Ind. Ant., the reading is भ्रष्टराजप्रतिष्ठापकेन. But in a foot-note Dr. Bühler says that the correct reading may be राज्य for राज. In Dr. Bhâu Dâji's copy of the inscription the ज्य is distinct, p. 118, Vol. VII, Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Bhâu Dâji and Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl translate this expression by "obtained glory of great exploits by the re-establishment of *deposed kings*," (p. 20, Vol. VII., Jour. B. B. R. A. S.), and "he who has restored to their thrones *deposed kings*," (p. 260 *a*, Vol. VII, Ind. Ant.) If राज were the reading, this translation would of course be correct, but with राज्य it is far-fetched. There is nothing here to show that the lost *râjya* or kingdom re-established by Rudradâman was any other person's than his own. So that, it looks natural to understand him to have re established (his own) lost kingdom.

[3] The reading is संबंधावदूरया. It is allowable to insert त and take it as संबंधावदूरतया. But the sense of the word, which is "remoteness," will not suit the context; as he could not have "acquired a good name," *i.e.* been esteemed by people for not destroying the Lord of the Dekkan on account of the remoteness of the connection. Remoteness or distance of the country would compel one to let his enemy alone, and there could be no virtue in it. The व therefore in the word must have crept in through mistake : where-fore the true readin...

and acquired a good name on that account. The meaning of all this appears to me to be this. Gotamîputra S'âtakarṇi, after having destroyed Nahapâna or his successor, turned his arms against another dynasty of foreigners that was ruling at Ujjayinî. Or the Kshatrapa sovereign of Ujjayinî, Chashṭana, or very probably his son Jayadâman, having observed the growing power of Gotamîputra or Puḷumâyi who had put an end to a kindred family of rulers, and desirous of preventing his further growth, must have attacked him. A fact such as this must be the basis of the popular stories about a king of Ujjayinî having attacked S'âlivâhana at Paiṭhaṇ and been defeated by him. S'âlivâhana is but another mode of pronouncing S'âtavâhana;[1] and Puḷumâyi or Gotamîputra was a S'âtavâhana. The ruler of Ujjayinî was defeated and pursued by the victorious Gotamîputra into his own dominions, when the latter subjugated Avantî, Anûpa, Surâshṭra and Aparânta, and dethroned Jayadâman. For a time he and his successors held sway over the territories owned by Chashṭana, but subsequently Rudradâman collected a band of followers, the same as those that are represented in the inscription as having chosen him their lord, and driving away the S'âtavâhanas, regained his lost kingdom and got himself crowned as Mahâkshatrapa. But as appears from the Supârâ coin of Yajña S'rî which bears such striking resemblance to the Kshatrapa coins and is so unlike the Kolhâpur coins of that monarch, large or small, and from the fact that his son Chaturapana was his viceroy or representative, the S'âtavâhanas retained possession of a part at least of the Kshatrapa territories up to the time of Yajña S'ri. They even entered into blood relationship with the Kshatrapas, as we learn from the Kânheri inscription, which speaks of the wife of Vâs'ishṭhîputra S'âtakarṇi being the daughter of a Mahâkshatrapa. But Rudradâman pursued his victories and according to his Junâgaḍ inscription twice conquered S'âtakarṇi the lord of Dakshiṇâpatha, but did not destroy him, and acquired a good name by his forbearance towards one whose connection with him was not remote. Thus the lord of Dakshiṇâpatha that he conquered was Yajña S'rî S'âtakarṇi. He could not have been his son Chaturapana; for the expression "non-remoteness of the connection" suits the former better than the latter, as Chaturapana's wife was the daughter of a Mahâkshatrapa, perhaps his own and the connection with him was positively close. The re-acquisition of his lost kingdom by Rudradâman took place after the nineteenth year of Puḷumâyi's reign, that is, after about A.D. 149. It is in this way alone that the scraps of information derived from the Greek writers and gathered from inscriptions, coins, and popular legends, as well as the dates, can be made to harmonize with each other.

Dates of the Andhrabhṛityas as determined from the Purâṇic accounts.

But the date thus assigned to Gotamîputra is not consistent with that derived from the Mâtsya Purâṇa. Our next endeavour, therefore, should be to ascertain whether none of the Purâṇas agrees sufficiently with the conclusion arrived at, and, if any does, to account for the

[1] Hemachandra's Prâkṛit Grammar.

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great discrepancy between it and the Mâtsya and others. That there is very little agreement among them as regards the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty, I have already indicated above. The genesis of our Purâṇic literature seems to be this. Certain versified accounts of certain things, purporting to be narrated by a bard to Ṛishis assembled together at a sacrificial session, were handed down orally from generation to generation; and these were after some time committed to writing. The later Purâṇas, devoted to the exaltation of a particular deity and to the inculcation of certain doctrines, derived their accounts of these things from the earliest written Purâṇas and not from the oral tradition. Of the works of this class which I am going to compare for our present purpose, the oldest appears to me to be the Vâyu, and next to it the Mâtsya. The Vishṇu is later, and the Bhâgavata, the latest. The text of the old Purâṇas gradually became corrupt, and the authors of the later ones were in some cases misled by their incorrect readings into putting forth statements at variance with the original account. Now the four Purâṇas just mentioned contain general statements about the several dynasties, giving the number of princes belonging to each and its duration in years, and also mention the names of those princes more particularly; while the Vâyu and the Mâtsya give in addition the number of years for which each reigned. Often there is a discrepancy between the general and the particular statements. The duration assigned by them all to the Maurya dynasty, founded by Chandragupta whose date as determined by his relations with the successors of Alexander the Great is justly characterised by Professor MaxMüller as the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology, is 137 years. The number of reigning princes given by the Vâyu is nine, and by the rest, ten; but the names actually enumerated in the Vishṇu only are ten, while the Vâyu and the Bhâgavata give nine, and the Mâtsya, only four. The total of the years assigned to each prince by the Vâyu is 133 years; so that it is not unlikely that a short reign of four years may have dropped out from the text of that Purâṇa. Thus the general statement about ten princes and 137 years seems to be corroborated, and it appears pretty clear that the text of the Mâtsya has in this case undergone a good deal of corruption. Thus, if with Dr. Kern we take B.C. 322 as the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty, its overthrow and the foundation of the next or the S'uṅga family must have occurred in the year B.C. 185. The S'uṅgas are generally stated in all the Purâṇas to have been ten and to have reigned for 112 years, though the expression used in the Bhâgavata is not "112 years," but "more than a hundred years." In the actual enumeration, the Mâtsya omits two, and the Bhâgavata, one; and the total of the years assigned to each prince in the Vâyu exceeds 112. There is evidently some mistake here; but if we take the general statement to be the correct tradition handed down, the dynasty became extinct in B.C. 73. The dynasty next mentioned is that of the Kâṇvas or Kâṇvâyanas. There were four princes of this line, and they reigned for forty-five years, though the Bhâgavata, through a mistake to be explained hereafter, makes the period to be 345 years. They were

Duration of the Maurya dynaaty.

Of the S'uṅgas.

Of the Kâṇvas.

followed by the Andhrabhṛityas. But here, there is a statement in the Vâyu and the Mâtsya, the like of which does not occur in the account of the other dynasties. The founder of the Andhrabhṛityas, Sindhuka, according to the first Purâṇa, and S'iśuka, according to the other, is said to have uprooted not only the Kâṇvas, but "whatever was left of the power of the Śuṅgas."[1] And the Kâṇvas are pointedly spoken of as S'uṅgabhṛityas or "servants of the Suṅgas."[2] It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the S'uṅga family became weak, the Kâṇvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns; and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that like the Peshwas they were Brâhmaṇs and not Kshatriyas. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the S'uṅgas include the 45 assigned to the Kâṇvas. The S'uṅgas and the Kâṇvas, therefore, were uprooted, and the family of the Andhrabhṛityas came to power in B.C. 73. In a general way, the number of princes belonging to this line is given as thirty in the Vâyu, the Vishṇu, and the Bhâgavata, and twenty-nine in the Mâtsya; and the total duration is stated to be 411 years in the first, 456 in the second and the third, and 460 in the fourth. The disagreement here is not great, wherefore the tradition as to thirty princes and about 456 years may be accepted as correct. But the discrepancy between this general statement and the more particular accounts that follow, as well as the disagreement between the several Purâṇas in this last, is very great. This will be apparent from the following table:—

Of the Andhrabhṛityas.

Vâyu.		Mâtsya.		Vishṇu.	Bhâgavata.
Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Names.
Sindhuka ...	23	S'is'uka	23	S'ipraka ..	Name not given; but mentioned as a Vrishala or S'ûdra.
Kṛishṇa ...	10	Kṛishṇa	18	Kṛishna ..	Kṛishna.
		Mallakarṇi ...	10 or 18	S'ri S'âtakarṇi .	S'ântakarṇa.
		Purṇotsaṅga ...	18	Pûrṇotsaṅga ...	Paurṇamâsa.
		Skandhastambhi.	18		
S'âtakarṇi ...	56	S'âtakarṇi ...	56	S'âtakarṇi.	
		Lambodara ...	18	Lambodara ...	Lambodara.

[1] काण्वायनस्त (नं त) तो भृत्यः सुशर्माणं प्रसह्य तम्। शुङ्गानां चैव यच्छेषं क्षययित्वा बलं तदा॥ सिन्धुको ह्यन्ध्रजातीयः प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुंधराम् ॥ Vâyu. "A servant of the race of the Andhras having destroyed Suśarman of the Kâṇva family with main force and whatever will have been left of the power of the S'uṅgas, will obtain possession of the earth." The statement in the Mâtsya is similar.

[2] चत्वारः शुङ्गभृत्यास्ते नृपाः काण्वायना द्विजाः। Vâyu.

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Vâyu.		Mâtsya.		Vishnu.	Bhâgavata.
Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Names.
Apîlava ...	12	Apîtaka	12	Ivîlaka ...	Hivîlaka.
		Meghasvâti ...	18	Meghasvâti ...	Meghasvâti.
		Svâti	18		
		Skandasvâti ...	7		
		Mṛigendrasvâti-karṇa.	3		
		Kuntalasvâti ...	8		
		Svâtikarṇa ...	1		
Paṭimâvi ...	24	Pulomâvi ...	36	Paṭumat ...	Aṭamâna.
Nemikṛishṇa ...	25	Gaurakṛishṇa or Naurikṛishṇa.	25	Arishṭakarman.	Anishṭakarman Hâleya.
Hâla	1	Hâla	5	Hâla.	
Saptaka or Mandalaka.	5	Mandulaka ...	5	Pattalaka ...	Talaka.
Purîkashena ...	21	Purindrasena ...	5	Pravillasena...	Purîshabhîru.
Śâtakarṇi ...	1	Sundara Svâtikarṇa.	1	Sundara ...	Sunandana.
Chakora Śâtakarṇi.	½	Chakora Svâtikarṇa.	½	Chakora ...	Chakora.
Śivasvâti ...	28	Śivasvâti ...	28	Śivasvâti ...	Śivasvâti.
Gautamîputra .	21	Gautamîputra ...	21	Gomatîputra...	Gomatîputra.
		Pulomat ...	28	Pulimat ...	Purimân(mat).
		Śivaśrî	7	Śivaśrî ...	Medaśiras.
		Śivaskanda ...	7	Śivaskandha ...	Śivaskanda.
Yajñaśrî Śâtakarṇi.	29	Yajñaśrî Śâtakarṇi.	29, 9 or 20	Yajñaśrî ...	Yajñaśrî.
Vijaya ...	6	Vijaya	6	Vijaya ...	Vijaya.
Daṇḍaśrî Śâtakarṇi.	3	Chaṇḍaśrî Śâtakarṇi.	10	Chandraśri ...	Chandravijña.
Pulomavi ...	7	Pulomavit ...	7	Pulomârchis...	Sulomadhi.

Thus, the Vâyu has seventeen princes and 272 years and a half; and the Mâtsya, thirty and 448 and a half. The Vishṇu gives twenty-four names and the Bhâgavata, twenty-two. This last Purâṇa has in many cases corrupted the names and confounded Hâla with the Arishṭakarman of the Vishṇu, whom it names Anishṭakarman Hâleya. It also omits the fifth prince of the Vishṇu Purâṇa. The details given in the Mâtsya come very close to the general tradition and thus confirm it. Should we then attribute the very great discrepancy between these details and those of the Vâyu to the corruption of the text of the latter? Two or three names might drop away in this manner, but the omission of thirteen names and the reduction of the total duration by 176 years must I think be accounted for in some other way. Besides the tradition about 456 years, there is a statement in the Vâyu Purâṇa, in a verse below, to the effect that the "Andhras will have possession of the earth for three hundred years,"[1] which seems to point to another. That such a tradition existed is indicated by the mistake in the Bhâgavata by which the Kâṇvas are assigned three hundred and forty-five years The original account, which the author of this Purâṇa must have

Two traditions about the duration of the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty—456 and 300 years.

[1] अन्ध्रा भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुधां शते द्वे च शतं च वै । Vâyu.

seen, probably assigned forty-five years to the Kâṇvas and three hundred to the next or Andhrabhṛitya dynasty. But since that dynasty was also assigned another duration, *viz.* 456 years, he connected the "the three hundred" with the preceding, and gave 345 years to the Kâṇvâyana family. Now, the manner in which the two traditions are to be reconciled is by supposing that the longer period is made up by putting together the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches of the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty. That the younger princes often reigned at Paiṭhaṇ and the elderly ones at Dhanakaṭaka appears clear when we compare the inscriptions with the statement in Ptolemy. When the throne at the principal seat became vacant, the Paiṭhaṇ princes succeeded. But some probably died before their elders and never became kings of Dhanakaṭaka. From an inscription found at Banavâsî by Dr. Burgess it would appear that another branch of that dynasty ruled over Kânarâ. The period of three hundred years and the seventeen names given in the Vâyu Purâṇa refer probably to the main branch. The Mâtsya seems to me to put together the princes of all the branches, and thus makes them out to be thirty. The total of the years assigned to the several reigns in the Vâyu is 272½, and if we should suppose one or two reigns lasting for about twenty-eight years to have dropped out by the corruption of the text, it would become 300½. Thus then the Vâyu and the Mâtsya Purâṇas each give a correct account, but of different things. The Vishṇu, which gives twenty-four princes, is not entitled to so much credit as the Vâyu. It is a later work and the author's purpose being sectarian, he probably did not care so much for the accuracy of his details, and hence omitted even the duration of each reign. The Bhâgavata is still more careless, as has already been shown.

The lower period refers to the main branch of the family.

If then we take the account in the Vâyu Purâṇa to refer to the main branch of the dynasty and consequently generally correct, the period that intervened between the rise of the S'âtavâhanas or Andhrabhṛityas and the end of the reign of Śivasvâti is 206 years.[1] The dynasty must, as we have seen, have been founded in B.C. 73, wherefore the end of S'ivasvâti's reign and the accession of Gotamîputra must be placed in A.D. 133. We have seen that Puḷumâyi, whose capital was Paiṭhaṇ according to Ptolemy, and who from the inscriptions appears to have been king of this part of the country and to have reigned contemporaneously with his father, must have begun to reign at Paiṭhaṇ about 130 A.D. The father and the son drove the foreigners from the Dekkan, and the son was established as the ruler of the regained provinces, Gotamîputra expecting to succeed to the throne at the original seat of the family. Gotamîputra reigned for twenty-one years according to the Purâṇas, wherefore he must have died in 154 A.D. He was alive, as stated before, in the eighteenth year of Puḷumâyi, *i. e.* in 148, and also in the nineteenth when the cave temple was dedicated, and not alive in the twenty-fourth, *i. e.* in 154, according to the two inscriptions

Date of the accession and death of Gotamîputra.

[1] By adding up the numbers in the table.

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mentioned before. Ptolemy's mention of Puḷumâyi I have already referred to about the year 132; so that, the date deduced from this source, and those derived from Gotamîputra's and Puḷumâyi's inscriptions at Nâsik and Rudradâman's at Junâgaḍ on the supposition that the era used in this last is the S'aka, as well as those derived from the Purâṇas may thus be shown to be consistent with each other.

Of the other princes mentioned in the inscriptions.

The dates of all the princes whose names we find in the inscriptions may therefore be thus arranged :

Simuka began to reign in B.C. 73 and ceased in B.C. 50.
Kṛishṇa began in B.C. 50 and ceased in B.C. 40.
S'âtakarṇi (third in the Vâyu P.) began in B.C. 40 and ceased in A.D. 16.
Nahapâna Kshaharâta.
Gotamîputra began in A.D. 133 and ceased in A.D. 154.

Of Puḷumâyi.

If the twenty-eight years assigned to Puḷumâyi in the Mâtsya Purâṇa are to be reckoned from the year of Gotamîputra's death, he must be considered to have begun to reign at Dhanakaṭaka in A.D. 154, and to have ceased in A.D. 182. He reigned at Paiṭhaṇ from A.D. 130 to A.D. 154, that is, for about twenty-four years, and we have seen that the latest year of his reign recorded in the inscriptions at Nâsik and Kârli is the twenty-fourth. Altogether then his reign lasted for fifty-two years. But if the twenty-eight include the twenty-four for which he ruled at Paiṭhaṇ, he must have died in 158. This supposition looks very probable. He was succeeded by S'ivaśrî, whose coin found in the Tailaṅgaṇa districts has been described by Mr. Thomas in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 64. He appears to have been Puḷumâyi's brother, since he also is styled on the coin Vâsiṭhîputa, *i. e.*, Vâsishṭhîputra, or the son of Vâsishṭhî. He had a reign of seven years and must have died in A.D. 165. S'ivaskanda was the next king, to whom also seven years have been assigned. There is no trace of these two princes on this side of the country; while the name of the next, Yajña S'rî, occurs frequently as we have seen in inscriptions and coins. He appears to have been Puḷumâyi's immediate successor at Paiṭhaṇ. His full name was Gotamîputra Yajña S'rî S'âtakarṇi, and he is, as observed before, the Gotamîputra of the Kolhâpur coins. Some copies of the Mâtsya assign him twenty-nine years, others nine, and twenty, and the Vâyu, twenty-nine; while the Brahmâṇḍa allows him nineteen. Probably he reigned in Mahârâshṭra for eighteen or nineteen years, since the sixteenth year of his reign is his latest recorded date, and for twenty-nine years at Dhanakaṭaka since, according to our supposition, the Vâyu Purâṇa gives an account of the Dhanakaṭaka branch and his coins are found in Tailaṅgaṇa. And this is confirmed by what we have already said. Puḷumâyi reigned at Dhanakaṭaka for four years and his two successors for fourteen. All this while, *i. e.*, for eighteen years, Yajña S'rî was ruler of Mahârâshṭra. He must thus have ceased to reign in the last country in about A.D. 172 and died in about A.D. 202. The next three reigns lasted, according to the Vâyu, for sixteen years. No trace of any of these has yet been found on this side of the country; but coins of Chandra S'rî are found near the original seat of government, and two of these are described by Mr. Thomas in the paper mentioned above. Thus the

Puḷumâyi's successors.

Yajña Srî.

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Maḍharîputa Sakasena.

latest Andhrabhṛitya date is A.D. 218. Maḍharîputa Sakasena of the Kânheri inscription, the same as the Maḍharîputa of the Kolhâpur coins, has been identified with S'iva S'rî, the successor of Puḷumâyi, by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl, and I also at one time concurred with him. But the identification is not, I think, tenable. He was probably led to it by his reading Sirîsena for Sakasena; but I have shown that the reading is incorrect. Mr. Thomas has described a specimen of eleven coins found at Amrâvatî near Dharaṇikoṭ, the legend on which he reads as *Sakasakasa*, but it is not unlikely *Sakasenasa*, "of Sakasena." Besides, Maḍharîputra Śakasena could not have been the immediate successor of Puḷumayi for a reason which I have already given. One of the Kolhâpur coins figured by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indraji bears the names of both Gotamîputa and Maḍharîputa, showing that the piece originally bearing the name of one of them was re-stamped with the name of the other. Mr. Thomas thinks that it was originally Maḍharîputa's coin. I think it was Gotamîputa's; for, if we see the other figured coins we shall find that they are so stamped as to leave some space between the rim and the legend. This in the present case is utilized and the name of Maḍharîputa stamped close to the rim, which shows that the thing was done later. Maḍharîputra S'akasena, therefore, must have been a successor of Gotamîputra Yajña S'ri S'âtakarṇi. But, as we have seen, none of his three Purâṇic successors bore the name, and the name S'akasena is one which has nothing like it on the long list of the Andhrabhṛityas. Still that king must have reigned at Dhanakaṭaka also if my surmise that Mr. Thomas' Sakasaka is the same as Sakasena is correct. In the same manner, as observed before, Chatushparṇa Śâtakarṇi's name does not appear in the Purâṇas. But the Puraṇâs cannot be expected to give accurate information on these points. In the Mâtsya Purâṇa another Andhra dynasty of "seven princes sprung from the servants of the original Andhrabhṛitya family will," it is paid, "come into power after that family becomes extinct."[1] The Vâyu has got a similar verse the reading of which, however, is corrupt; but it appears that this new dynasty is there meant to be spoken of as having sprung from the Andhrabhṛitya family itself and must have constituted a separate branch cut off from the main line. And we can very well understand from the points already made out how such a branch could have constituted itself after Yajña Śrî's ceasing to reign. Vâsishṭhîputra Śâtakarṇi whom I have identified with Chaturapana married a Kshatrapa lady. The Kshatrapas, as I have before observed, were foreigners, most probably Śakas who had become Hindus. Maḍharîputra was not unlikely the son of that lady. And thus he and his father Chaturapana formed, from the very fact of this marriage, a distinct line of princes. Chaturapana appears to have succeeded Yajna Śrî; and Maḍharîputra to have reigned after Chaturapana. The durations of these reigns cannot be made out, but the latest date of the former is the thirteenth year of his reign, which probably corre-

Chaturapana.

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[1] अन्ध्राणां संस्थिता (ते?) राज्ये तेषां भृत्यान्वये नृपाः । सप्तैवान्ध्रा भविष्यन्ति·

Section VI.

Dates of the later Sâtavâhanas.

ponds to 185 A.D. and of the latter the eighth. The dates of the later Sâtavâhanas are therefore these :

In Mahârâshṭra.

Puḷumâyi	A.D. 130—A.D. 154.
Yajña S'rî	A.D. 154—A.D. 172.
Chatushparṇa or Chaturapana ...	A.D. 172—was reigning in A.D. 185.
Maḍhariputra ... About	A.D. 190—was reigning in about A.D. 197.

In Tailaṅgaṇa.

Puḷumâyi	A.D. 154—A.D. 158.
S'iva S'rî	A.D. 158—A.D. 165.
S'ivaskanda	A.D. 165—A.D. 172.
Yajña S'rî	A.D. 172—A.D. 202.
Vijaya	A.D. 202—A.D. 208.
Chandra Srî...	A.D. 208—A.D. 211.
Pulomavi	A.D. 211—A.D. 218.

Thus then, the Andhrabhṛityas or Sâtavâhanas ruled over the Dekkan from B.C. 73 to about A.D. 218, *i.e.*, for about three centuries. For some time, however, they were dispossessed of the country by foreigners who belonged to the S'aka tribe. How long these were in power it is difficult to determine. If the S'aka era was established by the foreign conqueror after his subjugation of the country, and if his Satrap Nahapâna or his successor was overthrown by Gotamîputra or Puḷumâyi, six or seven years after Nahapâna's latest date, *viz.* 46, the foreigners held possession of this country only for about fifty-three years.

SECTION VII.

Political and literary traditions about the Śâtavâhanas or Śâlivahânas.

Section VII.

The period during which the S'âtavâhanas or Andhrabhṛityas ruled over Mahârâshṭra must have been a prosperous one in the history of the country. Hence several traditions with regard to different kings of this dynasty have been preserved. But that Śâlivâhana or Śâtavâhana was a family name has been forgotten, and different princes of the dynasty have been confounded and identified. Thus Hemachandra in his Deśikos'a gives Śâlivâhana, Sâlana, Hâla, and Kuntala as the names of one individual; but we see from the list given above that the last two were borne by different princes, and both of them were Śâlivâhanas. In his grammar he gives Śâlivâhana as a Prâkrit corruption of Śâtavâhana. In modern times the Śaka era is called the Śâlivâhana era or an era founded by Śâlivâhana. When it began to be attributed to him it is difficult to determine precisely. All the copper-plate grants up to the eleventh century speak of the era as Śakanṛipakâla, *i.e.*, the era of the Saka king, or Śakakâla, *i.e.*, the era of the Śaka, and in an inscription at Bâdâmî it is stated to be the era beginning from "the coronation of the Śaka king." Subsequently, the simple expression "Śâke, in the year of the Śaka," was used, and thereafter Śake or "in the Śaka." The word Śaka thus came to be understood as equivalent to "an era" generally, the original sense being forgotten. And since the era had to be connected with some great king it was associated with the name of S'âlivâhana whom tradition had represented to be such a king; and thus we now use the expression Śâlivâhana Śaka, which etymologically can have no sense and is made up of the names of two royal families. The current legend makes Śâlivâhana the son of a Brâhmaṇ girl who was a sojourner at Paiṭhaṇ and lived with her two brothers in the house of a potter. On one occasion she went to the Godâvarî to bathe, when Śesha, the king of serpents, becoming enamoured of her, transformed himself into a man and embraced her. In due course she gave birth to Śâlivâhana, who was brought up in the house of the potter.[1] Some time after, king Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî, to whom a certain deity had revealed that he was destined to die at the hands of the son of a girl of two years, sent about his Vetâla or king of Ghosts to find out if there was such a child anywhere. The Vetâla saw Śâlivâhana playing with his girlish mother and informed Vikramâditya. Thereupon he invaded Paiṭhaṇ with a large army, but Śâlivâhana infused life into clay figures of horses, elephants, and men, by means of a charm communicated to him by his father, the king of serpents, encountered

Śâlivâhana Śaka.

Legend about Śâlivâhana.

[1] The story about the girl and her serpent-lover is in the Kathâsaritsâgara mentioned with reference to Guṇâḍhya who was the son of the girl. Sâtavâhana's origin is given differently.

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Vikramâditya, and defeated him. This descent of a king of Ujjayin on Paiṭhaṇ I have already alluded to and endeavoured to explain. The Śâlivâhana referred to in this tradition appears to be Puḷumâyi who in conjunction with his father freed the country from the Śakas and fought with Chashṭana or Jayadâman and Rudradâman whose capital appears to have been Ujjayinî. It was in consequence of some faint reminiscence of Puḷumâyi Śâlivâhana's relations with the Śakas and their Satrap kings that his name was attached to the era first used by his adversaries.

Śâtavâhana's name in connection with the Bṛihatkathâ.

There are also several literary traditions connected with the name of Śâtavâhana or Śâlivâhana. A work of the name of Bṛihatkathâ written in that form of the Prâkṛit which is called the Paiśâchî or the language of goblins is mentioned by Daṇḍin in his work the Kâvyâdarśa.[1] Somadeva, the author of the Kathâsaritsâgara, and Kshemendra, the author of another Bṛihatkathâ, profess to have derived their stories from this Paiśâchî Bṛihatkathâ. The stories comprised in this are said to have been communicated to Guṇâḍhya, who for some time had been minister to Śâtavâhana, by a ghost of the name of Kâṇabhûti. They were written in blood and arranged in seven books. Guṇâḍhya offered them to king Śâtavâhana, but he refused to receive such a ghastly work written in blood and in the language of goblins, whereupon Guṇâḍhya burnt six of them. Some time after, king Śâtavâhana having been informed of the charming nature of those stories went to Guṇâḍhya and asked for them. But the last or seventh book alone remained, and this the king obtained from his pupils with his permission.[2]

Composition of the Kâtantra Grammar.

It is narrated in the Kathâsaritsâgara that while S'âtavâhana was, on one occasion, bathing with his wives in a tank in a pleasure-garden, he threw water at one of them. As she was tired, she told the king not to besprinkle her with water, using the words *modakaiḥ paritâḍaya mâm*. The king not understanding that the first word was composed of two, *mâ* "do not" and *udakaiḥ* "with waters," but taking it to be one word meaning "pieces of sweetmeat," caused sweetmeat to be brought and began to throw pieces at the queen. Thereupon she laughed and told the king that he did not know the phonetic rules of Sanskrit, and that while she meant to tell him not to besprinkle her with water, he had understood her to say that she wanted him to throw pieces of sweetmeat at her. There was no occasion for sweetmeat at the place, and this ought to have led the king to the true sense; but he was not. Thereupon the king was ashamed of his own ignorance while his queen was so learned, and became disconsolate. Guṇâḍhya and Śarvavarman, who were his ministers, were informed of the cause; and the former promised to teach him grammar in six years, though it was a study of twelve. Śarvavarman, however, offered to teach the subject in six months, and his offer was accepted; but as it was not possible to do so, Śarvavarman propitiated the god Kârtikeya or Skanda by his self-

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[1] भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुरद्भुतार्थां बृहत्कथाम्·

[2] Kathâsaritsâgara, II. 8.

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mortifications, and the god communicated to him the first Sûtra of a new grammar *Siddho Varṇasamâmnâyaḥ*. Thereupon Śarvavarman repeated the other Sûtras, when Kârtikeya said that if he had not been so hasty and allowed him to repeat the whole, the new grammar would have become superior to Pâṇini's; but since it could not be so now, it would be a small treatise—*Kâtantra*, and would also be called *Kâlâpaka* after the tail of his peacock. This new grammar Sarvavarman taught to the king.[1] The same story is told by Târânâtha in his "History of Buddhism",[2] but he makes the name of the king to be Udayana, and of Śarvavarman, Saptavarman; while the competitor of Śarvavarman is represented by him to be Vararuchi instead of Guṇâdhya. But Udayana is represented as a king reigning in Southern India and Śâtavâhana in the form of Śântivâhana is also mentioned in connection with the story as a southern king in whose dominions Vararuchi lived. As Udayana frequently figures in Buddhistic stories, the southern prince Śâtavâhana is confounded with him, and this seems to be indicated by the fact that this Udayana is represented to have ruled over a country in the south, though the usual Udayana is a northern prince. It will thus appear that the Kâtantra grammar was composed by Śarvavarman at the request of a prince of the Śâtavâhana family. And this same thing appears to be alluded to even by Hwan Thsang when he says in connection with the shortening of the originally large work on grammar by Pâṇini and others, "lately a Brâhmaṇ of South India, at the request of a king of South India, reduced them further to 2,500 ślokas. This work is widely spread, and used throughout all the frontier provinces, but the well-read scholars of India do not follow it as their guide in practice."[3]

Hâla's Saptaśatî.

There is a work written in the old Mahârâshṭrî dialect called Saptaśatî, which is of the nature of an anthology consisting of Gâthâs or stanzas in the Âryâ metre, mostly on love matters. The author of this is in the third verse mentioned as Hâla, and ordinarily he is spoken of as S'âlivâhana. Bâṇa speaks of it in a verse in the introduction to his Harshacharita as "an imperishable and refined repository of good sayings composed by S'âlivâhana." Verses from it are quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the Daśarûpaka, in the Sarasvatî Kaṇṭhâbharaṇa, and in the Kâvyaprakâśa. There is, it will be observed, in the list of the Andhrabhṛitya princes, one of the name of Hâla, who probably was either the author of the work or to whom it was dedicated by a court-poet. From these traditions we may, I think, safely conclude that literature flourished under the rule of the Andhrabhṛityas, and that the Prâkṛits or spoken languages, especially the Mahârâshṭrî, were probably for the first time used for literary purposes. In Vâtsyâyana's Kâmasûtra or Institutes of Love, Kuntala S'âtakarṇi S'âtavâhana is spoken of as having killed Malayavatî, who is called

Kuntala S'âtakarṇi.

[1] Kathâsaritsâgara, VI. 108 & ff. [2] Schiefner's Translation, p. 73 & ff.
[3] Life of Hwan Thsang, Beal's Trans., p. 122.

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Mahâdevî, and consequently must have been his chief queen, by means of a pair of scissors in connection with certain amorous sports.[1] The name Kuntala occurs in the list given in the Mâtsya Purâṇa.

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[1] कर्तर्या कुन्तलः शातकार्णिः शातवाहनो महादेवीं मलयवतीं [जघान] Prof. Aufrecht's quotation in the Oxf. Cat., p. 217 b., does not contain the name मलयवतीं, and he supplies गणिकां from the preceding clause; but a Gaṇikâ or courtezan cannot be called Mahâdevî.

SECTION VIII.

Religious, social, and economic condition of Mahârâshtra under the Andhrabhrityas or S'âtavâhanas.

Section VIII.

Founders of Benefactions.

During this period the religion of Buddha was in a flourishing condition. Princes and chiefs calling themselves Mahâbhojas and Mahâraṭṭhis, merchants (Naigamas), goldsmiths (Suvarṇakâras), carpenters (Vardhakas), corn-dealers (Dhânyakaśreṇis), druggists (Gândhikas), and ordinary householders (Gṛihasthas) caused at their expense temples and monasteries to be excavated out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of that religion. It has been mentioned that in the first part of this period the country was exposed to the inroads of foreign tribes, such as Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks, S'akas, and Pahlavas. These afterwards settled in the country and adopted the Buddhist religion. For, among the donors and benefactors whose names are recorded in the cave inscriptions, there are a good many S'akas and Yavanas. But some and especially the S'akas seem to have adopted Brâhmaṇism. The Buddhist temples were provided with *chaityas* or tombs in imitation of those in which some relic of Buddha was buried, and these were objects of worship. The monasteries contained cells intended as residences for Bhikshus or mendicant priests. These travelled over the country during the year and spent the four rainy months at one of these monastic establishments. In the month of S'râvaṇa the monks held the ceremony of robing, at which the old clothes were thrown away and new ones worn. To provide these for them, charitable persons deposited, as we have seen, sums of money with certain guilds with directions that out of the interest new robes should be purchased and given to the priests. Villages were assigned by kings and their officers for the support of these religious establishments. The mendicant priests often travelled by sea; and hence at the head of several of the creeks in the Konkan we have cave monasteries intended as Dharmaśâlâs or rest-houses for them. We have such caves at Chipḷuṇ, Mahâḍ, and Kuḍeṁ situated respectively on the Dâbhoḷ, the Bâṇkoṭ, and the Râjapurî creeks. For those who landed at the head of the Bombay harbour or at Ghoḍbandar, there were the Kânheri caves.

Wandering Buddhist mendicants.

Brâhmaṇism equally with Buddhism in a flourishing condition.

Brâhmaṇism also flourished side by side with Buddhism. In the inscription at Nâsik in which Ushavadâta dedicates the cave monastery excavated at his expense for the use of the itinerant "priests of the four quarters," he speaks, as we have seen, of his many charities to Brâhmaṇs. The same notions as regards these matters prevailed then as now. Ushavadâta fed a hundred thousand Brâhmaṇs as the Mahârâj Sindia did about thirty years ago. It was considered highly meritorious to get Brâhmaṇs married at one's expense then as now. Gotamîputra also, in the same inscription which records a benefaction in favour of the Buddhists, is spoken of as the only protector of Brâhmaṇs, and as having like Ushavadâta

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put them in the way of increasing their race. Kings and princes thus appear to have patronized the followers of both the religions, and in none of the inscriptions is there an indication of an open hostility between them.

Trade and Commerce.

Trade and commerce must also have been in a flourishing condition during this early period. Ships from the western countries came, according to the author of the Periplus, to Barugaza or Bharukachchha, the modern Bharoch; and the merchandize brought by them was thence carried to the inland countries. Onyx stone in large quantities from Paiṭhaṇ, and ordinary cottons, muslins, mallow-coloured cottons, and other articles of local production from Tagara, were carried in waggons to Barugaza and thence exported to the west. Paiṭhaṇ is placed by the author of the Periplus at the distance of twenty days' journey to the south of Barugaza, and is spoken of as the greatest city in Dakhinabades or Dakshiṇâpatha, and Tagara, ten days' east of Paiṭhaṇ[1] This town has not yet been identified. Its name does not occur in any of the cave inscriptions, but it is mentioned in a copper-plate grant of the first half of the seventh century; and princes of a dynasty known by the name of S'ilâhâra call themselves "sovereigns of Tagara, the best of towns," in all their grants. Some have identified it with Devagiri and others with Junnar, but in both cases its bearing from Paiṭhaṇ as given by the Greek geographers has not been taken into account. I have elsewhere discussed the question, and have proposed Dhârur in the Nizâm's territory as the site of the ancient city. The other sea-port towns mentioned in the Periplus are Souppara, the modern Supârem or Supârâ near Bassein and the S'orparaka of the inscriptions and the Purâṇas, where interesting Buddhistic relics were dug out by Mr. Campbell and Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl; Kalliena, the modern Kalyâṇ, which must have been a place of great commercial importance since a good many of the donors whose names are inscribed in the caves at Kânheri and some mentioned in the caves at Junnar were merchants residing in Kalyâṇ;[2] Semulla identified with Chembur by some and with Chaul by others; Mandagora, very likely the same as the modern Mâṇḍâḍ, originally Mandagaḍa, situated on the Râjapurî creek near Kuḍem where we have the caves; Palaipatmai, which probably was the same as Pâl which is near Mahâḍ; Melizeigara, the second part of the name of which can at once be recognized as Jayagaḍ and which must be identified with that place whatever the first part Meli may mean; Buzantion, and others. Buzantion is probably the Vaijayantî[3] of the inscriptions, but with what modern town it is to be identified it is difficult to say. Vaijayantî is mentioned in the Kadamba copper-plates translated by Mr. Telang,[4] and was most probably some place in North Kânara.

Identification of towns and cities.

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., pp. 143, 144.

[2] See the inscriptions in Jour. B. B. R. A. S, Vol. VI., and in Arch. Surv., W. India, No. 10.

[3] Kârli No. 1, Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

[4] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 318 and 321.

In a grant of the Vijayanagar dynasty, Mâdhava, the great counsellor of king Harihara, is represented to have been appointed viceroy of Jayantîpura. He then conquered Goa and seems to have made that his capital.[1] Jayantîpura is said to be another name for Banavâsî. In the Sabhâparvan of the Mahâbhârata, Banavâsî is spoken of as if it were the name of a country, and immediately after it, Jayantî is mentioned as a town.[2] If then Jayantî and Vaijayantî were two forms of the same name, Vaijayantî was probably the modern Banavâsî, or perhaps in consideration of the facts that the name of Vaijayantî occurs in an inscription at Kârli and also that the Greek geographers in mentioning the places of note on the coast could not have run at once from Jayagaḍ to the southern limit of North Kânarâ, Vaijayantî may be identified with Vijayadurg. But these objections are not of very great weight.

Inland towns.

It is not possible to ascertain the names of all the towns in the inland country that were in a flourishing condition during the time we have been speaking of. Besides Paiṭhaṇ and Tagara there was Nâsik, which is mentioned in an inscription in one of the caves at the place and also at Beḍsâ. The district about the town was called Govardhana. Junnar was another flourishing town, as is attested by the number of cave-temples at the place. But what its name was we do not know. The name Junnar, Junanara, Jûrṇanagara, or Jîrṇanagara, which means the old town, must have been given to it after it had lost its importance. I have already expressed my belief that it was the capital of Nahapâna. Puḷumâyi, who overthrew the dynasty of Nahapâna, is in one of the Nâsik inscriptions styled "lord of Navanara," meant probably for Navanagara or the new town. That he reigned at Paiṭhaṇ we know from Ptolemy, and also from the many traditions about Sâlivâhana which locate the person or persons bearing that name at that city. The Navanara, then, of the inscription was probably another name given to the town when Puḷumâyi re-established his dynasty, and, in contrast with it, Nahapâna's capital was called the "Old Town." Or perhaps Puḷumâyi widened the old town of Paiṭhaṇ and called the new extension Navanara. What town existed near the group of caves at Kârli and the adjoining places, we do not know. But the place spoken of in connection with the monastic establishment is in an inscription named Valuraka,[3] and the district in which it was situated is called Mâmalâhâra,[4] or the district of Mâmala, the modern Mâvaḷ. Further south there was the town of Karahâṭaka, the modern Karhâḍ, which is mentioned in an inscription at Kuḍem[5] and also in the Mahâbhârata.[6] Kolhâpur also must have been a flourishing town in those days, since a Buddhistic stûpa containing the coins

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[1] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 115.

[2] Chap. XXXI, vv. 69 and 70, Bom. Ed. The Vanavâsinaḥ at the end of v. 69 refers to the town or country of Banavâsî and ought properly to appear as Vanavâsikâm. In the Purâṇas, too, Vanavâsikâḥ is given as the name of a people.

[3] No. 14, Kârli. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

[4] *Ibid.* No. 19.

[5] No. 20, Kuḍâ Caves. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

[6] In the place above referred to.

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we have already noticed and other remains of antiquity have been found there. The old name of the place is unknown. Either Karhâḍ or Kolhâpur must be the Hippocura of Ptolemy in which he locates Baleocuros whom we have identified with the Viḷivâyakura of the Kolhâpur coins.

Trade-guilds.

Persons engaged in trade and commerce probably acquired large fortunes. The great *chaitya* cave at Kârli was caused to be constructed by a S'eth (S'reshṭhin) of Vaijayantî, and in other places also, especially at Kânheri, their gifts were costly. There were in those days guilds of trades such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers, &c. Their organization seems to have been complete and effective, since, as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them from generation to generation. Self-government by means of such guilds and village communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A *nigamasabhâ* or town-corporation is also mentioned in one of Ushavadâta's Nâsik inscriptions, which shows that something like municipal institutions existed in those early days. It is also worthy of remark that the yearly interest on the 2000 *kârshâpaṇas* deposited by Ushavadâta was 100 *kârshâpaṇas*, and in another case that on 1000 was 75 showing that the rate of interest was not so high as it has been in recent times, but varied from five to seven and a half per cent. per annum. If the rate of interest depends on the degree of security and bears an inverse ratio to the efficiency of government, it appears that the country was well governed notwithstanding political revolutions. To this result the efficient local organization spoken of above, which no changes of dynasties ever affected, must no doubt have contributed in a large measure.

Rate of interest.

Communication between different parts of the country.

Communication between the several provinces does not appear to have been very difficult. Benefactions of persons residing in Vaijayantî or Banavâsî, and Sorparaka or Supârâ, are recorded in the cave at Kârli; of a Nâsik merchant at Beḍsâ; of some inhabitants of Bharukachchha and Kalyâṇ at Junnar; of natives of Northern India and Dâttâmitrî, which I have elsewhere shown was situated in Lower Sindh, at Nâsik; and of an iron-monger of Karahâkaḍa or Karhâḍ at Kuḍeṁ. On the other hand, gifts of natives of Nâsik and Karhâḍ are recorded on the stûpa at Bharhut which lies midway between Jabalpur and Allahâbâd.[1] Unless there were frequent communications between these places, it is not possible that the natives of one should make religious endowments at another.

[1] Cunningham's Stupa of Bharhut, pp. 131, 135, 136, 138, 139.

SECTION IX.

Probable history of the period between the extinction of the Andhrabhṛityas and the rise of the Châlukyas.

Section IX.

For about three centuries after the extinction of the Andhrabhṛityas, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country. The Mâtsya and the Vâyu, as observed before, place seven princes of a branch of the Andhrabhṛityas after them, and I have given reasons to believe that the Maḍharîputra of the inscription and the coins referred to before was one of them. This branch seems to have been in possession of the whole extent of the country that was ruled over by their predecessors. If the fact, noticed before, of some coins of the later Kshatrapa kings being found in a village near Karhâḍ is to be regarded as evidence of their sway over this country and not to be attributed merely to commercial intercourse, the Kshatrapa dynasty also must be considered to have obtained possession of a portion at least of the Dekkan after the S'âtavâhanas. The earliest of these princes is Vijaya Sâha[1] (or Sena) whose date is 144[2] which, if the era is that of the S'aka kings, corresponds to A.D. 222, while the latest date we have assigned to the S'âtavâhanas is about A.D. 218. The last of the princes whose coins are found near Karhâḍ is Vis'va Sâha (Sena), one of whose coins has the date 214 and another 224, corresponding to A.D. 292 and A.D. 302.[3] About this time princes of the race of Âbhîras or cowherds must have come into power. Ten of them are mentioned in the Purâṇas. In the Nâsik caves there is an inscription dated in the ninth year of Vîrasena Âbhîra, the son of Damarî and of S'ivadatta Âbhîra.[4] The characters in the inscription, though they do not differ much from those in the inscriptions of the later Andhrabhṛitya kings, must be regarded as more modern. The language is Sanskrit, which I regard as an indication of a later era. When the popular dialect became different from the Pâli, or the Pâli became less sacred, the people fell back upon the original Sanskrit for such purposes as those of recording religious gifts; and thus in all the later grants we find the Sanskrit used, while, from the times of As'oka to the extinction of the Andhrabhṛityas, the language used was mostly the Pâli, or, to speak more accurately, one or more of the Prâkṛits of the period. The Âbhîras were in power for sixty-seven years according to the Vâyu Purâṇa. Many other dynasties are mentioned in the Purâṇas as having ruled over the country. But the information given there is much more confused than in the case of the previous families. It appears that the dynasties that ruled over different parts of India at the same time are put together and confused with those that succeeded each other, so that it is not possible without extraneous assistance to determine their chronological relations.

Âbhîras.

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[1] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., p. 17. [2] *Ibid.* p. 28 (No 10). [3] *Ibid.* No. 15.
[4] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., No. 15, and Trans. Inter. Con. 1874, p. 341.

Section IX.
Râshṭrakûṭas.

We have seen from the cave inscriptions that from remote times tribes of Kshatriyas calling themselves Bhojas and Raṭṭhis or Râshṭrikas were predominant in the country. In the northern part of the Dekkan or Mahârâshṭra these called themselves "the Great Raṭṭhis or Mahâraṭṭhis, the ancient Marâṭhâs," but in other places the name in use must have been Raṭṭhis or Raṭṭhas, since we know of more modern chiefs in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country who called themselves by that name. Some of the Raṭṭha tribes must have formed themselves into a family or group (kûṭa) and called themselves Raṭṭhakûḍa, and later on Râṭhoḍa, the Sanskrit original of which is Râshṭrakûṭa. Or the Râshṭrakûṭa family was so called because it was the main branch of the race of the Raṭṭhas that had spread over the whole country. These native chiefs that ruled over the country must have been held in subjection by the Andhrabhṛityas during the continuance of their power, and also by the later Kshatrapas. But after the dynasties became extinct they must have resumed their independence. The Âbhîras held sway for some time and over a part of the country only; for the tradition of Gauḷi or cowherd rulers which very probably refers to them is confined to the Nâsik and Khândeś districts. The Râshṭrakûṭas probably rose to power about the same time as the Âbhîras. Hence in the inscriptions on the Miraj plates and the Yevur tablet first brought to light by Mr. Wathen and Sir Walter Elliot,[1] respectively, it is stated that Jaysiṁha, the founder of the Châlukya dynasty in the Dekkan, established himself in the country after having vanquished Indra, the son of Kṛishṇa of the Râshṭrakûṭa family. The Châlukya dynasty was, as will hereafter be seen, founded in the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era. From about the end of the third to the beginning of the sixth century, therefore, the Dekkan was ruled over by princes of the Râshṭrakûṭa family.

Traikûṭakas.

An inscription on copper-plates found in the *chaitya* of one of the caves at Kânheri is dated in the 245th year of a dynasty, which, if the word has been correctly lithographed, is called Strakûṭaka.[2] But the published copy of the inscription was made in the time of Dr. Bird and the plates themselves are not now available for re-examination. This Strakûṭaka may be a mislection for Râshṭrakûṭa. But it is not unlikely Traikûṭaka, as the late Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl contended. He has published a copper-plate charter issued from the camp of the victorious army of Traikûṭakas by a prince of the name of Darhasena[3] in the year 207. Traikûṭaka was thus probably the name of a race and the prince belonged to it. And the Kânheri inscription would show that this dynasty had an era of its own. From the form of the characters in the inscription, it appears that it was engraved in the latter part of the fifth century of the Christian era; so that the Traikûṭaka dynasty was founded about the middle of

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1 Jour. R. A. S., Vols. II., III., IV.; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 12.
2 Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V., p. 16, of the copies of the Kânheri inscription.
3 Jour. B. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 346.

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the third century, *i. e.* after the extinction of the Ŝâtavâhanas. But further information about the dynasty is not available; and we do not know over what extent of country it ruled. But since the epoch of the era appears to be the same as that of the era used by the kings of Chedi, possibly the race of the Haihayas or Kalachuris which ruled over that province rose to power about 249 A. D. and held sway over a part of the Dekkan including the western coast up to the country of Lâṭ. They were afterwards driven away by some other race and had to confine themselves to Chedi. The resemblance between the names Tripura the capital of the dynasty and Trikûṭa is perhaps not fortuitous.

SECTION X.

The Early Châlukyas.

tion X.

We will next proceed to an account of the princes who belonged to the dynasty called Chalikya, Chalukya, or Châlukya.[1] A large number of inscriptions on copper-plates and stone tablets have amply elucidated the history of this dynasty. The legendary orgin of this family is thus given by Bilhaṇa, the author of the Vikramâṅkadevacharita, or life of Vikramâditya a prince of the later or restored Châlukya line. On one occasion when Brahmadeva was engaged in his morning devotions, Indra came up to him and complained of the sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the sacrificial rites or gave oblations to the gods. Brahmadeva looked at his *chuluka* or the hand hollowed for the reception of water in the course of his devotional exercise, and from it sprang a mighty warrior who became the progenitor of the Châlukya race. Some time after, two great heroes of the name of Hârîta and Mânavya were born in the family and they raised it to very great distinction. The original seat of the dynasty was Ayodhyâ, and in the course of time a branch of it established itself in the south.

gendary origin.

As stated in the opening lines of all the copper-plate grants of this family, the Châlukyas belonged to the Gotra or race of Mânavya and were the descendants of Hârîti. They were under the guardianship of the Seven Mothers and were led to prosperity by the god Kârtikeya. They obtained from Nârâyaṇa a standard with a boar represented on it, and fighting under that standard they subjugated all kings. The Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates, referred to above, agree with Bilhaṇa in representing Ayodhyâ as the original seat of the family. But since these were almost contemporaneous with the poet, all the three represent only the tradition that was current in the eleventh century. The first prince who raised the family to

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[1] Dr. Fleet draws a distinction between Chalukya and Châlukya and asserts that "this last form belongs only to the restored dynasty commencing with Taila II" and that "it does not occur in any of the genuine early inscriptions." But it does belong to the earlier dynasty also, and is found in genuine early inscriptions. The best way to determine the point whether the first syllable was च or चा is to refer to verses containing the name, the metre of which will show the quantity unmistakeably. The inscriptions of the earlier dynasty are in prose; we must therefore refer to the versified grants of the Râshṭrakûṭas which speak of the dynasty supplanted by them. In the Râdhanpur grant of Govinda III. (Ind. ant., Vol. VI., p. 65), we have यश्चालुक्यकुलाद-नून &c., in verse 3. In the Navasârî grant edited by me (Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII., p. 257), we have चालुक्यवंशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीः &c. In three of the five grants of the eastern branch of the early dynasty edited by Dr. Hultzsch we have चालुक्यानां कुलम् (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I., pp. 44, 47 & 57). The form चलुक्य is also frequently used. The distinction between च and चा and the difference in sense in consequence of the lengthening of the vowel which Dr. Fleet points out have place in the pure Sanskrit of Pâṇini and of the Brâhmaṇas; but there is no room for them in names that came into use in the Prâkṛit period long after Sanskrit became a dead language. Chalukya was some vernacular name which was Sanskritized into the various forms we actually find.

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distinction in the south was Jayasiṁha. He fought several battles with the reigning princes, and, among them, those belonging to the Râshṭrakûṭa family, if the Yevur tablet is to be trusted, and acquired the sovereignty of the country. After him reigned Raṇarâga, who was a prince of great valour and had a stately and gigantic person. He was succeeded by his son Pulakeśi, who performed a great Aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice and attended equally to the concerns of this world and the next. He made Vâtâpipura, which has been identified with Bâdâmî in the Kalâdgi district, his capital. He appears to have been the first great prince of the family; for, in all the subsequent grants the genealogy begins with him. His full title was Satyâśraya S'rî Pulakeśi Vallabha Mahârâja. Of these words, *Vallabha* appears to be the title of all princes of this dynasty. In some cases, *Vallabha* had *Pṛithvî* prefixed to it, so that the expression meant "the Lover or Husband of the Earth." *Satyâśraya* or "the Support of Truth" was inherited by some of the later princes. Pulakeśi's son Kîrtivarman succeeded to the throne after him. He subjugated a family of princes of the name of Nalas; but over what province it ruled we do not know. He also subdued the Mauryas, who, from a statement in an inscription at Aihole[1] upon which this account is principally based, seem to have been chiefs of northern Konkan, and reduced also the Kadambas of Banavâsî in North Kânarâ.

Jayasiṁha, the first prince.

Raṇarâga.

Pulakeśi I.

Kîrtivarman.

Kîrtivarman had three sons at least, who were all young when he died. His brother Maṅgalîśa therefore came to the throne after him. Mangalîśa vanquished the Kalachuris, a family of princes ruling over the country of Chedi, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur near Jabalpur. Buddha son of S'aṁkaragaṇa, whom he is represented in one grant[2] to have conquered and put to flight must have been a Kalachuri prince, as the name Śaṁkaragaṇa frequently occurs in the genealogy of the dynasty. Maṅgalîśa is said to have carried his arms to both the eastern and the western seas. On the coast of the latter he conquered what is called Revatîdvîpa, or the Island of Revatî. A copper-plate grant by a governor of this island was found near Goa,[3] from which it would appear that Revatî was very probably the old name of Reḍî[4] situated a few miles to the south of Vengurleṁ. In an inscription in a cave-temple at Bâdâmî, it is stated that the temple[5] was caused to be excavated by Maṅgalîśa. He there placed an idol of Vishṇu, and on the occasion of its consecration granted a village, out of the revenues of which a ceremony called Nârâyaṇabali was to be performed and sixteen Brâhmaṇs to be fed every day, and the residue to be devoted to the maintenance of recluses. This inscription is dated in the twelfth year of some reign when 500 years of the S'aka era had elapsed. The reign in the

Maṅgalîśa.

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 241.

[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 161. See also Vol. XIX., p. 17.

[3] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., pp. 365-6.

[4] Revatî should, according to the usual rules, be corrupted to Revaḍî or Re-a-ḍi and then to Reḍî.

[5] Ind. Ant., Vol. III., p. 305.

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twelfth year of which the cave-temple was consecrated is taken to be the reign of Maṅgalîśa. On this supposition Maṅgalîśa began to reign in 489 S'aka; but I have elsewhere[1] brought forward what I consider to be very strong arguments to show that Maṅgalîśa could not have come to the throne so early as that, and the only criticism[2] that I have seen on my observations seems to me to be very unsatisfactory and serves only to confirm my statement. The reign referred to, therefore, is that of Kîrtivarman, and if its twelfth year fell in 500 Śaka, Kîrtivarman must have come to the throne in 489 S'aka corresponding to A.D. 567. In that inscription Maṅgalîśa assigns all the good fruits of his charities to his brother in the presence of the gods Âditya and Agni and of the assembled crowd of men, and claims to himself only the fruit arising from serving his brother faithfully. In the copper-plate grant of the governor of Revatî, referred to above, S'aka 532 is mentioned as the twentieth year of the reign of a prince who, from the titles given there and from the fact that Maṅgalîśa had about that period conquered the island, must have belonged to the Châlukya family. He could not have been Kîrtivarman, for the island was not conquered in his time, neither could he be the successor of Maṅgalîśa who, as I shall presently state, got possession of the throne in 533 Sáka. He must therefore have been Maṅgalîśa himself, and if S'aka 532 was the twentieth year of his reign, he must have begun to reign in 513 S'aka.[3] Kîrtivarman thus reigned from 489 S'aka or A.D. 567 to 513 S'aka or A.D. 591, that is, for twenty-four years.

Death of Maṅgalîs'a.

In the latter years of his reign Maṅgalîs'a seems to have been engaged in intrigues to keep his brother's son Pulakeśi off from the succession and to place his own son on the throne. But Pulakeśi, who had grown to be a prince of remarkable abilities, baffled all his intrigues, and by the use of energy and counsel he neutralized all the advantage that Maṅgalîśa had by the actual possession of power, and in the attempt to secure the throne for his son, Maṅgalîśa lost his own life and his kingdom.

Pulakeśi II.

Pulakeśi, the son of Kîrtivarman, succeeded. His full title was Satyâśraya S'rî Pṛithvî-Vallabha Mahârâja. From a copper-plate[4]

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[1] Jour. B. B R. A. S., Vol. XIV., pp. 23—25. [2] Ind. Ant., Vol. X., 57-58.

[3] See also the arguments used by me in the paper referred to above. In a recently published article Dr. Fleet places the accession of Maṅgalîs'a in 521 Śaka current, being led to it by the occurrence in an inscription of that prince of the words राज्य पञ्चमश्री वर्षे प्रवर्त्तमाने सिद्धार्थे. I have carefully examined the facsimile of the inscription given in the article; and am satisfied that this is by no means the correct reading. राज्य and प्रवर्त्तमाने are the only words that are certain and perhaps the word श्री also. But पञ्चम is highly doubtful; the letter which Dr. Fleet reads म is exactly like that which he reads ञ्च; and there is some vacant space after ञ्च and म in which something like another letter appears. Similarly the सि of सिद्धार्थे is hardly visible as an independent letter, and the next two letters are also doubtful. Besides in no other inscription of the early Châlukyas does the cyclic year appear. (See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX., p. 9 and ff.)

[4] Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 73.

grant executed in the third year of his reign and in 535 S'aka, he appears to have come to the throne in 533 S'aka or A.D. 611. After Maṅgalîśa's death, the enemies whom his valour had kept in subjection rose on all sides. A prince of the name of Appâyika and another named Govinda who very probably belonged to the Râshṭrakûṭa race, since that name occurs frequently in the genealogy of that family, attacked the new Châlukya king. The former, who had horses from the northern seas in his army, fled away in fear when opposed by the powerful forces of Pulakeśi, and the latter surrendered to him and becoming his ally was received into favour and rewarded.[1] He then turned his arms against the Kadambas, attacked Banavâsî, their capital, and reduced it. The prince of the Gaṅga family which ruled over the Chera[2] country situated about the modern province of Maisur, and the head of the Alupa[3] race which probably held the province of Malabâr, became his allies. He then sent his forces against the Mauryas of the Konkan, who were vanquished without any difficulty. With a fleet of hundreds of ships he attacked Purî,[4] which was the mistress of the western sea, and reduced it. The kings of Lâṭa, Mâlava, and Gûrjara were conquered and became his dependents. About this time, there was a powerful monarch in Northern India whose name was Harshavardhana. He was king of Kanoj, but in the course of time made himself the paramount sovereign of the north. He then endeavoured to extend his power to the south of the Narmadâ, but was opposed by Pulakeśi, who killed many of his elephants and defeated his army. Thenceforward, Pulakeśi received or assumed the title of Parames'vara or lord paramount. This achievement was by the later kings of the dynasty considered the most important, and that alone is mentioned in their copper-plate grants in the description of Pulakes'i II. Pulakes'i appears to have kept a strong force on the banks of the Narmadâ to guard the frontiers. Thus, by his policy as well as valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Mahârâshṭrakas containing ninety-nine thousand villages. The kings of Kosala and Kaliṅga[5] trembled at his approach and surrendered to him. After some time he marched with a large army against the king of Kâñchîpura or Conjeveram and laid siege to the town. He then crossed the Kâverî and invaded the country of the Cholas, the Pâṇḍyas, and the Keralas. But these appear to have become his allies. After having in this manner established his supremacy throughout the south, he entered his capital and reigned in peace. The date of the inscription from which the greater

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 242, line 8 of the inscription. From the words *cha, ekena* and *apareṇa* it is clear that two persons are here meant. But Dr. Fleet in his translation makes both of them one, which is a mistake; and the translation, I must say, is unintelligible.

[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 363, and Vol. VII., p. 168.

[3] The name of the royal family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabâr Coast.

[4] The town is called the Lakshimî of the Western Ocean. It was probably the capital of the Maurya king of the Konkan and afterwards of the Śilâhâras.

[5] For the position of these countries, see Sec. III. para. 2.

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by women as much as by men; and hence a woman like Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ might, during the lifetime of her husband, give a field. The fact of her doing so does not necessitate the supposition that she was a ruler or a regent when she made these grants, as has been thought. She was simply the crowned queen of a reigning monarch at that time. Another son of Pulakeśi named Âdityavarman seems to have ruled over the district near the confluence of the Krishṇâ and the Tuṅgabhadrâ,[1] as a copper-plate grant of his issued in the first year of his reign was found in the Karnul District. An undated grant of Pulakeśi found at Chiplun in Southern Konkan has recently been published. In it he sanctions the grant of the village of Âmravâṭaka made by his maternal uncle Śrîvallabha Senânandarâja "the ornament" of the Sendraka race.[2] This appears to be a family of minor chiefs with whom the Châlukyas were connected. A similar grant was made by the next king at the request of the Sendraka chief Devaśakti.[3] Inscriptions of Sendrakas are found in Gujarât also, where probably they went when the power of the Châlukyas was established in that province. The name Sendraka is probably preserved in the modern Marâṭhâ name Sinde.

Âdityavarman.

Sendraka race.

Vikramâditya I.

Pulakeśi was succeeded by his second son Vikramâditya. In the grants he is called Pulakeśi's *priyatanaya* or favourite son; so that it appears that Pulakeśi had arranged that Vikramâditya should succeed him at the principal seat of government, and had assigned an outlying province to his eldest son Chandrâditya. At the beginning of this reign as of the previous ones there was a disturbance; but it did not come from the princes or chiefs more to the north who seem to have now been permanently humbled, but from the far south. The Pallava king of Kâñchî or Conjeveram and the rulers of the Cholas, the Pâṇḍyas, and the Keralas threw off the yoke which Pulakeśi had but loosely placed over them, and rebelled. Vikramâditya, who was a man of abilities and daring adventure, broke the power of the Cholas, Pâṇḍyas, and Keralas. He defeated the Pallava king, captured his capital Kâñchî, and compelled him, who had never before humbled himself before anybody, to do him homage. On the back of his horse Chitrakaṇṭha and sword in hand he is said to have repelled all the enemies that attacked him. In this manner he acquired again the whole of the dominions ruled over by his father, and became the paramount sovereign of the country "between the three seas."[4]

branch of the ...âlukya dynasty ...stablished in ...thern Gujarât.

During the reign of Vikramâditya I. a branch of the Châlukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujarât or the country called Lâṭa in ancient times. Vikramâditya seems to have assigned that province to a younger brother named Jayasiṁhavarman Dharâśraya,

[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 244, and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 223.
[2] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., p. 51.
[3] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 228. See also below.
[4] Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., pp. 86, 89, 92; Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 203; and Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., pp. 127, 130-131.

who thus was another son of Pulakeśi II.[1] S'ryâśraya S'îlâditya son of Jayasiṁha made a grant of land while residing at Navasârî in the year 421,[2] and another in 443 while encamped at Kusumeś-vara with his victorious army.[3] In both of these S'ryâśraya is called Yuvarâja or prince-regent and not a king. Another son of Jayasiṁha named Vinayâditya Yuddhamalla Jayâśraya Maṅgalarâja issued a similar charter in the S'aka year 653.[4] Pulakeśi, who represents himself as the younger brother of Jayâśraya Maṅgalara-sarâja and as meditating on his feet, granted a village in the year 490.[5] Both are styled kings. From all this it appears that Jayasiṁhavarman though made sovereign of southern Gujarât did not rule over the province himself but made his son S'ryâs'raya his regent. He held that position for more than twenty-two years; and does not appear to have become king in his own right, as he is not mentioned in Pulakeśi's grant. Pulakes'i, however, seems from his date to be his younger brother. Śryâśraya died before his father; Jayâśraya succeeded the latter as king and he was succeeded by Pulakes'i. The dates 421, 443, and 490, the era of which is not given, would if referred to the Gupta era be equivalent to 739, 761, and 808 of the Christian era respectively; while Jayâśraya's 653 Śaka is 731 A.D. But Vinayâditya the sovereign of the main branch who is mentioned in the grant of 443 died about 697 A.D.;[6] and Jayasiṁha whose Yuvarâja was Sryâśraya will have to be supposed to have lived to 761 A.D. *i.e.* 81 years after the death of his brother Vikramâditya; while the interval between Pulakes'i and his immediate predecessor Jayâśraya will become 77 years, as S'aka 653 of the latter corresponds to 731 A.D. The Gupta era will, therefore, not do; and we must with the late Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl refer the dates to the Traikûtaka era of the use of which we have at least two instances. Thus Śryâśraya's dates will be 670 and 692 A.D., of Jayâśraya 731 A.D. and of Pulakeśi 739 A.D., and there will be no incongruity. But the original dates themselves 421 and 490 show the distance of time between S'ryâśraya and Pulukeśi to be 69 years; and if we take the later date of the former it will be reduced to 47 years. Even this is too much and the only way to account for it is by supposing that the two youngest sons of Jayasiṁha Dharâśraya were born of a young wife married when he was advanced in years. In Pulakeśi's grant it is stated that he vanquished an army of Tâjikas which had destroyed the Saindhava[7], Kachchhella[8], Saurâshṭra, Châvoṭaka,[9] Maurya,[10] Gurjara[11] and other kings, and on its way to Dakshiṇâpatha to conquer the southern kings had come to Navasârî to reduce that country first. Thereupon Valla-

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[1] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 2.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 2 & 3.
[3] Transactions VII. Or. Congr., p. 226.
[4] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., p. 5.
[5] Transactions VII. Or. Congr., p. 230.
[6] See below.
[7] King of Sindh.
[8] Very likely king of Kachchha.
[9] King of Anahilpattan of the Châpotkaṭa race.
[10] King of the Maurya race; probably ruled over some part of the Konkan and the coast of southern Gujarât.
[11] King of the Gurjara race; ruled over the Broach District.

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bhanarendra, who must have been Vijayâditya or Vikramâditya II. the reigning sovereign of the main branch, conferred upon him the titles of "Pillar of Dakshiṇâpatha" (Dakshiṇâpathasâdhâra), "Ornament of the family of Chaluka" (Chalukakulâlaṁkâra), "Beloved of the earth" (Prithivîvallabha), the "Repeller of the unrepellable" (Anivartakanivartayitri) and "Support of men in the world" (Avanijanâśraya). As "Tâjika" is a name applied to Arabs, from which the name "Tajika" of a branch of astrology borrowed in the first instance from the Arabs is derived, the allusion in this grant is to an Arab-invasion. And we have a mention of such invasions between the years 711 A.D. and 750 A.D. by Mahammad Kasim and his successors.[1] Navasârî was the capital of the Châlukyas of Lâṭa or southern Gujarât.

A spurious Châlukya grant.

A copper-plate grant of the Gujarât Châlukyas found at Kherâ and translated by Prof. Dowson contains the names of three princes, viz., Jayasiṁharâja, Buddhavarmarâja, and Vijayarâja.[2] Scholars and antiquarians have understood the first of these to be the same as Jayasiṁha the founder of the Châlukya dynasty of the Dekkan. But I think the prince meant is Jayasiṁhavarman, the brother of Vikramâditya I. and founder of the Gujarât branch of the dynasty; for nothing has hitherto been discovered connecting the early Châlukya princes with Gujarât. The grant, however, appears to me to be a forgery.[3] The Buddhavarman mentioned in it, if he existed at all, must have been another son of Jayasiṁhavarman, besides the two spoken of above, and he and his son Vijayarâja must have ruled over another part of Gujarât. If the grant is to be regarded as genuine, the date 394 will have to be referred to the Gupta era.

Vinayâditya.

After Vikramâditya I. his son Vinayâditya came to the throne. One of his grants is dated S'aka 611, which was the tenth year of his reign,[4] another in 613 S'aka and in the eleventh year, and a third in 616 Śaka and the fourteenth year.[5] There is also an inscription of his on a stone tablet, the date occurring in which is 608 S'aka and the seventh year of his reign.[6] From these it appears that Vinayâditya came to the throne in 602 S'aka corresponding to A.D. 680, in which year his father Vikramâditya must have ceased to reign. His latest is A.D. 694, but his reign terminated in A.D. 696 as is seen from his son's grants referred to below. During his father's lifetime, Vinayâditya assisted him in his wars with the southern kings and won his love by destroying the forces of the Pallava king and of the other three, *i.e.* Chola, Pâṇḍya, and Kerala, and tranquillizing the country. Between the eleventh and fourteenth years of his reign (A.D. 692—A.D. 695) he succeeded in making the Pallavas,

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[1] Elphinstone's Hist. of India. [2] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 268.

[3] My reasons are these :—(1) Its style is unlike that of the Châlukya grants. (2) It does not contain the usual invocation to the Boar incarnation. (3) It simply gives the three regulation names, *i.e.*, so many as are prescribed, in the legal treatises. (4) There is a uniform mode of naming the three princes, by adding the suffix *râja*, a mode not to be met with in the genuine Châlukya grants. (5) None of the three princes has a title or *Biruda* as all Châlukya princes from Pulakeśi I. downwards had.

[4] Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 86. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 92.

[6] Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 112.

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Kaḷambhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Mâlavas, Cholas, Pâṇḍyas, and others as steadfast allies of the Châlukya crown as the Gaṅga family of Chera and the Alupas whose loyalty was for the first time secured by Pulakeśi II.[1] The kings of Kâvera, or Kerala as it is read in some of the grants, of the Pârasîkas, who were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabâr, and of Siṁhala were made tributaries. He also seems, like his grandfather, to have fought with and defeated some paramount sovereign of Northern India whose name is not given, and to have acquired all the insignia of paramountcy, such as a certain standard called *Pâlidhvaja*, the drum called Ḍhakkâ, and others. These events must have taken place after 616 Śaka, since they are not mentioned in his grant of that year, but in those of his successors.[2] A chief of the name of Mal ârâja Pogilli of the Sendraka family was a feudatory of his in the south about Maisur.[3]

Vijayâditya.

Vinayâditya was succeeded by his son Vijayâditya. He appears to have assisted his grandfather in his campaigns against the southern kings and his father in the expedition into the north. At one time he was captured by his enemies, though they had been defeated and were retreating. Notwithstanding he was in their custody he succeeded in averting anarchy and disturbance in his own country, and when he got off, established his power everywhere and bore all the insignia of supreme sovereignty. There is an inscription at Bâdâmî in which it is stated that during his reign, idols of Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Maheśvara were put up at Vâtâpipura in Śaka 621 and the third year of his reign. One of his grants was issued in S'aka 622 on the full-moon day of Âshaḍha and in the fourth year of his reign, another in S'aka 627 and in the tenth year, and a third in Śaka 651 on the full-moon day of Phâlguna and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign.[4] On a comparison of all these dates it follows that his reign began in 618 S'aka after the full-moon day of Âshâḍha corresponding to A.D. 696. The first two of these grants, and another which bears no date, were found at Nerur in the Sâvantvâḍî state.[5] Vijayâditya had a long reign of thirty-six years.

Vikramâditya II.

After Vijayâditya, his son Vikramâditya II. ascended the throne. A grant of his, engraved on a stone tablet, is dated in 656 S'aka and in the second year of his reign,[6] wherefore he must have come to the throne in 655 S'aka or A.D. 733. Soon after his coronation he had to turn his arms against his hereditary enemy the Pallava king. The name of the prince who reigned at the Pallava capital at this time was Nandipotavarman. Vikramâditya marched against him in haste and encountered him in the Tudâka country. Nandipotavarman was defeated and had to fly away from the battle-field.

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[1] This fact is not mentioned in the grant of the eleventh year of his reign (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 89), while it does occur in that of the fourteenth year (p. 92) and in those of his successors.

[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., pp. 127 and 131.

[3] Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX., p. 143.

[4] Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 112.

[5] Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., pp. 127 and 131; and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 203, *et seq.*

[6] Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 107.

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The Châlukya king got a good deal of spoil in the shape of large quantities of rubies, elephants, and instruments of martial music. He then entered the city of Kâñchî, but did not destroy it. In that city he gave a good deal of money to Brâhmaṇs and to the poor and helpless, and restored to the temples of Râjasiṁheśvara and other gods the gold which, it appears, had been taken away by some previous king. He then fought with the Cholas, the Pâṇḍyas, the Keralas, and the Kaḷabhras, and reduced them.[1] Vikramâditya married two sisters belonging to the family of the Haihayas. The elder of these was called Lokamahâdevî and she built a temple of Śiva under the name of Lokeśvara, at Paṭṭaḍakal in the Kalâdgi district. The younger's name was Trailokyamahâdevî, and she built another in the vicinity dedicated to the same god under the name of Trailokyeśvara. The latter was the mother of Kîrtivarman the next king.[2] Vikramâditya reigned for fourteen years.

Kîrtivarman II.

His son Kîrtivarman II. began to reign in 669 Śaka or A.D. 747, since a grant of his, made in the eleventh year of his reign, bears the date 679 Śaka.[3] He assisted his father in his wars with the Pallavas. On one occasion he marched against the Pallava king with his father's permission. The ruler of Kâñchî, too weak to face him in the battle-field, took refuge in a fortress. His power was broken by the Châlukya king, who returned to his country with a large spoil. During the reign of this prince the Châlukyas were deprived of their power in Mahârâshṭra, and the sovereignty of the country passed from their hands into those of the Râshṭrakûṭa princes. The main branch of the dynasty became extinct; but it had several minor offshoots, and one of these in the person of Tailapa succeeded in the course of time in regaining supreme power. From this time forward, therefore, we do not meet with any copper-plate grants issued by the Châlukyas; but Râshṭrakûṭa plates belonging to this intervening period are met with from Râdhanpur in Northern Gujarât to Sâmangaḍ near Kolhâpur and Nâgpur in the Central Provinces. The grant of Kîrtivarman II., from which the above account of that prince is taken, does not allude to the fact of his disgrace, but he must have lost possession of the greater portion of his kingdom before Śaka 679, the date of the grant. The name of the Râshṭrakûṭa monarch who first humbled the Châlukyas was Dantidurga, and the work begun by him was completed by his successor Krishṇa. In a copper-plate grant of the former found at Sâmangaḍ he is spoken of as having become paramount sovereign after having vanquished Vallabha.[4] The date occurring in the grant is 675 Śaka. Before that time, therefore, the Châlukyas must have lost their hold over Mahârâshṭra. In the Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates the Châlukyas are spoken of as having lost sovereign power in the reign of Kîrtivarman II. We will therefore here close our account of the early Châlukyas.

Overthrow of the Châlukyas.

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[1] Ind. Ant, Vol. VIII., p. 26
[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 165. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., p. 5.
[3] Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 27.
[4] Jour B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II., p. 375.

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Jainism under the Châlukyas.

During the period occupied by the reigns of these early Châlukya princes, the Jaina religion comes into prominence. Ravikîrti, the Jaina who composed the Aihole inscription and represents himself as a poet, was patronized by Pulakeśi II. Vijayâditya gave a village for the maintenance of a Jaina temple to Udayadevapaṇḍita or Niravadyapaṇḍita, the house pupil of Śrîpûjyapâda, who belonged to the Devagaṇa sect of the Mûlasaṁgha, *i. e.* of the Digambara Jainas. Niravadyapaṇḍita is spoken of as a spiritual adviser of Vijayâditya's[1] father, *i. e.* Vinayaditya. Vikramâditya II. repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a learned Jaina of the name of Vijayapaṇḍita, who is represented to have silenced his opponents in argument and is styled the only disputant.[2] But Jainism in those days, as at present, probably flourished in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country only. If the Pûjyapâda who was the preceptor of Niravadyapaṇḍita was the famous grammarian of that name, he must have flourished some time before 618 Śaka, the date of Vinayâditya's death, *i. e.* about 600 Śaka or 678 A.D. All that is known about Pûjyapâda and his relations to other Digambara writers is not inconsistent with this date. But another date two hundred years earlier has also been assigned to Pûjyapâda.

Buddhism.

No inscription has yet come to light showing any close relations between the Buddhists and the Châlukya princes. But that the religion did prevail, and that there were many Buddhist temples and monasteries, is shown by the account given by Hwan Thsang. Still there is little question that it was in a condition of decline.

Revival of Brâhmaṇism.

With the decline of Buddhism came the revival of Brâhmaṇism and especially of the sacrificial religion. The prevalence of the religion of Buddha had brought sacrifices into discredit; but we now see them rising into importance. Pulakeśi I. is mentioned in all the inscriptions in which his name occurs as having performed a great many sacrifices and even the Aśvamedha. I have elsewhere[3] remarked that the names of most of the famous Brâhmaṇical writers on sacrificial rites have the title of *Svâmin* attached to them; and that it was in use at a certain period, and was given only to those conversant with the sacrificial lore. The period of the early Châlukyas appears to be that period. Amongst the Brâhmaṇ grantees of these princes we have Nandisvâmin, Lohasvâmin, and Bhallasvâmin;[4] Dâsasvâmin the son of Jannasvâmin and grandson of Revâsvâmi-Dîkshita;[5] Devasvâmin, Karkasvâmin, Yajñasvâmin, Nâgammasvâmin, another Devasvâmin, Gargasvâmin, Rudrasvâmin,[6] Prabhâkarasvâmin, Keśavasvâmin,[7] &c. There are others whose names have not this title attached to them. Among these names there are three borne by the great commentators on sacrificial sûtras and rites, viz. Karkasvâmin, Devasvâmin, and Keśavasvâmin.

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 112.
[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p 197.
[3] Report on MSS. for 1884, pp. 31, 32.
[4] Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 77.
[5] Ind. Ant, Vol. IX., 128.
[6] Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., p. 131.
[7] B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., pp. 237, 239.

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Though it would be hazardous to assume that these writers were exactly the persons who are mentioned in the grants with those names, still it admits of no reasonable doubt that they are to be referred to the period when the Châlukyas reigned in Mahârâshṭra; and probably flourished in the Dekkan or the Telugu and Kanarese countries. For the revival of Brahamaṇism was carried on vigorously in the Southern India. The ritual of the sacrifices must during the previous centuries have become confused, and it was the great object of these writers to settle it by the interpretation of the works of the old Ṛishis.

Puraṇic gods.

And the Puraṇic side of Brahmaṇism also received a great development during this period. Temples in honour of the Purâṇic triad, Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Maheśvara with a variety of names were constructed in many places. The worship of S'iva in his terrific form seems also to have prevailed, as the Nâsik grant of Nâgavardhana assigning a certain village to the worship of Kâpâlikeśvara, or the god wearing a garland of skulls, would show.

Cave architecture.

Cave architecture came to be used for the purposes of the Purâṇic religion about the time of the early princes of the dynasty, as we see from the cave-temple at Bâdâmî dedicated to the worship of Vishṇu by Maṅgalîśa. The Châlukyas, like their predecessors in previous times, were tolerant towards all religions.

Genealogy of the early Châlukyas.

1. JAYASIMHA.
2. RANARÂGA.
3. PULAKES'I I.—Satyâs'raya S'rî Pulakes'i Vallabha.
   - 4. KÎRTIVARMAN I., S'aka 489—513 or A. D. 567—591.
     - 6. PULAKES'I II.—Satyâs'raya S'rî Prithvî-vallabha, began to reign in S'aka 532 or A. D. 610, was on the throne in S'aka 556 or A. D. 634, and seen by Hwan Thsang in A. D. 639.
       - ...ndrâ-ya.
       - 7. VIKRAMÂDITYA I., ceased to reign in S'aka 602 or A. D. 680.
         - 8. VINAYÂDITYA, S'aka 602—619 or A. D. 680—697.
           - 9. VIJAYÂDITYA, Śaka 618—655 or A. D. 696—733.
             - 10. VIKRAMÂDITYA II., S'aka 655—669 or A. D. 733—747.
               - 11. KÎRTIVARMAN II., S'aka 669 or A. D. 747, deprived of supreme sovereignty by Dantidurga before S'aka 675 or A. D. 753.
       - Âdityavarman.
       - Jayasimhavarman.
     - Vishnuvardhana, founded the eastern Châlukya dynasty.
     - Jayasimha.
       - Nâgavardhana.
   - 5. MANGALIS'A, S'aka 513—532 or A. D. 591—610.

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The Râshtrakûtas.

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The Râshṭrakûṭas are represented to have belonged to the race of Yadû.[1] According to the Wardhâ plates they were members of the Sâtyaki branch of the race; and were the direct descendants of a prince of the name of Raṭṭa. He had a son of the name of Râshṭrakûṭa after whom the family was so called. These are clearly imaginary persons; and as remarked before, the Râshrakûṭa family was in all likelihood the main branch of the race of Kshatriyas named Raṭṭhas who gave their name to the country of Mahârâshṭra, and were found in it even in the times of Aśoka the Maurya. The Râshṭrakûṭas were the real native rulers of the country and were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes of foreign origin, such as the Śâtavâhanas and the Châlukyas who established themselves in the Dekkan and exercised supreme sovereignty, but were never extirpated. The earliest prince of the dynasty mentioned in the grants hitherto discovered is Govinda I. But in an inscription in the rock-cut temple of the Daśâvatâras at Elurâ the names of two earlier ones, Dantivarman and Indrarâja, occur.[2] The latter was Govinda's father and the former his grandfather. Govinda I. was probably the prince of that name who in Ravikîrti's inscription at Aihole is spoken of as having attacked the Châlukya king Pulakeśi II. and to have afterwards become his ally. Govinda was succeeded by his son Karka, during whose reign the Brâhmaṇs performed many sacrifices and who seems to have patronized the old Vedic religion. After him his son Indrarâja came to the throne. Indrarâja married a girl who belonged to the Châlukya family, though on her mother's side she was connected with the lunar race, probably that of the Râshtrakûṭas themselves. From this union sprang Dantidurga, who became king after his father. With a handful of soldiers Dantidurga defeated the army of Karṇâṭaka, which hitherto had achieved very great glory by vanquishing the forces of the kings of Kâñchî, the Keralas, Cholas, and Pâṇḍyas, and of Śrîharsha, the lord paramount of Northern India, and Vajraṭa[3]; and thus conquered Vallabha or the last Châlukya king Kîrtivarman II. with ease. He thus acquired paramount sovereignty in the south.[4] He also subdued the kings of Kâñchî, Kaliṅga, Kosala, S'rî-S'aila,[5] Mâlava, Lâṭa, and

Govinda I.

Karka I.

Indra II.

Dantidurga.

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[1] Khârepâṭan plate, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 217; Sângalî plates, B. B. R. A., Vol. IV., p. 111.; Navasârî plates and Wardhâ plates, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII. p. 239 *et seq*.

[2] Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No 10, pp. 92–96.

[3] The army of Karṇâṭaka was thus the army of the Châlukyas.

[4] Sâmangaḍ grant, p. 375, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II.

[5] This must have been the country about S'rî-S'aila which contains the celebrated shrine of Mallikârjuna and which is situated on the lower Kṛishṇa in the Karnul district, Madras Presidency.

Section XI.

Ṭaṅka. At Ujjayinî he gave large quantities of gold and jewels in charity.[1] A grant of Dantidurga found at Sâmangaḍ in the Kolhâpur district bears the date 675 of the Śaka era, corresponding to A.D. 753.[2]

Krishṇarâja.

Dantidurga died childless according to a grant found at Karḍâ,[3] and his paternal uncle Kṛishṇarâja succeeded to the throne. Another grant found at Baroda[4] omits the name of Dantidurga, since the object of the writer was simply to give the pedigree of the reigning monarch, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral, and not to give the names of all the previous kings. In that grant Kṛishṇarâja is spoken of as having "rooted out" a prince belonging to the same family with himself who had taken to evil ways and to have himself assumed the task of governing for the "benefit of his race." The prince dethroned or destroyed by Kṛishṇarâja could not have been Dantidurga, as has been supposed by some writers, since he was a powerful monarch who for the first time acquired supreme sovereignty for his family. In a grant found at Kâvî, and another found in the Navasârî district, Kṛishṇa is represented to have succeeded to the throne after Dantidurga's death.[5] The prince whom he set aside, therefore, must either have been a son of Dantidurga or some other person with a better claim to the throne than himself. The statement of the Karḍâ plate that Dantidurga died childless may be discredited as being made two hundred years after the occurrence.

Kṛishṇarâja, otherwise called S'ubhatuṅga and also Akâlavarsha, carried on the work of Dantidurga and reduced the Châlukyas to complete subjection. In two of the grants[6] he is spoken of "as having with the aid of gods in the form of his counsellors or followers churned the ocean of the Châlukya race which had been resorted to by mountains in the shape of kings afraid of their wings or power being destroyed[7]—an ocean that was inaccessible to others,—and drawn out from it the Lakshmî[8]" of paramount sovereignty. He is said to have defeated Râhappa who was proud of his own power and prowess, and afterwards assumed the ensigns of supreme sovereignty. Who[9] this person was we have not the means of determining. In the Wardhâ plates he is represented to have constructed many temples of S'iva,

Temple of Śiva at Elurâ excavated at the orders of Krishṇarâja.

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[1] Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10. *loc. cit.*

[2] Referred to above.

[3] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. III.

[4] Published in Jour. Beng. A. S., Vol. VIII., pp. 292—303.

[5] See stanza 11 (p. 146, Ind. Ant., Vol. V.,) of the first half of which only तस्मिन्दिवं [गते] remains; and lines 15 and 16, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 257, ll. 14, 15.

[6] Vaṇi-Dinḍorî, Jour. R. A. S, Vol. V., and Râdhanpur, Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 65.

[7] The legend is that in early times mountains had wings, and as they did considerable mischief by their use, Indra set about cutting them. The mountains thereupon took refuge in the sea. The story originated from the double sense which the word *parvata* bears in the Vedas. It denotes "a mountain" and "a cloud" also. Indra was the god who prevented the clouds from flying from place to place, and compelled them to discharge their freight on the earth for the benefit of his human worshippers.

[8] Vishṇu churned the ocean with the aid of the gods and drew out Lakshmî from it, whom he married.

[9] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 182, l. 13.

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which resembled the Kailâsa mountain.[1] In the Baroda grant it is stated that Krishṇarâja "caused to be constructed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain at Elâpura. When the gods moving in their aerial cars saw it they were struck with wonder and constantly thought much over the matter saying to themselves, 'This temple of Śiva is self-existent; for such beauty is not to be found in a work of art.' Even the architect who constructed it was struck with wonder, saying when his heart misgave him as regards making another similar attempt, 'Wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it.' King Krishṇa with his own hands again decorated Śambhu (Śiva) placed in that temple, by means of gold, rubies, and other precious jewels, though he had already been decorated by the wonderful artificial ornaments of the stream of the Gaṅgâ, the moon, and the deadly poison." The ending *pura* in the names of towns, when it undergoes a change at all, is invariably changed to *ur*, as in Sihur for Siṁhapura, Indur for Indrapura, S'irur for S'rîpura, &c. The Elâpura of the inscription, therefore, is Elur; and the temple described in the grant in such terms must be one of those excavated on the hills at the place, perhaps the temple of Kailâsa itself.[2] Thus it appears that it was Krishṇarâja that caused the Kailâsa to be constructed, and the date assigned to it by Drs. Fergusson and Burgess simply on architectural grounds is verified. Krishṇarâja must have reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the S'aka era, *i.e.*, between 753 and 775 A.D.

Govinda II.

Krishṇarâja was succeeded by his son Govinda II.[3] Nothing particular is recorded of him in the grants, except, of course, the general praise which is accorded to every prince, however weak and inglorious. It however appears from the Vaṇi-Diṇḍorî and Râdhanpur grants that he was superseded by his younger brother

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[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] Dr. Bühler in his paper in Vol. VI., Ind. Ant., simply states that the "grant (Baroda) connects him (Krishṇarâja) with the hill at Elâpur, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of S'iva." He has not identified Elâpura and did not perceive the important significance of this and the next two stanzas. He, however, suspected that one of the verses was badly deciphered. That this and the following verses are somewhat badly deciphered there is no doubt; but the translation in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal is far worse and Dr. Bühler was misled by it. Dr. Fleet has published a revised translation (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 162), but as regards this passage it certainly is no improvement on the first. He also once spoke of "a hill fort" (Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 124), and now thinks Elâpura is in the passage meant to be represented as Krishṇarâja's "encampments." He identifies Elâpura with Yellâpur in the North Kânarâ districts. But the manner in which the temple is described according to my translation and also the obvious derivation of Elur from Elâpura, and Elurâ from Elâpuraka, leave little doubt that a rock-cut temple at Elurâ is meant to be spoken of; and actually the existence of a Râshṭrakûṭa inscription in one of the temples confirms my conclusion. That my translation is correct and appropriate, I have shown in an article published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII., p. 228, where the reader will find the point fully discussed.

[3] The name of this prince is omitted in the Vaṇi-Diṇdori and Râdhanpur grants, for the same reason apparently as that for which Dantidurga's is omitted in the Baroda grant; but he is alluded to when they state that Dhruva or Nirupama set aside his elder brother.

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Dhruva, and the grants endeavour to palliate his crime in having thus usurped the throne. The Wardhâ grant states that he gave himself up to sensual pleasures, and left the cares of the kingdom to his younger brother Nirupama; and thus allowed the sovereignty to drop away from his hands. But subsequently he seems from the Paiṭhan[1] grant to have endeavoured to regain his power with the assistance of the neighbouring princes, when Dhruva vanquished him in a battle and formally assumed the insignia of supreme sovereignty. At the end of a Purâṇa entitled Harivaṁśa of the Digambara Jainas, it is stated that the work was composed by Jinasena in the Śaka year 705 while Vallabha the son of Kṛishṇa was ruling over the south. Govinda II. is in the Kâvî and Paiṭhan grants called Vallabha, while one of the names of Dhruva, the second son of Kṛishṇa I., was Kalivallabha. Govinda II., therefore, must be the prince alluded to, and he appears thus to have been on the throne in the S'aka year 705, or A.D. 783.[2]

Dhruva was an able and warlike prince. His other names were Nirupama or the "Matchless," Kalivallabha, and Dhârâvarsha. He humbled the Pallava king of Kâñchî and obtained from him a tribute of elephants. He detained in custody the prince of the Gaṅga family, which ruled over the Chera country. He also carried his arms into the north against the king of the Vatsas, whose capital must have been Kauśâmbî the modern Kosam near Allahabad, and who had grown haughty by his conquest of a king of the Gauḍa country. He drove the Vatsa prince into the impassable desert of Mârvâḍ and carried away the two state umbrellas which he had won from the Gauḍa king.[3] The Jaina Harivaṁśa represents a Vatsa prince as ruling over the west in S'aka 705. He must have been the same as that vanquished by Nirupama. According to the Navasârî grant Nirupama took away the umbrella of the king of Kosala also; and in the Wardhâ plates he is represented as having three white umbrellas. A stone inscription at Paṭṭadakal was incised in the reign of Nirupama. There he is styled Dhârâvarsha and Kalivallabha.[4] The last name occurs also in the Wardhâ grant and the first in that found at Paiṭhan. This prince does not appear to have reigned long, as his brother was on the throne in Śaka 705 and his son in Śaka 716, the year in which the Paiṭhan charter was issued.

Govinda III. or Jagattunga I.

Dhruva Nirupama was succeeded by his son Govinda III. The Râdhanpur and Vaṇi-Diṇḍorî grants were issued by him in the S'aka year 730 corresponding to A.D. 808[5] while he was at

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[1] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV., p. 107.

[2]
शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां
पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम् ।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादि (धि) राजेऽपरां
सौर्यां (रा)णामधिमण्डले (लं) जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥

Râjendralal's Skr. MSS., Vol. VI., p. 80, and MSS. in the Deccan College collections.

[3] Vaṇi-Diṇḍorî and Râdhanpur plates. [4] Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 125.

[5] The Saṁvatsara or cyclic year given in the first is *Sarvajit*, the current Śaka year corresponding to which was 730, while in the second it is *Vyaya* corresponding to 729 current. As regards the exact signification to be attached to these dates, see Appendix B.

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Mayûrakhaṇḍî. This place has been identified with a hill-fort in the Nâsik territory of the name of Morkhaṇḍ. Whether Mayûrakhaṇḍî was the capital of the dynasty in the time of this king cannot be satisfactorily determined. Govinda III. was certainly one of the greatest of the Râshṭrakûṭa princes, and the statement in his grant that during his time the Râshṭrakûṭas became invincible, as the Yâdavas of Purâṇic history did when under the guidance of Krishṇa, appears credible. Seeing he had grown up to be a brave prince his father proposed to abdicate the throne in his favour; but he declined, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with his position as Yuvarâja or prince-regent.[1] When after his father's death he ascended the throne, twelve kings united their forces and rose against him, desirous of striking an effectual blow at the power of the Râshṭrakûṭas. But alone and unassisted, he by his personal valour suddenly inflicted a crushing defeat on them and broke the confederacy. He released the Gaṅga prince of Chera, who had been kept in custody by his father; but no sooner did he go back to his native country than he put himself into an attitude of hostility. But Govinda III. immediately vanquished him, and threw him into captivity again. Subsequently he marched against the Gûrjara king, who fled away at his approach. Thence he proceeded to Mâlvâ, the king of which country knowing himself to be unable to resist his power surrendered to him. After receiving his obeisance he directed his march to the Vindhyas. When Mârâśarva, the ruler of the adjoining country, who had been watching his movements, heard from his spies that Govinda's army had encamped on the slopes of that mountain, he went up to him, and throwing himself at his feet presented to him his most highly valued heirlooms which no other prince had ever got before. On this occasion Govinda spent the rainy season at a place called S'rîbhavana, which has not been identified. When the rains were over, he marched with his army to the Tuṅgabhadrâ, where he stayed for a short time, and brought the Pallava king of Kâñchî under a more complete subjection than before. Thence he sent a message to the king of Veṅgi, or the country between the lower Krishṇâ and the Godâvarî, who probably belonged to the eastern Châlukya dynasty, and he came and attended on him as if he were his servant.[2] This grand victorious march to the north and the south must have taken place before S'aka 726 or A.D. 804. For in a copper-plate grant bearing that date found in the Kânarese country, it is stated that when the king (Govinda III.) "having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kâñchî, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ," he allotted some lands to one S'ivadhârî at a holy place named Râmeśvara.[3] His expeditions against the neighbouring princes must have been undertaken after

1 The Kâvî grant, however, states that the father did raise him to the supreme sovereignty which his enemies were endeavouring to deprive his family of, *i. e.*, when he found the enemies of his family too powerful for him, he raised his son to the throne and assigned to him the task of suppressing them. Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 147, v. 27. The reading, however, is somewhat corrupt. The enemies spoken of here must be those twelve whom he is represented to have vanquished in the other grants.

2 Vaṇi-Dinḍorî and Râdhanpur plates.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., pp. 126-7.

S'aka 716 *past*, or 794 A.D., since the Paiṭhan charter which was issued in that year makes no mention of them.

Govinda III. thus acquired a large extent of territory and established his supremacy over a number of kings. He appears to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Mâlvâ in the north to Kâñchîpura in the south, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmadâ and the Tuṅgabhadrâ. The Vaṇi-Diṇḍorî plates convey a village situated in the Nâsik district, while those found in the Kânarese country assign some land near the Tuṅgabhadrâ. The province of Lâṭa, situated between the Mahî and the lower Tâpî, was assigned by him to his brother Indra,[1] who became the founder of another branch of the dynasty. Govinda III., as stated in the Baroda grant, made and unmade kings. His secondary names as found in his own grants were Prabhûtavarsha or "Raining profusely," Pṛithvîvallabha or "the Lover of the Earth," and S'rî-Vallabha. Others will be noticed below. The Baroda grant was issued by Karka, the son of Govinda's brother Indra, the king of Lâṭa, in S'aka 734 or A.D. 812, and the Kâvî grant by Govinda the younger brother of Karka, in S'aka 749 or A.D. 827. We need not notice these princes further, since they belong more to the history of Gujarât than of the Dekkan.

Sarva or Amoghavarsha I.

In several of the grants belonging to this dynasty, the son and successor of Nirupama is stated to be Jagattuṅga. Now, since Govinda III. was one of the greatest princes of this dynasty, it is impossible that he should have been passed over by the writers of these grants. Jagattuṅga, the son of Nirupama, must, therefore, be Govinda himself and no other. After his death his son Amoghavarsha, whose proper name appears to have been S'arva,[2] came to the throne. He seems to have marched against the Châlukyas of Veṅgi and put several of the princes to death.[3] In the Navasârî grant Amoghavarsha is spoken of simply as Vallabha and is styled *Râjarâja* or king of kings and also Vîra-Nârâyaṇa. This last title is justified by the poetic writer of the grant by saying that as the God Nârâyana brought out the earth which was immersed in the ocean, so did Vallabha bring the goddess of sovereignty out of the ocean in the shape of the Châlukyas in which it had sunk. He is also represented to have "burnt" the Châlukyas. These also must be allusions to Amoghavarsha's wars with the Châlukyas of Veṅgi; and he probably conquered some territory belonging to them. In the Karḍâ grant the city of Mânyakheṭa is spoken of as being in a very flourishing condition in his time. There is little question that it was his capital; but whether it was he who founded it and made it the capital of the dynasty cannot be clearly made out from that grant, as the reading given by Mr. Wathen is corrupt. But the Wardhâ plates are clear on the point. In them the successor of Jagattuṅga is called Nripatuṅga; and he is represented to have founded the city of Mânyakheṭa, which "put the

[1] Kâvi plate, Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 147, v. 29; Baroda grant, Jour. Beng. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 296, v. 21, in which तदा ought to be तद्दत्त as in the Kâvi.

[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 183, l. 25.

[3] Sâṅgali plates. But the reading is somewhat corrupt.

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city of the gods" to shame. Mânyakheṭa has been properly identified with Mâlkhed in the Nizam's territory. In the Kânheri caves there are three inscriptions, in which the reigning paramount sovereign is represented to be Amoghavarsha. In one of them Pullas'akti of the S'ilâhâra family, and in the other two his son, Kapardin, are mentioned as his dependents ruling over Konkan, which province had been assigned to them by Amoghavarsha. The dates occurring in the last two are Śaka 775 and 799.[1] An inscription at Sirur in the Dhârvâḍ district published by Dr. Fleet is dated Śaka 788, *vyaya*, which is represented as the fifty-second year of the reign of Amoghavarsha;[2] so that the year 799 S'aka of the Kânheri inscription must have been the sixty-third of his reign. The cyclic year *vyaya* corresponds to the Śaka year 788 *past* and 789 *current*. This prince appears thus to have begun to reign in Śaka 737 *past*. In a historical appendix at the end of a Jaina work entitled Uttarapurâṇa, or the latter half of the Mahâpurâna, by Guṇabhadra, Amoghavarsha is represented to have been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jaina saint named Jinasena, who was the preceptor of Guṇabhadra, and wrote the Âdipurâṇa or the first part of the same work.[3] Jinasena himself at the end of his poem the Pârs'vâbhyudaya gives expression to a wish that Amoghavarsha may reign for a long time. An important work on the philosophy of the Digambara Jainas entitled Jayadhavalâ is represented at the end to have been composed when 759 years of the Śaka king had elapsed, in the reign of Amoghavarsha. In the introductory portion of a Jaina mathematical work entitled Sârasaṁgraha by Vîrâchârya, Amoghavarsha is highly praised for his power and his virtues, and is spoken of as a follower of the Jaina doctrine (Syâdvâda).[4] He is mentioned there also by his other name Nṛipatuṅga. The authorship of a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, entitled Praśnottara-ratnamâlikâ, which has been claimed for Śaṁkarâchârya and one S'aṁkaraguru by the Brâhmaṇs, and for Vimala by the Śvetâmbaras, is attributed

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[1] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI., West's copies Nos. 15 and 42; Vol. XIII., p. 11; and Prof. Kielhorn's paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII., p. 133. The cyclic year given with 775 is *Prajâpati*, the current S'aka year corresponding to which, however, was 774. Prof. Kielhorn has recently calculated the true Śaka from the day of the week and fortnight and found it to be 773 expired, *i. e*, 774 current.

[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 216.

[3] Several copies of this Purâṇa have been purchased by me for Government. The stanza in which Amoghavarsha is alluded to is this :—

यस्य प्रांशुनखांशुजालविसरद्धारान्तराविर्भव-
त्पादाम्भोजरजःपिशङ्गमुकुटप्रत्यग्ररत्नद्युतिः ।

संस्मर्ता स्वममोघवर्षनृपतिः पूतोहमद्येत्यलं
स श्रीमाञ्जिनसेनपूज्यभगवत्पादो जगन्मङ्गलम् ॥

"The king Amoghavarsha remembered himself to have been purified that day when the lustre of the gems was heightened in consequence of his diadem becoming reddish by the dust-pollen of [Jinasena's] foot-lotuses appearing in the stream [of waterlike lustre] flowing from the collection of the brilliant rays of his nails;—enough—that prosperous Jinasena with the worshipful and revered feet is the blessing of the world."

[4] This and the two preceding references I owe to the kindness of Mr. K. B. Path

to king Amoghavarsha by the Digambara Jainas. At the end of the Digambara copies occurs a stanza, in which it is stated that Amoghavarsha composed the Ratnamâlikâ after he had abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit[1] in him. There is another Amoghavarsha in the dynasty who is represented as being of a thoughtful and religious temper. But he reigned for a short time and does not appear to have had any connection with the Jainas. There is a translation of the work in the Thibetan language, and there, too, the tract is attributed to Amoghavarsha, who is represented as a great king. The Thibetan translation of the name has been retranslated, however, into Amoghodaya by Schiefner; but if he had known the Digambara tradition, he would have put it as Amoghavarsha.[2] From all this it appears that of all the Râshṭrakûṭa princes, Amoghavarsha was the greatest patron of the Digambara Jainas; and the statement that he adopted the Jaina faith seems to be true.

Krishna II. or Akâlavarsha.

Amoghavarsha's son and successor was Akâlavarsha. He married the daughter of Kokkala, king of Chedi, who belonged to the Haihaya race, and by her had a son named Jagattuṅga. Akâlavarsha's proper name was Kṛishṇa as is evident from the Navasârî grant and also from the Wardhâ and the Karḍâ plates. He is the Kṛishṇarâja during whose reign a tributary chief of the name of Pṛithvîrâma made a grant of land to a Jaina temple which he had caused to be constructed in the Śaka year 797 at Saundatti.[3] Another Jaina temple was built by a Vaiśya or Bania named Chikârya during his reign in Śaka 824 at Muḷgunda in the Dhârvâḍ district, and in the inscription which records this fact he is styled Kṛishṇa Vallabha.[4] Kṛishṇa or Akâlavarsha appears to have been a powerful prince. He is represented as having frightened the Gûrjara, humbled the pride of the Lâta, taught humility to the Gauḍas, deprived the people on the sea-coast of their repose, and exacted obedience from the Andhra, Kaliṅga, Gâṅga, and Magadha.[5]

In the reign of this prince the Jaina Purâṇa noticed above was consecrated in S'aka 820, the cyclic year being Piṅgala,[6] by Loka-

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[1] See my Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84; Notes, &c., p. ii. The stanza is

विवेकात्त्यक्तराज्येन राज्ञेयं रत्नमालिका ।
रचितामोघवर्षेण सुधियां सदलंकृतिः ॥

[2] Weber's Indische Streifen, Vol. I., p. 210.

[3] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., p. 200. The cyclic year mentioned is Manmatha, which corresponds to S'aka 797 *past*.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 192. The cyclic year is Dundubhi, which fell in 825 current.

[5] Wardhâ and Navasâri plates. Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII pp. 239-269.

[6] अकालवर्षभूपाले पालयत्यखिलामिलाम् ।
तस्मिन्विध्वस्तनिःशेषद्विषि वीध्रयशोजुषि ॥
धर्म *v. l.*

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शकनृपकालाभ्यन्तरविंशत्यधिकाष्टशतमिताब्दान्ते ।
मङ्गलमहार्थकारिणि पिङ्गलनामानि समस्तजनसुखदे ॥

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sena the pupil of Guṇabhadra, who was the author of the second part. In the historical appendix, "the lofty elephants of Akâlavarsha" are represented "to have drunk the waters of the Ganges rendered fragrant by being mixed with the humour flowing from their temples, and, as if not having their thirst quenched, to have resorted to the Kaumâra forest (in the extreme south), which was full of sandal trees set in gentle motion by the breezes blowing over the sea waves, and into the shade of which the rays of the sun did not penetrate."[1] The date 833 Śaka has also been assigned to Akâlavasha.[2] It will have been seen that an inscription at Saundatti represents Krishṇaaâja to have been the reigning prince in S'aka 797, while one in the Kânheri caves speaks of his father Amoghavarsha as being on the throne two years later, *i.e.*, in 799. This discrepancy must be due to the fact mentioned in the Ratnamâlikâ that the latter had abdicated the throne in his old age. The real reigning prince therefore in S'aka 797 and 799 must have been Akâlavarsha his son; but the writer of the Kânheri inscription must in the latter year have put in Amoghavarsha's name, as he was not dead, and his having abdicated had probably no significance in his eyes.

Jagattuṅga.

Akâlavarsha's son was Jagattuṅga. But he did not ascend the throne as appears from the fact that his name is not mentioned in the list of kings given in the Khârepâtaṇ grant, after Akâlavarsha, but that of Indra, who is spoken of as Akâlavarsha's grandson, while Jagattuṅga is mentioned in another connection below. And in the Navasârî grant Indra is represented as "meditating on the feet" of Akâlavarsha, and not of Jagattuṅga though he was his father, which shows that he was the immediate successor of Akâlavarsha. But the Wardhâ grant is explicit. It tells us that Jagattuṅga had a beautiful person, and that he died without having

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निष्ठितं भव्यवर्यैः

प्राप्तेज्यं शास्त्रसारं जगति विजयते पुण्यमेतत्पुराणम् ॥

"Victorious in the world is this holy Purâṇa, the essence of the Sâstras which was finished and worshipped by the best among respectable [men]* * * in the year Pingala that brings about great prosperity and confers happiness on all mankind, at the end of the year measured by 820 of the era of the S'aka king * * * , while that king Akâlavarsha, all of whose enemies were destroyed and whose fame was pure (*or* who acquired religious merit and fame) was protecting the whole earth."

The cyclic year Piṅgala corresponded to 820 Saka *current*.

[1] यस्योत्तुङ्मतंगजा निजमदस्रोतस्विनीसंगमा-

दाङ्गं वारि कलङ्कितं कटु मुहुः पीत्वाप्यगच्छत्तृषः ।

कौमारं घनचन्दनं वनमपांपत्युस्तरंगानिलै-

र्मन्दान्दोलितमस्तभास्करकरच्छायं समाशिश्रियन् ॥

[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 109.

ascended the throne. Jagattuṅga married Lakshmî, the daughter of his maternal uncle, the son of Kokkala, who is called Raṇavigraha in the Sâṅgalî and Navasârî grants, and S'aṁkaragaṇa in the Karḍâ plates. But it will be presently shown that the Karḍâ plates contain many mistakes and are the source of a good deal of confusion in the history of this dynasty. From this union sprang Indra, who succeeded his grandfather. His title was Nityavarsha according to the Navasâri grant; and his son Govinda IV. is in the Sâṅgalî grant spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of Nityavarsha, which also shows that that was Indra's title. Nityavarsha is the donor in the Navasârî grant. He is represented as residing at his capital Mânyakheṭa, but to have on the occasion gone to Kurundaka, identified with the modern Kaḍoda on the banks of the Tâpî, for his Paṭṭabandhotsava. This must have been the festival in honour of his coronation. At Kurundaka he granted that and many other villages, and restored four hundred more which had once been given in charity but had been resumed by former kings. He also gave away twenty lacs of Drammas in charity after having weighed himself against gold. The village conveyed by the Navasârî grant is Tenna situated in the Lâṭ country. It has been identified with Tenâ in the Navasârî division of the Baroda State. The grant was issued in S'aka 836; so that Indra appears to have come to the throne in that year. Another set of copper-plates found in the Navasârî district records the grant of the village of Gumra identified with the modern Bagumra by the same prince. The grant was issued at the same time as the other, and the contents *mutatis mutandis* are exactly the same.[1] From these grants of villages in the Navasârî district which must have formed a part of the old country of Lâṭa, and from the statement in the Wardhâ plates that Kṛishṇa or Akâlavarsha humbled the pride of the Lâṭa prince, it appears that the main branch of the Râshṭrakûṭas reigning at Mânyakheṭa must have in Akâlavarsha's time supplanted or reduced to a humble position the dynasty of their kinsmen in Gujarât, which had been founded in the time of Jagattuṅga or Govinda III. Indra was the reigning monarch in Śaka 838, the cyclic year being *Dhâtu*, as appears from an inscription published by Dr. Fleet.[2]

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Indra III.

As regards the next king there is some confusion in the Karḍâ plates. The Sâṅgalî grant, however, is clear. Indra married a lady from the Haihaya family of Chedi again. Her name was Vijâmbâ;[3] and she was the daughter of Aṅgaṇadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the eldest son of Kokkala, mentioned above. By her Indra had a son named Govinda, who is the last king noticed in the Sâṅgalî grant, since it was issued by him. But according to the Khârepâṭaṇ grant, Govinda was the younger brother of a prince named

[1] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 261 *et seq.* [2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 224.
[3] Dr. Fleet in his revised transcript and translation of the Sâṅgalî grant calls her Dvijâmbâ, but in the facsimile given by him the name is distinctly Vijâmbâ in both the places where it occurs. The Sanskrit of Vijâmbâ is Vidyâmbâ. Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 250.

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Amoghavarsha II.

Amoghavarsha.[1] The immediate successor of Indra, therefore, was Amoghavarsha, and after him his younger brother Govinda came to the throne. And this is confirmed by the Kardâ plates also. Amoghavarsha and Govinda are there meant to be mentioned as the two sons of Ambâ, who is the same as the Vijâmbâ of the Sâṅgalî plate. But in the text of the grant Govinda and Ambâ form one compound, so that the translators of the grant call the lady Govindâmbâ, which certainly is an unique or an absurd name. Thus they drop king Govinda altogether.[2] But the Wardhâ grant is explicit on the point. From it we learn that Amoghavarsha was the elder brother of Govinda, but that he died immediately after his father, as if "out of love for him", and then Govinda came to the throne. The Sâṅgali grant of Govinda IV., as he must be called, does not mention Amoghavarsha by name; but states that "though Govinda had the power, he did not act with any reprehensible cruelty towards his elder brother, and did not render himself infamous by incest, or assume the nature of a devil by casting aside considerations of purity and impurity, but became Sâhasâṅka by his matchless enterprise and liberality." What this statement exactly means it is difficult to say. But probably Govinda was believed to have encompassed his brother's death, and the other accusations referred to were whispered against him; and this is

Govinda IV.

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[1] Dr. Fleet in his genealogical table at p. 109, Vol. XI., Ind. Ant., speaks of Govinda's brother as unnamed. But he is named Amoghávarsha in the Khârepiṭan grant, and also in that of Kardâ, if properly understood.

[2] The 14th stanza, the latter part of which I have construed as in the text, is

चैद्यां मातुलशंकरगणात्मजायामभूज्जगत्तुङ्गात् । श्रीमानमोघवर्षो गोविन्दांबाभिधानायां ।

Now the first line of this is, as it stands, out of place and must contain some mistakes. For, (1) it contains, in substance, a repetition of what we have in the first line of stanza 12, and (2) if it is read here as it is, we shall have to make Ambâ a wife of Jagattuṅga along with Lakshmî, who has been represented as his wife in stanza 12, and understand her to be Lakshmî's sister, the father of both being Saṁkaragaṇa. But Ambâ or Vijâmbâ is in the Sâṅgalî grant clearly spoken of as the daughter of Aṅgaṇadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the brother of Raṇavigraha, the father of Lakshmî; that is, Ambâ was the daughter of Lakshmî's first cousin. She is also distinctly represented as the wife of Indra and the mother of Govinda IV. Again, if we take the lines as they are, the result will be that the Kardâ grant makes no mention of Indra's wife Vijâmbâ and of his sons Amoghavarsha and Govinda IV., the latter of whom reigned, as we shall see, for at least fifteen years. Such an omission is not likely. Then, again, the Sâṅgalî grant makes no allusion whatever to Jagattuṅga's marriage with a lady of the name of Govindâmbâ. And the second line श्रीमानमोघवर्षो गोविन्द्रांबाभिधानायाम् । looks as if the intention of the writer of it was to set forth the names of the two sons of Indra, Amoghavarsha and Govinda, and of their mother Ambâ or Vijâmbâ. And it seems to me that the following stanza, in which the liberality of a monarch has been praised refers to Govinda IV, who, as noticed in the text below, was called Suvarṇavarsha by people, because he "rained down gold." The name of that prince, therefore, must occur in the verse immediately previous. The first line must, it is clear to me, have crept in through mistake. If it were not read here, the second would be applicable to the king mentioned immediately before, i. e., Indra, and the whole would be consistent with the information derived from the Sâṅgalî grant. The emendation I make in the second line is to read न्द्रौ for न्दां and then Ambâ would be released from her incongruous association with Govinda, and the whole would be consistent and intelligible. There must be other mistakes also in the Kardâ grant. Very probably a verse or two are omitted here, as also after the next stanza, where Krishṇarâja is abruptly introduced and spoken of parenthetically.

intended as a defence. The Khârepâṭaṇ and Wardhâ grants agree in representing Govinda as a prince addicted to sensual pleasures. The former says that he was "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love and was always surrounded by crowds of beautiful women," and the latter that he was "the source of the sportive pleasures of Love, his mind was enchained by the eyes of women, he displeased all men by his vicious courses, and his health being undermined, he met with an untimely death." The words used have double senses from which it would appear that the affairs of the state also fell into confusion and hastened his destruction. But the Sâṅgalî grant which was issued by him has of course nothing but praise for him. Govinda's other names were Prabhûtavarsha and Suvarṇavarsha (raining gold) and probably Sâhâsaṅka also. The grant was issued in S'aka 855, or A.D. 933, in the Vijaya[1] year of the cycle, while he was at his capital Mânyakheṭa. Govinda IV. was on the throne in S'aka 841, as appears from an inscription published by Dr. Fleet, in which under the name of Prabhûtavarsha he is represented as the reigning sovereign.[2] The inscription, however, is dated 840 S'aka; but from the cyclic year Pramâthin, which is also given, it must be understood that the year meant is 841 Śaka. It will appear from this that Indra or Nityavarsha, who succeeded his grandfather in Śaka 836, had a very short reign, and his eldest son, Amoghavarsha, could have been on the throne only for a few months. Govinda IV. like Amoghavarsha I. was at war with the Châlukyas of Veṅgi.[3] Another inscription represents Govinda IV. as the reigning monarch in S'aka 851.[4]

Baddiga or Amoghavarsha III.

Krishna III. and Khotika.

From the Khârepâṭaṇ plates it appears that Govinda IV. was succeeded by his paternal uncle Baddiga, the second son of Jagattuṅga. He is represented to have been a virtuous prince, serene like a sage. He was succeeded by his son Kṛishṇarâja, and after his death his younger brother Khotika became king. The Karḍâ grant is somewhat confusing here, but when properly understood it is perfectly consistent with that of Khârepâṭaṇ. It states: "When the elder brother Kṛishṇarâjadeva went to heaven, Khoṭṭigadeva, who was begotten by the king Amoghavarsha on Kandakadevî, the daughter of Yuvarâja, became king."[5] Here the expression "elder brother" must be taken as related to Khoṭṭigadeva and not to the preceding king,[6] whoever he may have been. Khoṭika therefore was, even

[1] The current S'aka year was 856.

[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 222. Dr. Fleet, however, identifies this Prabhûtavarsha with Jagattuṅga the son of Akâlavarsha or Krishṇa II, and father of Nityavarsha. But as we have seen Nityavarsha was on the throne in S'aka 836 and 838, wherefore his father could not have been the reigning prince in S'aka 840 or 841. Besides, as I have shown, Jagattuṅga did not ascend the throne at all.

[3] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 249, and my note on Professor Peterson's Report on MSS, for 1883-84, p. 48.

[4] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 249.

[5] ऐन्द्रपदजिगीषयेव स्वर्गमधिरूढे च ज्येष्ठे भ्रातरि श्रीमत्कृष्णराजदेवे
युवराजदेवदुहितरि कन्दकदेव्याममोघवर्षनृपा-
ज्जातः खोट्टिगदेवो नृपतिरभूद्भुवनविख्यातः ॥ १६ ॥

[6] For, the clause containing that expression is dependent on the principal sentence, which is in the next or 16th stanza and the subject of which is Khoṭṭigadeva. See the passage in the last note.

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according to the Kardâ grant, the younger brother of Kṛishṇarâja. But he is represented to have been the son of Amoghavarsha, while Kṛishṇarâja is spoken of in the Khârepâṭaṇ plates as the son of Baddiga. In an inscription at Saloṭgi, Kṛishṇarâja, the son of Amoghavarsha, is represented to have been reigning at Mânyakheta in 867 Saka,[1] that is, twelve years after the Sâṅgalî grant of Govinda IV. was issued. He must have been the same prince as that mentioned in the grants we have been examining. For the Kṛishṇa of these was the second king after Govinda IV. His father Baddiga, who was Govinda's uncle, must have been an old man when he succeeded, and consequently must have reigned for a very short time. Hence his son Kṛishṇa came to be king within twelve years after Govinda's grant; and there is no other Kṛishṇa mentioned in the grants who is likely to have been on the throne in 867 S'aka. If, then, the Kṛishṇa of the grants is the same as the Kṛishṇa of the Saloṭgi inscription, here we have evidence that his father's name was Amoghavarsha; so that the Baddiga of the Khârepâṭan plates was the same as the Amoghavarsha of the Kardâ plates. Kṛishṇarâja and Khoṭika were thus brothers, and it would appear from the wording of the statement in the Kardâ plates that they were the sons of the same father but of different mothers.[2]

And these points have been placed beyond the possibility of doub by the Wardhâ grant. After Govinda's death, we are told, the feudatory chiefs entreated Amoghavarsha the son of Jagattuṅga, who was

[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 205, *et seq.* The cyclic year given is Plavaṅga, which followed next after S'aka 869 and the current year corresponding to which was 870. According to another system, which however was rarely used in Southern India, it was Plavaṅga in a part of the year 867 Śaka *expired.*

[2] Dr. Fleet, following Mr. Wathen's translation, makes Kṛishṇa, whom he calls Kṛishṇa III., the elder brother of Amoghavarsha and thus a son of Jagattuṅga. But in the Khârepâṭaṇ grant he is distinctly represented as the son of Baddiga who was the son of Jagattuṅga, and in the Wardhâ plates as the son of Amoghavarsha, the son of Jagattuṅga, and was thus a grandson of Jagattuṅga. He is also represented as Khoṭika's elder brother. I have shown in the text that the expression "elder brother," occurring in the Kardâ grant, should by the rules of construction be taken as referring to Khoṭṭiga and in this way that grant becomes perfectly consistent with that of Khârepâṭan. The Amoghavarsha who was the son of Jagattuṅga is that spoken of in the sixteenth stanza of the Kardâ grant, and was different from the one mentioned in the fourteenth, who was the son of Indra and nephew of that Amoghavarsha, as I have shown above. Dr. Fleet brings in another Kṛishṇa and makes him the younger brother of Khoṭika, and identifies him with Nirupama (see the text below) and with the Kṛishna whose dates rânge from S'aka 867 to 878. What his authority is I do not know. But the Khârepâṭaṇ grant mentions one Kṛishna only, the elder brother of Khoṭika and son of Baddiga. The Kardâ also mentions one only, and as to his relation with the other princes, I have shown that that grant agrees with the Khârepâṭaṇ plates. The Kṛishṇa whose dates range from 867 to 878 is to be identified with the elder brother of Khoṭika and is not to be considered a different prince unalluded to in the grants. Nirupama, the younger brother of Khoṭika, is not and cannot have been this Kṛishṇa, because his elder brother and the elder brother of Khoṭiga was called Kṛishṇa, and he too could not have been called by the same name. Nirupama does not appear to have been a reigning prince, for in the Kardâ plates he is only parenthetically introduced as the father of Kakka, who was a reigning prince; and in the Khârepâṭaṇ grant he is not mentioned at all by name, but Kakkala is said to be the son of the brother of Khoṭika. Kṛishṇa, on the other hand, was on the throne from 867 to 878 S'aka according to the stone inscriptions. Again if Khoṭika was the elder brother of this Nirupama-Kṛishṇa it is impossible that he should be reigning in 893 Śaka, while Kṛishṇa should be on the throne from 867 to 878 Śaka, that is, before his elder brother. Kṛishṇa, therefore, was the elder of the two as stated in the Khârepâṭaṇ grant, and Khoṭika the younger. Dr.

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"first among the wise" and the "best of serene sages", to assume the reins of power. He was assisted in the government by his son Krishṇa, who though but a crown-prince wielded very great power. The enemies who transgressed his commands were punished; he put to death Dantiga and Bappuka who had grown insolent. He thoroughly subdued the Gâṅga prince; and planted what appears to be a colony of the Âryas in his dominions. Hearing of the ease with which he captured the strongholds in the south, the Gûrjara prince, who was preparing to take the fortresses of Kâlanjara and Chitrakûṭa in the north, had to give up the enterprize. All feudatory chiefs between the eastern and the western oceans and between the Himâlaya and Siṁhala (Ceylon) paid obeisance to him. After he had thus rendered the power of his family firm, his father died, and he ascended the throne. The Wardhâ plates announce the grant of a village to the north-west of Nâgpur near the modern Mohagaon made by Krishṇarâja, who is also called Akâlavarsha, in the name of his brother Jagattuṅga to a Brâhmaṇ of the Kâṇva school of the White Yajurveda on the 5th of the dark half of Vais'âkha in S'aka 862, corresponding to 940 A.D., the cyclic year being S'ârvari. This prince is called Sri-Vallabha also in the grant.

Krishṇarâja was the reigning monarch in S'aka 873 and 878.[1] At the end of a Jaina work called Yas'astilaka by Somadeva it is stated that it was finished on the 13th of Chaitra when 881 years of the era of the S'aka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Siddhârthin, during the reign of a feudatory of Krishṇarâjadeva. Krishṇarâjadeva is spoken of as reigning gloriously, having subdued the Pâṇḍyas, Siṁhala, the Cholas, the Cheras and others.[2] Khoṭika, his brother, was on the throne in Śaka 893 *Prajâpati.*[3]

Kakkala or Karka II.

Khoṭika was succeeded, according to the Khârepâṭan grant, by Kakkala, the son of his brother. The name of this brother was Nirupama according to the Karḍâ grant. Kakkala is said to have been a brave soldier; but he was conquered in battle by Tailapa, who belonged to the Châlukya race, and thus the sovereignty of the Dekkan passed from the hands of the Râshṭrakûṭas once more

Fleet, however, being under the belief that this last was the elder brother, gives the following explanation of the discrepancy in the dates:—"Koṭṭiga or Khoṭṭiga left no issue, and this explains why the date of his inscription now published is considerably later than the dates obtained for Krishṇa IV.; viz., there being no probability of Koṭṭiga leaving any issue, first his younger brother Krishṇa IV. was joined with him in the government and then the latter's son Kakka III."—(Ind. Ant., Vol, XII., p. 255.) This supposition is not supported by any circumstance; on the contrary it is utterly discountenanced by the inscriptions of Krishṇa which represent him to be the "Supreme king of great kings," (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 258,) and to have been reigning at the time at Mânyakheṭa and governing the kingdom (Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 210.) Otherwise, they would have spoken of him as *Yuvarâja.* Thus there were not two Krishṇas but only one. He was the son of Baddiga or Amoghavarsha, not his brother. His earliest date is that of the Wardhâ grant, *i.e.*, 862 Śaka and the latest 881 that of the Yas'astilaka. He was the same monarch as that spoken of in the Saloṭgi and other stone inscriptions bearing the dates 867, 873, and 878 Śaka. Khoṭiga was his younger brother, and Nirupama the youngest.

[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 257, and Vol. XI., p. 109.

[2] Prof. Peterson's Report, *loc. cit.*

[3] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 255.

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erthrow of the Râshṭrakûṭas.

into those of the Châlukyas. The Kardâ grant, which was made in the reign of Kakkala, is dated S'aka 894 or A.D. 972. And another inscription represents him as being on the throne in 896 *current*,[1] the cyclic year being *S'rîmukha*. But in this year or S'aka 895 *past* Tailapa attained sovereign powers.[2] The Râshṭrakûṭas were thus supreme masters of this country from about A.D. 748 to A.D. 973, that is, for nearly two hundred and twenty-five years.

igion under the Râshṭrakûṭas.

That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt. The rock-cut temples at Elurâ still attest their power and magnificence. Under them the worship of the Purâṇic gods rose into much greater importance than before. The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of Gotama Buddha had gone by, never to return. Instead of them we have during this period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to the worship of S'iva and Vishṇu. Several of the grants of these Râshṭrakûṭa princes praise their bounty and mention their having constructed temples. Still, as the Kânheri inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarsha I. show, Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into unimportance. Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Châlukya period, or even made greater progress. Amoghavarsha was, as we have seen, a great patron of it, and was perhaps a convert to it; and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes, especially the traders, were its devoted adherents. The form of Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sect. A good many of the extant Digambara works were, as we have seen, composed during this period.

Krishṇa of the Râshtrakûṭa race, the hero of the *Kavirahasya*.

It is remarkable that, unlike the grants of the early Châlukya princes, those of the Râshṭrakûṭas contain accounts in verse of the ancestors of the grantor, and most of the verses are of the nature of those we find in the ordinary artificial poems in Sanskrit literature, possessing the same merits and faults. The Râshṭrakûṭas, therefore, must have been patrons of learning, and probably had poets in their service. One of the three Krishṇas belonging to the dynasty is the hero of an artificial poem by Halâyudha entitled the *Kavirahasya*, the purpose of which is to explain the distinction as regards sense and conjugational peculiarities between roots having the same external form. He is spoken of as the paramount sovereign of Dakshiṇâpatha.[3] Prof. Westergaard, however, thought

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 270.

[2] The cyclic year mentioned along with the first of these two dates is Angiras the current S'aka year corresponding to which was 895.

[3] अस्त्यगस्त्यमुनिज्योत्स्नापवित्रे दक्षिणापथे ।
कृष्णराज इति ख्यातो राजा साम्राज्यदीक्षितः ॥

"In Dakshiṇâpatha, which is rendered holy by the light of the sage Agastya, there was a king of the name of Krishṇarâja who was crowned as a paramount sovereign."

him to be the Kṛishṇarâya of the Vijayanagar dynasty who reigned in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. But in the *Kavirahasya* he is spoken of in one place as "having sprung from the Râshṭrakûṭa race,"[1] and is in another called "the ornament of the lunar race,"[2] which description is of course not applicable to the Vijayanagar prince.

Balharâs identified with the Râshṭrakûṭas.

Arabic travellers of the tenth century mention a powerful dynasty of the name of Balharâs who ruled at a place called Mânkir. The name of the city would show that the Râshṭrakûṭas, whose capital was Mânyakheṭa or Mânkhed, were meant. But Balharâ, the name of the dynasty, has not been identified with any that might be considered to be applicable to the Râshṭrakûṭas. But to me the identification does not appear difficult. The Râshṭrakûṭas appear clearly to have assumed the title of *Vallabha* which was used by their predecessors the Châlukyas. We have seen that Govinda II. is called Vallabha in two grants, Amoghavarsha I. in a third, and Kṛishṇa III. in a fourth. In an inscription on a stone tablet at Lakshmeśvar, Govinda III. is called *S'ri-Vallabha,*[3] while in the Râdhanpur plates he is spoken of as *Vallabha-narendra.* In the Sâṅgalî and Karḍâ grants also the reigning king is styled Vallabha-narendra, while in other inscriptions we find the title *Pṛithivîvallabha* alone used. Now Vallabha-narendra means "the king Vallabha," and is the same as *Vallabharâja*, the words *râja (n)* and *narendra* both denoting "a king." Vallabha-râja should by the rules of Prâkṛit or vernacular pronunciation, become *Vallaha-rây, Ballaha-rây*, or *Balha-rây.* This last is the same as the Balharâ of the Arabs.

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1 तोलयत्यतुलं शक्त्या यो भारं भुवनेश्वरः ।
कस्तं तुलयति स्थाम्ना राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भवम् ॥

"Who will equal in strength that lord of the world sprung from the Râshṭrakûṭa race, who by his power bears an incomparable burden."

2 सोमं सुनोति यज्ञेषु सोमवंशविभूषणः

"That ornament of the lunar race extracts the juice of Soma in sacrifices."

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 156.

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The genealogy of the Râshṭrakûṭas is shown in the following table:—

- 1. Dantivarman.
  - 2. Indra I.
    - 3. Govinda I.
      - 4. Karka I.
        - 5. Indra II.
          - 6. DANTIDURGA. (675 S'.)
        - 7. KRISHNA I. Akâlavarsha, or S'ubhatunga.
          - 8. GOVINDA II. (705 S'.)
          - 9. DHRUVA, Nirupama, or Dhârâvarsha.
            - 10. GOVINDA III. Jagattunga I., or Prabhûtavarsha, (716, 726 & 730 S'.)
              - 11. S'ARVA NRIPATUṄGA or Amoghavarsha I, 759 (773, 788 & 799 S'.)
                - 12. KRISHNA II. or Akâlavarsha. (797, 820, 824 & 833 S'.)
                  - *Jagattunga.*
                    - 13. INDRA III. or Nityavarsha (836 & 838 S'.)
                      - 14. AMOGHAVARSHA II.
                      - 15. GOVINDA IV. (841, 851 & 855 S'.)
                    - 16. BADDIGA or Amoghavarsha III.
                      - 17. KRISHNA III. or Akâlavarsha. (862, 867, 873, 878 & 881 S'.)
                      - 18. KHOTIKA. (893 S'.)
                      - *Nirupama.*
                        - 19. KAKKALA, Karka II, or Amoghavarsha IV. (894 & 895 S'.)
            - Indra.
              - Karka (724 S'.)
              - Govinda. (749 S'.)
              - (Karka and Govinda: Gujarât Branch.)

(a) The names of those who were supreme sovereigns in the Dekkan are printed in capitals.

(b) The names of those who were kings before the attainment of supreme power are printed in small letters.

(c) The order of succession is represented by the numbers.

(d) The names of those who did not ascend the throne at all, have been printed in Italics.

SECTION XII.

The Later Châlukyas.

Section XII.

We left the history of the kings of the Châlukya race at Kîrtivarman II. Between him and Tailapâ, who wrested the supreme sovereignty of the Dekkan from Kakkala, the last of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings, the Miraj copperplate grant and the Yevur tablet place six kings. Kîrtivarman ascended the throne in S'aka 669 and was reigning in 679, before which time he had been reduced to the condition of a minor chief; and Tailapa regained sovereign power in 895 S'aka.[1] We have thus seven princes only between 669 and 895, *i.e.*, for 226 years. This gives an average reign of 32 years to each, which is far too much. This was the darkest period in the history of the Châlukya dynasty, and probably no correct account of the succession was kept. Where the dynasty reigned and what the extent of its power was, cannot be satisfactorily determined in the absence of the usual contemporary evidence, viz., inscriptions. There must have been several branches of the Châlukya family, and it is even a question whether Tailapa sprang from the main branch. I am inclined to believe that he belonged to quite a collateral and unimportant branch, and that the main branch became extinct. For, the princes of the earlier dynasty always traced their descent to Hârîti and spoke of themselves as belonging to the Mânavya race; while these later Châlukyas traced their pedigree to Satyâśraya only, and those two names do not occur in their inscriptions except in the Miraj grant and its copies, where an effort is made to begin at the beginning. But evidently the writer of that grant had not sufficient materials at his command, since, as above stated, he places six princes only between Kîrtivarman II. and Tailapa. There is little question that there was no continuity of tradition. The titles Jagadekamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c., which the later Châlukyas assumed mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them. In a copper-plate grant dated S'aka 735 found in Maisur a Châlukya prince of the name of Vimalâditya, the son of Yaśovarman and grandson of Balavarman, is mentioned. To ward off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalâditya, a village was granted to a Jaina sage on behalf of a Jaina temple by Govinda III., the Râshṭrakûṭa king, at the request of Châkirâja of the Gaṅga family, the maternal uncle of Vimalâditya.[2] These three Châlukya names do not occur in the usual genealogy of the family. This therefore appears to have been an independent branch. Another independent offshoot ruled over a province called Jola, a portion of which at least is included in the modern district of Dhârvâḍ. In the Kanarese Bhârata

The later Châlukya dynasty, not a continuation of the earlier.

[1] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4.

[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 11.

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written in 863 S'aka by a Jaina poet of the name of Pampa, Arikesarin belonging to this branch, is mentioned by the poet as his patron. The genealogy there given is as follows :—

Yuddhamalla
|
Arikesarin
|
Narasiṁha
|
Dugdhamalla
|
Baddiga
|
Yuddhamalla.
|
Narasiṁha
|
Arikesarin

A Châlukya prince mentioned in a Vedântic work.

At the end of a work entitled Saṁkshepaśârîraka, the author Sarvajñâtman, the pupil of Sureśvara, who himself was a pupil of the great S'aṁkarâchârya, states that he composed it while "the prosperous king of the Kshatriya race, the Âditya (sun) of the race of Manu whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth."[1] This description would apply with propriety to such a king as Âdityavarman, Vikramâditya I., Vinayâditya, Vijayâditya, or Vikramâditya II. of the early Châlukya dynasty, since they were very powerful princes and were "Âdityas of the race of Manu." For the Mânavya race to which they belonged may be understood as "the race of Manu." But Saṁkarâchârya is said to have lived between S'aka 710 and 742, wherefore his grand-pupil must have flourished about the year 800 of that era, while Vikramâditya II., the latest of the four, ceased to reign in 669 S'aka. Supposing then that the date assigned to Saṁkarâchârya is correct, the king meant by Sarvajñâtman must be one of those placed by the Miraj grant between Kîrtivarman II. and Tailapa. He may be Vikramâditya, the third prince after Kîrtivarman II.,[2] but if the description is considered hardly applicable to a minor chief, S'aṁkarâchârya's date must be pushed backwards so as to place the pupil of his pupil in the reign of one of the five princes of the early Châlukya dynasty mentioned above.

Tailapa's expeditions.

Tailapa seems to have carried his arms into the country of the Cholas[3] and humbled the king of Chedi.[4] He despatched an expedition into Gujarât, under a general of the name of Bârapa, against Mûlarâja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Anahilapattana,

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[1] श्रीदेवेश्वरपादपङ्कजरजःसंपर्कपूताशयः
सर्वज्ञात्मगिराङ्कितो मुनिवरः संक्षेपशारीरकम् ।
चक्रे सज्जनबुद्धिवर्धनमिदं राजन्यवंश्ये नृपे
श्रीमत्यक्षतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये भुवं शासति ॥

The Deves'vara spoken of in the first line is Sureśvara, the pupil of S'aṁkarâchârya.

[2] See the genealogy at the end of this Section.

[3] Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 17.

[4] Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 15.

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who for some time was hard pressed; but according to the Gujarât chroniclers the general was eventually defeated with slaughter.[1] Someśvara, the author of the Kîrtikaumudî, speaks of Bârapa as the general of the lord of Lâṭa, from which it would appear that Tailapa was in possession of that country.[2] Tailapa invaded Mâlvâ also, which at this time was governed by Muñja, the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja. Muñja, instead of strictly confining himself to the defensive, took the offensive, and, against the counsels of his aged minister Rudrâditya, crossed the Godâvarî with a large army. He was encountered by Tailapa, who inflicted a crushing defeat on him and took him prisoner. At first Muñja was treated with consideration by his captor; but an attempt to effect his escape having been detected, he was subjected to indignities, made to beg from door to door, and finally beheaded.[3] This event is alluded to in one of Tailapa's inscriptions.[4] Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years.[5] One of his feudatory chiefs granted a piece of land to a Jaina temple that he had constructed at Saundatti[6] in the Belgaum district, in the year 902 S'aka or A.D. 980.

Satyâśraya.

Tailapa married Jâkabbâ, the daughter of the last Râshṭrakûṭa king, and had by her two sons, whose names were Satyâśraya and Daśavarman.[7] The former succeeded him in 919 S'aka or A.D. 997. Nothing particular is mentioned of him in any of the inscriptions. The Khârepâṭaṇ grant, which we have so often referred to, was issued in his reign in S'aka 930 by a dependent chief of the S'ilâhâra family which ruled over southern Konkan.[8]

Vikramâditya I.

Satyâśraya died without issue and was succeeded by Vikramâditya I.[9] the son of his younger brother Daśavarman by his wife Bhagavatî. The earliest of his inscriptions is dated S'aka 930, which is also the latest date of his predecessor. He therefore succeeded to the throne in that year, *i. e.*, in 1008 A.D., and appears to have reigned for only a short time.[10] He was succeeded by his brother Jayasiṁha or Jagadekamalla, who in an inscription dated 941 S'aka, *i.e.*, 1019 A.D., is represented to have put to flight or broken the confederacy of Mâlava and is styled "the moon of the lotus which was King Bhoja," that is, one who humbled him.[11] He is also spoken of as having beaten the Cholas and the Cheras. The Miraj grant was executed by him five years later, *i. e.*, in S'aka 946, when "after having subdued the powerful Chola, the lord of the Dramila country, and taken away everything belonging to the ruler of the seven Konkans, he had encamped with his victorious army at

Jayasiṁha.

[1] Râsa Mâlâ, Chap. IV, p. 38, new Ed. [2] Kîrtikaumudî, II. 3.
[3] Merutuṅga's Bhojaprabandha and Bhojacharitra by Râjavallabha.
[4] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 12, and Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI., p. 168.
[5] Jour. R. S. Vol. IV., p. 4. [6] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., p. 210.
[7] Miraj plates; Jour. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 262, st. 30-35; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., pp. 15-17. [8] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 209.
[9] I call him Vikramáditya I. and not Vikramáditya V., as others do, because I would keep the two dynasties distinct for the reasons given in the text above. I shall call Vikramáditya Tribhuvanamalla, Vikramâditya II, and so on.
[10] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4. [11] Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 17.

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Kolhâpur in the course of a march to the northern countries to vanquish them."[1] The latest date of this prince is S'aka 962.[2]

Somesvara or Âhavamalla.

Jayasimha ceased to reign in 962 S'aka, or 1040 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Somes'vara I., who assumed the titles of Âhavamalla and Trailokyamalla. As usual with the Châlukya princes the first enemy he had to turn his arms against was the king of the Cholas.[3] He is then represented by Bilhaṇa to have marched against Dhârâ, the capital of Bhoja, and captured it. Bhoja was compelled to abandon the city. These hostilities with the king of Mâlvà seem to have been inherited by this king and his predecessor from Tailapa, who had caused Muñja to be put to death. Bhoja was but a boy when this event took place. It is narrated in the Bhojacharitra that after he had come of age and begun to administer the affairs of his kingdom, on one occasion a dramatic play representing the fate of Muñja was acted before him, and thereupon he resolved to avenge his uncle's death. He invaded the Dekkan with a large army, captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected by him, and finally executed him.[4] Bhoja, who ruled over Mâlvâ for about fifty-three years, was but a minor when Muñja died. Muñja was on the throne in 994 A.D.,[5] while Tailapa died or ceased to reign in 997 A.D. He must therefore have been slain by the latter between 994 and 997 A.D., and Tailapa did not survive Muñja for a sufficiently long time to allow of Bhoja's attaining majority and fighting with him. Hence Bhoja could not have wreaked vengeance on Tailapa. But the wars of Jayasimha and Somesvara I. with him show that the tradition recorded in the Bhojacharitra must have been correct to this extent, that to avenge his uncle's death the king of Mâlvâ formed a confederacy with some neighbouring princes and attacked the dominions of the Châlukyas. Perhaps he captured Vikramâditya I., of whom we know so little, and put him to death. It was probably on that account that Jayasimha took arms against him and broke the confederacy, as represented in the inscription dated 941 S'aka.

Attack against Dâhala and the ...hern countries.

After some time Somesvara attacked Chedi or Ḍâhala, the capital of which was Tevur or Tripura, and deposed or slew Karṇa.[6] King Bhoja must have died before this event; for, just about the time of his death, Karṇa had formed a confederacy with Bhîmadeva I. of Gujarât with a view to attack Mâlvâ from two sides, and sacked Dhârâ after his death.[7] Bilhaṇa next represents the Châlukya prince to have marched against the countries on the sea-coast,

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[1] *Loc. cit.* Dramila is another form of Draviḍa. There is some mistake here in the original. The letters are यं चंद्रमिलाधिपतिं. Dr. Fleet takes यं as one word and चंद्रमिलाधिपतिं as another, but यं cannot be construed and Chandramila is unknown. The first word must be यंचं, a mistake for some such word as न्यंचं, "down," "below," and the second *Dramilâdhipatim*. [2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX., p. 164.

[3] Bilhaṇa's Vikramâṅka Charitra, I., 90; Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 13.

[4] Bhojácharitra, I., 50-56.

[5] My Report on the search for MSS. during 1882-83, p. 45.

[6] Bilhaṇa's Vikr., I., 102-103.

[7] Merutuṅga's Bhojaparabandha; Râsa Mâlâ, VI., p. 69, new Ed.

probably the western. These he conquered, and having erected a triumphal column there, proceeded by the sea-shore to the extremity of the peninsula. In his progress through that part of the country the king of the Draviḍas or Cholas attacked him, but was defeated. Someśvara thereupon proceeded to his capital Kâñchî, which he captured, and the Chola king had to flee away to save his life.[1] Âhavamalla's operations against Bhoja and the Cholas are alluded to in an inscription, and he is also represented to have fought with the king of Kânyakubja or Kanoj and compelled him to betake himself to the caverns of mountains for safety.[2]

Âhavamalla or Someśvara founded the city of Kalyâṇa and made it his capital. Bilhaṇa mentions the fact,[3] and the name of the city does not occur in any inscription of a date earlier than 975 Śaka, when Someśvara was reigning.[4] In the course of time three sons were born to Âhavamalla, the eldest of whom was named Someśvara, the second Vikramâditya, and the third Jayasiṁha.[5] The ablest of these was Vikramâditya, and Âhavamalla intended to raise him to the dignity of *Yuvarâja* or prince-regent in supersession of his elder brother; but Bilhaṇa tells us he declined the honour.[6] Someśvara therefore was installed as prince-regent, but the real work was done by Vikramâditya, who was invariably employed by his father to fight his battles. The first thing he did was to march as usual against the Cholas, whose king was defeated and deprived of his kingdom. The king of Mâlvâ, who had been driven from his country by somebody whose name is not given, sought Vikramâditya's assistance. That prince put down his enemies and placed him on the throne.[7] Vikramâditya is said to have invaded the Gauḍa country or Bengal and Kâmarûpa or Assam.[8] In the more detailed description of his career of conquest, Bilhaṇa tells us, he first marched against the Keralas, whom he conquered.[9] The king of Siṁhala submitted to him at his approach;[10] then he took the city of Gaṅgakuṇḍa and proceeded to the country of the Cholas, the prince of which fled and took refuge in the caverns of mountains. Vikramâditya then entered Kâñchî and plundered it; and thence directed his march to Veṅgi, and to Chakrakoṭa.[11]

Sons of Âhavamalla.

Vikramâditya's military operations.

While Vikramâditya was so employed, Âhavamalla was seized with a strong fever. When he observed his end approaching, he caused himself to be taken to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ. He

Âhavamalla's death.

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[1] Vikr. Ch., I., 107-116. [2] Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 19.

[3] Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ch., II., 1. The natural construction appears to be to take परार्घ्यं "most excellent" as an *attributive* adjective, not *predicative*, and take चकार as the predicate. The sense then will be: "He made (founded) the most excellent city named Kalyâṇa."

[4] See Dr. Fleet's remarks on the point, Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 105. The word *Kalyâṇa* occurring in the Saloṭgi inscription (Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 210,) is also, like that in Kîrtivarman's grant, to be taken in the sense of "good," "benefit," "beneficial," and not as the name of a town as Mr. Pâṇḍit and Dr. Bühler have done.

[5] Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ch., II., 57-58 and 85; III., 1, 25.

[6] *Ib.*, III., 26-32, 35-41, and 48-54. [7] *Ib.*, III., 55-67.

[8] *Ib.*, III., 74. [9] *Ib.*, IV., 2, 18.

[10] *Ib.*, IV., 20. [11] *Ib.*, IV., 21-30. For the situation of Veṅgi, see *supra*, p. 185.

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bathed in the waters of the river and gave away a great deal of gold in charity. Then entering the river again, he proceeded until the water reached his neck, and, in the din caused by the waves and a number of musical instruments, drowned himself.[1] This event must have taken place in S'aka 991, corresponding to 1069 A.D.[2] Âhavamalla, according to Bilhaṇa, performed a great many sacrifices and was very liberal to men of learning.[3] On account of his virtues, poets made him the hero of the tales, poems, and dramas composed by them.[4]

Somesvara proclaimed king.

Someśvara, the eldest son of Âhavamalla, having been prince-regent, ascended the throne as a matter of course, and assumed the title of Bhuvanaikamalla. Vikramâditya received intelligence of his father's death while returning from Veṅgi. He hastened to the capital and was received with affection by his brother. Vikramâditya made over to him all the spoils he had won in the course of his conquests, and for some time there was a good understanding between the brothers. But Someśvara was a weak and tyrannical prince. He oppressed his subjects and lost their affection. He would not be guided by the counsels of wiser and better men; and the kingdom of Kuntala lost a good deal of its importance and influence. Vikramâditya, unable to control his brother and suspecting his intentions towards himself, left the capital with his younger brother Jayasiṁha and a large army.[5] Someśvara II. sent his forces after him, but they were defeated by Vikramâditya with great slaughter.[6] The prince then proceeded to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, and, after some time, directed his march towards the country of the Cholas. On the way he stopped at Banavâsî, where he enjoyed himself for some time, and then started for the country of Malaya. Jayakeśi is represented to have submitted to Vikramâditya and "given him more wealth than he desired, and thus to have rendered lasting the smile on the face of the Konkan ladies."[7] Jayakeśi appears thus to have been king of the Konkan, and was the same as the first king of that name, who in the copper-plate grants of the Goa Kadambas, published by Dr. Fleet, is spoken of as having entered into an alliance with the Châlukya and Chola kings and made Gopakapattana or Goa his capital. Vikramâditya or Tribhuvanamalla in after-life gave his daughter Mallalamahâdevî in marriage to his grandson, who also was called Jayakeśi; and this circumstance is mentioned in all the three grants, since the connection with the paramount sovereign of the Dekkan raised the dignity of the family.[8] The king of the Alupas[9] also rendered his obeisance to the Châlukya prince, who showed him marks of favour. He then subjugated the Keralas or people of Malabâr, and turned towards the country of the Draviḍas or Cholas. Being informed of this, the Chola prince sent a herald with proposals of peace, offering

Quarrels between the brothers.

Submission of Jayakeśi of Goa to Vikramâditya.

Alliance with the Chola prince.

[1] Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ch., IV., 46-68. This mode of death is known by the name of *Jalasamâdhi.* [2] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4.
[3] Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ch., I., 97-99; IV., 52. [4] *Ib.*, I., 88.
[5] *Ib.*, IV., 88-119; V., 1. [6] *Ib.*, V., 5-8. [7] *Ib.*, V., 10, 18-25.
[8] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., pp. 242, 268, 279. [9] See *supra*, p. 183, note 3.

his daughter in marriage to Vikramâditya. These were accepted by the latter, and at the solicitations of the Chola he fell back on the Tuṅgabhadrâ, where the prince arrived with his daughter and concluded an alliance.[1]

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Revolution in the Chola kingdom.

Some time after, the king of the Cholas died and there was a revolution in the kingdom. When the Châlukya prince heard of this he immediately proceeded to Kâñchî, and placing the son of his father-in-law on the throne, remained there for a month to suppress his enemies and render his position secure. A short time after his return to the Tuṅgabhadrâ, however, Râjiga, the king of Veṅgi, observing that the nobility of the Chola prince were disaffected, seized the opportunity, and, having deposed him, usurped the sovereignty of the country. To embarrass Vikramâditya and prevent his descent on Kâñchî, Râjiga incited his brother Someśvara II. to attack him from behind. Vikramâditya, however, marched on, and, by the time he came in sight of the Draviḍa forces, Someśvara overtook him in his rear. He had a very large army, which was well equipped.[2] Bilhaṇa, who is, of course, anxious to show his patron to be guiltless in this fratricidal war, represents him to be deeply afflicted when he saw that his brother had made common cause with his enemy, and to have endeavoured to dissuade him from the course on which he had embarked. Someśvara made a show of yielding to his brother's expostulations, seeking however in the meanwhile for a favourable opportunity to strike a decisive blow.[3] But Vikramâditya finally resolved to give a fight to the armies of both. Then a bloody battle ensued, Vikramâditya proved victorious, the new king of the Draviḍas fled, and Someśvara was taken prisoner. The Châlukya prince then returned to the Tuṅgabhadrâ, and after some hesitation dethroned Someśvara and had himself crowned king. To his younger brother Jayasiṁha he assigned the province of Banavâsî.[4] These events took place in the cyclic year *Nala*, S'aka 998, or A.D. 1076.[5]

Alliance between Râjiga and Someśvara II. against Vikramâditya.

Battle of Vikramâditya with his brother and Râjiga.

Coronation of Vikramâditya.

Reign of Vikramâditya II.

Vikramâditya II. then entered Kalyâṇa and had a long and upon the whole a peaceful reign of fifty years.[6] He assumed the title of Tribhuvanamalla, and is known by the names of Kalivikrama and Parmâḍirâya also. He abolished the S'aka era and established his own; but it fell into disuse not long after his death. Some time after his accession, he went to Karahâṭaka or Karhâḍ and married the daughter of the Śilâhâra king who reigned at the place. Her

[1] Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ch., V. 26-29, 46, 56, 60, 73, 79-89. [2] *Ib.*, VI., 7-54.
[3] *Ib.*, VI., 56-61. [4] *Ib.*, VI., 90-93, 98-99.
[5] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 189. The current Śaka year was 999. Dr. Fleet thinks that the festival of his *Paṭṭabandha* or coronation, grants on account of which are recorded as made on the 5th day of the bright half of Phâlguna in the Nala year, in an inscription at Vaḍageri, was the annual festival. But this is a mere assumption. One would expect in such a case the word *vârshikotsava*. The *utsava* or festival spoken of must be that which followed the ceremony. The date in this inscription refers to the grant, and does not, in my opinion, show at all the day on which the coronation ceremony took place. All we can gather from this inscription and that at Araleśvara is that the *Nala* Saṁvatsara was the first year of his reign.
[6] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 14.

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name was Chandralekhâ and she was a woman of rare beauty. Bilhaṇa represents her to have held a *svayaṁvara* where a great many kings assembled, out of whom she chose the Châlukya prince and placed the nuptial wreath round his neck. Whether the *svayaṁvara* was real, or imagined by the poet to give himself an opportunity for the display of his poetic and descriptive powers, it is not possible to decide. Chandralekhâ is spoken of in the inscriptions as Chandaladevî, and many other wives of Tribhuvanamalla are mentioned besides her. The revenues of certain villages were assigned to them for their private expenses.[1]

Rebellion of Jayasiṁha, Vikrama's brother.

Some years after, Vikrama's brother Jayasiṁha, who had been appointed his viceroy at Banavâsî, began to meditate treason against him. He extorted a great deal of money from his subjects, entered into an alliance with the Draviḍa king and other chiefs, and even endeavoured to foment sedition and treachery among Vikramâditya's troops. When the king heard of this, he made several attempts to dissuade his brother from his evil course, but they were of no avail; and in a short time Jayasiṁha came with his numerous allies and his large army and encamped on the banks of the Kṛishṇâ. He plundered and burned the surrounding villages and took many prisoners, and considered success so certain that he sent insulting messages to Vikrama.[2] The king then marched against him at the head of his forces. As he approached the river he was harassed by the enemy's skirmishers, but driving them away he encamped on the banks.[3] He surveyed his brother's army and found it to be very large and strong. Then a battle ensued. At first the elephants of the enemy advanced and spread confusion in the ranks of Vikrama. All his elephants, horses, and men turned backwards; but with remarkable bravery the king rushed forward on the back of his maddened elephant, dealing heavy blows right and left. The elephants of the enemy were driven back and the king killed a great many of his soldiers. The army was defeated and Jayasiṁha and his followers fled away. Vikrama did not pursue the enemy, but took the elephants, horses, women, and baggage left on the battle-field, and returned to his capital. After a time Jayasiṁha was caught skulking in a forest and brought to Vikramâditya, who, however, is represented to have pardoned him.[4]

Invasion of Vikrama's dominions by Vishṇuvardhana.

In the latter part of Vikrama's reign his dominions were invaded by a prince of the Hoysaḷa branch of the Yâdava family reigning at Dvârasamudra, the modern Haḷebîḍ in Maisur; and with him were associated the kings of the Pâṇḍya country, Goa, and Konkan. This Hoysaḷa prince must have been Vishṇuvardhana, the younger brother of Ballâḷa and the grandson of Vinayâditya, who first brought the dynasty into prominence. For in the inscription of Vîra Ballâḷa, the grandson of Vishṇuvardhana, at Gaddaka, Vishṇuvardhana is represented to have overrun the whole country between his capital

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[1] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 15, and Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ch., VIII.—XI.
[2] Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ch., XIV., 1-13, 18, 49-56.
[3] *Ib.*, XIV., 57, 70, 71.
[4] *Ib.*, XV., 23, 41-42, 55-71, 85-87.

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and Belvoḷa and washed his horses with the waters of the Kṛishṇâ-Veṇâ. It is also stated that "he was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done to him by the king Paramardideva (Vikramâditya), who said, 'Know the Hoysaḷa alone among all princes to be unconquerable.'"[1] Vikramâditya despatched against these enemies a dependent chief of the name of Âcha or Âchagi, whose territory lay to the south. Âcha, who was "a very lion in war and shining like the hot-rayed sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysaḷa, took Gove, put to flight Lakshma in war, valorously followed after Pâṇḍya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Konkan."[2] Âcha must have fought several other battles for his master; for he is represented to have made "the kings of Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Maru, Gûrjara, Mâḷava, Chera, and Choḷa (subject) to his sovereign."[3] Vikramâditya himself had to take the field against the Chola prince, who had grown insubordinate. He was defeated and fled, and the king returned to his capital.[4] Vikramâditya II. constructed a large temple of Vishṇu and had a tank dug in front of it. In the vicinity he founded a town which was called Vikramapura.[5] He governed his subjects well and they were happy under his rule. The security they enjoyed was so great that, according to Bilhaṇa, "they did not care to close the doors of their houses at night, and instead of thieves the rays of the moon entered through the window openings." He was very liberal and bountiful to the poor and "gave the sixteen great gifts at each holy conjuncture."[6] That he was a patron of learning is shown by the fact of a Kâśmirian Paṇḍit like Bilhaṇa, who travelled over the whole of India in quest of support, having been raised by him to the dignity of Vidyâpati or chief Paṇḍit. Vijñâneśvara, the author of the Mitâksharâ, which is at present acknowledged over a large part of India, and especially in the Marâṭhâ country, as the chief authority on matters of civil and religious law, flourished in the reign of Vikramâditya and lived at Kalyâṇa. At the end of most manuscripts of that work there occur three stanzas, which may be translated as follows[7]:

Vikramâditya's patronage of learning.

Vijñâneśvara.

"On the surface of the earth, there was not, there is not, and there will be not, a town like Kalyâṇa; never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramârka seen or heard of; and—what more?—Vijñâneśvara, the Paṇḍit, does not bear comparison with any other[8]

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300. Dr. Fleet's translation of this verse is incorrect. The words are to be thus collocated :— नृपेषु असाध्यतया होय्सळम् अवधारय इति परमर्दिदेव-नृपतेः प्रत्युपचारं यः नियुक्तैः मुहुः स्मार्यते ।

[2] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI., p. 244. Poysaḷa and Hoysaḷa are one and the same word.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 269.

[4] Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ch., XVII., 43-68.

[5] *Ib.*, XVII., 15, 22, 29, and Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 15.

[6] Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ch., XVII., 6, 36-37.

[7] See Dr. Bühler's article on the subject in Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 134.

[8] Dr. Bühler's reading of the last two lines is विज्ञानेश्वरपण्डितो न भजते किं चान्यदस्योपमां कल्पस्थं स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलतिकाकल्पं तदेव त्रयम् । The Doctor connects कल्पस्थं with

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(person). May this triad which is like a celestial creeper[1] exist to the end of the Kalpa!

"May the Lord of wisdom[2] live as long as the sun and moon endure,—he who produces words which distil honey and than which nothing is more wonderful to the learned, gives wealth exceeding their wishes to a multitude of supplicants,[3] contemplates the form of the subjugator of Mura, and has conquered the enemies that are born with the body.

"May the lord Vikramâditya protect this whole earth as long as the moon and the stars endure,—he whose feet are refulgent with the lustre of the crest jewels of prostrate kings from the bridge, which is the heap of the glory of the best scion of the Raghu race, to the lord of mountains, and from the Western Ocean, the waves[4] of which surge heavily with the nimble shoals of fishes, to the Eastern Ocean."

Though Sanskrit authors often indulge in hyperbolic expressions without sufficient basis and as mere conventionalities, still the

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किं चान्यत् and translates "nothing else that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison with the learned Vijñânesvara." To mean "nothing else," किं चान्यत् must be किमप्यन्यत्; and in this construction पण्डिता, the nominative, has no verb, अन्यत् being taken as the nominative to the verb भजते. Again, it will not do to say "nothing that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison," &c., for one-half of this Kalpa only has passed away; the other half still remains, and what it *will* produce but *has not* yet produced cannot be spoken of as कल्पस्थम् or "existing in the Kalpa." The only proper reading with a slight alteration is that of the Bombay lithographed edition, which he has given in a footnote and which is किंवान्यदन्योपमामाकल्पं. Instead of वा, there must be चा here. And this is the reading of a manuscript of the Mitâksharâ, dated Saṁvat 1535 and S'aka 1401, purchased by me about ten years ago for the Bombay Government. The reading is to be translated as in the text.

[1] Like the celestial creeper, in so far as the triad satisfies all desires.

[2] Dr. Bühler reads तत्र विज्ञाननाथ and construes it as a vocative. The vocative does not look natural here. The Bombay lithographed edition and my manuscript have विज्ञाननाथः the nominative. Instead of तत्र the former has तज्ञ and the latter तत्त्व. I have adopted this last. The author has here taken the name Vijnânesvara in its etymological sense and given to विज्ञान or "knowledge" the object तत्त्व or "truth," the whole meaning "the lord of the knowledge of truth".

[3] Dr. Bühler's reading here is दातार्थिनामतिशययुजामर्थिसार्थार्थतायाः. Here अर्थतायाः cannot make any sense; it ought to be आर्थितायाः, which the lithographed edition and my manuscript have. The latter reads the whole line thus:—दातार्थिनामतिशयजुषामर्थिसार्थार्थिना(ता)या[:]. There is another या after this, which is redundant.

[4] The reading of the epithet of the "Western Ocean" is corrupt in all the three. I would improve that of the lithographed edition, which is चट्लतिमिकुलोत्तुङ्गरिंगतरंगात् to चट्लतिमिकुलोत्तुङ्गारिङ्गत्तरङ्गात् and of my manuscript to तुङ्गन्नृत्यत्तरङ्गात्. The root रिङ्ग् is used in connection with waves (see B. & R.'s Lexicon *sub voce*).

language and manner of these stanzas do show a really enthusiastic admiration in the mind of the writer for the city, its ruler, and the great Paṇḍit, who from the fact of the liberality attributed to him appears to have enjoyed the favour of the king and perhaps held a high office. From this and from the description given by Bilhaṇa, as well as from Vikramâditya's inscriptions, of which we have about two hundred, it appears to be an undoubted fact that he was the greatest prince of this later Châlukya dynasty, and that during his reign the country enjoyed happiness and prosperity.

Someśvara III. or Bhûlokamalla.

Vikramâditya II. was succeeded in S'aka 1048 and in the cyclic year *Parâbhava* (A.D. 1127) by his son Someśvara III., who assumed the title of Bhûlokamalla.[1] He had a short reign of about 11 years. He is represented to have "placed his feet on the heads of the kings of Andhra, Draviḷa, Magadha, Nepâḷa; and to have been lauded by all learned men."[2] This last praise does not seem to be undeserved; for we have a work in Sanskrit written by Someśvara entitled Mânasollâsa or Abhilashitârtha-Chintâmaṇi, in which a great deal of information on a variety of subjects is given. The book is divided into five parts. In the first are given the causes which lead to the acquisition of a kingdom; in the second, those that enable one to retain it after he has acquired it; in the third, the kinds of enjoyment which are open to a king after he has rendered his power firm; in the fourth, the modes of diversion which give mental pleasure; and in the fifth, sports or amusements. Each of these consists of twenty kinds. In the first are included such virtues as shunning lies, refraining from injury to others, continence, generosity, affability, faith in the gods, feeding and supporting the poor and helpless, friends and adherents, &c. Under the second head are described what are called the seven *aṅgas*, *i. e.*, the ideal king, his ministers including the priest and the astrologer, the treasury and the way of replenishing it, the army, &c. The enjoyments are—a beautiful palace, bathing, anointing, rich clothing, ornaments, &c. The diversions are—military practice, horsemanship, training elephants, wrestling, cockfights, bringing up of dogs, poetry, music, dancing, and others. The last class comprises sports in gardens and fields, or on mountains and sandbanks, games, enjoyment of the company of women, &c. In connection with these subjects there are few branches of learning or art in Sanskrit the main principles of which are not stated. We have polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants, and dogs, &c. The king does appear to have been a man of learning, and it was on that account that he received the title of *Sarvajñabhûpa*[3] or the "all-knowing king." In the Mânasollâsa, in connection with the preparation of an almanac, the day used as an epoch from which to calculate the positions of certain heavenly bodies is stated as "Friday, the beginning of the month of Chaitra,

Someśvara's Abhilashitârtha Chintâmaṇi.

Date given in the Abhilashitârtha Chintâmaṇi.

[1] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 15. The current Śaka year corresponding to *Parâbhava* was 1049.

[2] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI., p. 268.

[3] *Ib.*, pp. 259 and 268.

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one thousand and fifty-one years of Śaka having elapsed, the year of the cycle being *Saumya*, while the king Soma, the ornament of the Châlukya [race], who was the very sage Agastya to the ocean of the essences of all the Śâstras,[1] and whose enemies were destroyed, was ruling over the sea-begirt earth.[2] This work, therefore, was written in the fourth year after his accession.

Jagadekamalla.

Somesvara III. or Bhûlokamalla was succeeded in the cyclic year *Kálayukti*,[3] S'aka 1060 or A.D. 1138, by his son Jagadekamalla. Nothing particular is recorded of him. He reigned for 12 years and was succeeded by his brother Tailapa II., Nurmadi Taila or Trailokyamalla, in S'aka 1072, *Pramoda* Saṁvatsara.[4] During these two reigns the power of the Châlukyas rapidly declined, and some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. The opportunity was seized by a dependent chief named Vijjala or Vijjaṇa of the Kalachuri race, who held the office of Daṇḍanâyaka or minister of war under Tailapa. He conceived the design of usurping the throne of his master, and endeavoured to secure the sympathies and co-operation of some of the powerful and semi-independent chiefs. Vijayârka, the Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara of Kolhâpur, was one of those who assisted him,[5] and Prolarâja of the Kâkateya dynasty of Tailaṅgaṇa, who is represented to have fought with Tailapa, did so probably to advance the same cause.[6] He kept his master Tailapa under complete subjection till Śaka 1079 or A.D. 1157, when Tailapa left Kalyâṇa and fled to Annigeri in the Dhârvâḍ district, which now became the capital of his kingdom greatly reduced in extent. There is an inscription dated Śaka 1079, in Vijjaṇa's name, the cyclic

Tailapa II.

Ambitious designs of Vijjala.

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1 That is, he drank the essences of all the S'âstras or sciences as the sage Agastya drank the whole ocean.

2
एकपञ्चाशदधिके सहस्रे शरदां गते ।
शकस्य सोमभूपाले सति चालुक्यमण्डने ॥
समुद्ररसनामुर्वी शासति क्षतविद्विषि ।
सर्वशास्त्रार्थसर्वस्वपाथोधिकलशोद्भवे ॥
सौम्यसंवत्सरे चैत्रमासादौ शुक्रवासरे ।
परिशोधितसिद्धान्तलब्धाः स्युर्ध्रुवका इमे ॥

3 The *Siddhârthin* Saṁvatsara is mentioned as the second of his reign, wherefore the preceding Kâlayukti (Śaka 1060) must have been the first. The current Śaka year was 1061. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 141. There are several inscriptions in which the name of Jagadekamalla occurs, but it is difficult to make out whether they belong to the reign of this king or Jayasiṁha-Jagadekamalla, since the cyclic year only is given in them. Sometimes the year of the king's reign is also given, but that even does not help in settling the point. For Jayasiṁha began to reign in S'aka 940, just 120 years or two complete cycles of 60 years each before Jagadekamalla II., and consequently the cyclic years and the years of their reigns are the same.

4 For the *Yuva* Saṁvatsara was the sixth of his reign and it fell next after Śaka 1077. In *Pramoda*, 1073 was the current Śaka year and 1072 years had expired ; Pâli, Sans. and old Can. Ins. No. 181.

5 Grant of Bhoja II. of Kolhâpur, Trans. Bomb. Lit. Soc., Vol. III. See Section XVI.

6 He is said to have captured Tailapa and let him off through his devotion for him. He probably owed some allegiance to the Châlukya sovereign. Ins. of Rudradeva, Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., pp., 12-13, lines 27-30.

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year being *Îśvâra;* and the next Saṁvatsara, *Bahudhânya*, is spoken of as the second year of his reign.[1] He does not however seem to have assumed the titles of supreme sovereignty till S'aka 1084, when he marched against Tailapa II., who was at Annigeri, and proclaimed himself an independent monarch. Tailapa seems then to have gone further south and established himself at Banavâsî.[2] The latest year of his reign mentioned in the inscriptions is the fifteenth, the Saṁvatsara or cyclic year being *Pârthiva*, which was current next after S'aka 1087.[3]

Assumption of supreme sovereignty by Vijjala.

For some time there was an interruption in the Châlukya power, and the Kalachuris seem to have held possession of the whole territory of that dynasty. But internal dissensions consequent on the rise of the Liṅgâyata creed and the assassination of Vijjaṇa considerably weakened the power of the Kalachuris, and about the Śaka year 1104 Someśvara, the son of Nurmaḍi Taila, succeeded in wresting a considerable portion of the hereditary dominions of his family, and established himself at Annigeri. He owed his restoration to power to the valour and devoted attachment of a feudatory of his family named Brahma or Bomma, who fought several battles with the enemies of his master and is said to have conquered sixty elephants by means of a single one.[4] Bomma is represented in an inscription at Annigeri dated S'aka 1106 to have destroyed the Kalachuris and restored the Châlukyas to the throne.[5] But a short time after, the Yâdavas of the south rose under Vîra Ballâḷa and of the north under Bhillama. They both fought with Bomma; but success at first attended the arms of Vîra Ballâḷa, who subdued the Châlukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty.[6] We lose trace of Vîra Soma or Someśvara IV. after S'aka 1111.

Someśvara IV.

Extinction of the Châlukya power.

The Châlukya family must have thrown out several branches of petty chiefs. One such has been brought to light by a copper-plate grant dated S'aka 1182, *Raudra* Saṁvatsara, which was in the possession of the Khot of Teravaṇ, a village in the Râjâpur tâluka of the Ratnâgiri district.[7] The donor Keśava Mahâjani was the minister of a Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara or chief of the name of Kâṁvadeva, one of whose titles was "the sun that blows open the lotus bud in the shape of the Châlukya race." He is also called *Kalyâṇapuravarâdhîśvara* or "lord of Kalyâṇa the best of cities," which like several such titles of other chiefs[8] simply shows that he belonged to the family that once reigned with glory at Kalyâṇa. The village conveyed by the grant was Teravâṭaka, identified with Teravaṇ itself, from which it would appear that Kâṁvadeva was chief of that part of Konkan. There is an inscription in the temple

A branch of the Châlukya family in Southern Konkan.

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[1] P. S. & O. C. Ins. Nos. 219 and 182.
[2] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 16.
[3] P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 140.
[4] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 16; Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300, l. 29.
[5] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 16.
[6] Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300, ll. 29-30.
[7] Published in Jour. R. A. S., Vol. V., in Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 105, and Memoir, Sâvantvâḍi State, Govt. Rec. No. X.
[8] See *infra*, Section XVI.

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of Ambâbâi at Kolhâpur in which is recorded the grant of a village by Somadeva who belonged to the Châlukya family and reigned at Saṁgameśvara, which is twelve *kos* to the north-east of Ratnâgiri. Somadeva was the son of Vetugideva and the father of the last was Karṇadeva.[1] Probably the Kâṁvadeva of the Teravaṇ grant belonged to this branch of the family. There are still Marâṭhâ families of the name of Châḷke reduced to poverty in the Saṁgameśvara Tâluka or in the vicinity.

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[1] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II., p. 263.

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The Kalachuris.

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Original seat of the Kalachuri or Haihaya family.

The earliest mention of a family of this name that we have is in connection with Maṅgalîśa of the early Châlukya dynasty. Vinayâditya is represented in one of his inscriptions to have subdued the Haihayas and Vikramâditya II. married, as we have seen, two girls who were sisters belonging to the family.[1] The later Râshṭrakûṭa princes were also connected by marriage with the Haihayas. This family known also by the name of Kalachuri or Kulachuri[2] ruled over Chedi or the country about Jabalpur. The Kalachuris of Kalyâṇa must have been an offshoot of this family. One of the titles used by Vijjaṇa was *Kâlañjarapuravarâdhîśvara* "or Lord of the best city of Kâlañjara."[3] Kâlañjara was a stronghold belonging to the rulers of Chedi[4] and was probably their capital, though Tripura, the modern Tevur, is also known to have been the principal seat of the family. The title, therefore, connects the Kalyâṇa branch of the Kalachuris with the Chedi family. This branch was founded by Kṛishṇa, who in the Belgaum grant[5] is spoken of as "another Kṛishṇa," the incarnation of Vishṇu, and as "having done wonderful deeds even during his boyhood." He was succeeded by his son Jogama, and Jogama by his son Paramardin. Paramardin was the father of Vijjaṇa. Vijjaṇa before his usurpation called himself only a Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara or minor chief, and is first mentioned as a feudatory of Jagadekamalla, the successor of Someśvara III.[6] The manner in which he drove away Taila III. from Kalyâṇa, and having raised himself to the supreme power in the state gradually assumed the titles of a paramount sovereign, has already been described. But soon after, a religious revolution took place at Kalyâṇa, and Vijjaṇa and his family succumbed to it.

A religious revolution at Kalyâṇa.

Its leader.

The principal leader of that revolution was a person of the name of Basava. A work in Kanarese entitled Basava Purâṇa gives an account of Basava; but it is full of marvellous stories and relates the wonderful miracles wrought by him. The principal incidents, however, may be relied on as historical. On the other hand there is another work entitled Vijjalarâyacharita, written by a Jaina, which gives an account of the events from the opposite side, since the attacks of the *Liṅgâyatas* were chiefly directed against the Jainas, and these were their enemies.

Basava.

Basava was the son of a Brâhmaṇ named Mâḍirâja, who lived at Bâgevâḍi in the Kalâdgi district. Baḷadeva, the prime minister of Vijjaṇa, was his maternal uncle and gave him his daughter in marriage.[7] After Baḷadeva's death the king appointed Basava his

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[1] *Supra*, Section X.
[2] See grant published in Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.
[3] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 330, No. 50.
[4] Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ch., XVIII., p. 93. Karṇa seems to be represented here to have conquered Kâlañjara.
[5] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 270.
[6] P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 119.
[7] [illegible] B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 67.

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prime minister as being closely related to Baḷadeva.[1] The Jainas, however, state that Basava had a beautiful sister named Padmâvatî, of whom the king became enamoured and whom he either married or made his mistress[2]; and it was on that account that he was raised to that office and became a man of influence. There must be some truth in this story; for the Basava Purâṇa narrates that the king gave his younger sister Nîlalochanâ in marriage to Basava, which looks as if it were a counter-story devised to throw discredit on the other which was so derogatory to Basava.[3] Basava had another sister named Nâgalâmbikâ, who had a son named Chenna-Basava or Basava the younger. In concert with him Basava began to propound a new doctrine and a new mode of worshipping S'iva, in which the Liṅga and the Nandin or bull were prominent. He speedily got a large number of followers, and ordained a great many priests, who were called Jaṅgamas. Basava had charge of the king's treasury, and out of it he spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining these Jaṅgamas, who led a profligate life. Vijjaṇa had another minister named Mañchaṇṇâ, who was the enemy of Basava, and informed the king of his rival's embezzlements.[4] In the course of time Vijjaṇa was completely alienated from Basava and endeavoured to apprehend him. But he made his escape with a number of followers, whereupon the king sent some men in pursuit. These were easily dispersed by Basava, and then Vijjaṇa advanced in person. But a large number of followers now joined Basava, and the king was defeated and had to submit to his minister. Basava was allowed to return to Kalyâṇa and reinstated in his office.[5] There was, however, no possibility of a complete reconciliation, and after some time the leader of the new sect conceived the design of putting the king to death. The circumstances that immediately led to the deed and the manner in which it was perpetrated are thus stated in the Basava Purâṇa.

Basava's rebellion.

Basava plans the murder of the King.

Account of the event according to the Basava Purâna.

At Kalyâṇa there were two pious Liṅgâyatas named Halleyaga and Madhuveyya, who were the devout adherents of their master Basava. Vijjaṇa, listening to the calumnious accusations of their enemies, caused their eyes to be put out. All the disciples of Basava were highly indignant at this cruel treatment of these holy men, and assembled in their master's house. Basava ordered Jagaddeva to murder the king, pronounced a curse on Kalyâṇa, and left the town. Jagaddeva hesitated for a moment, but his mother spurred him on, and with two companions, Mallaya and Bommaya, went straight to the palace of the king; and rushing through the throng of courtiers, counsellors, and princes, they drew their poignards and stabbed Vijjaṇa. Thence they went into the streets, and brandishing their weapons proclaimed the reason of their perpetrating the deed. Then arose dissensions in the city, men fought with men, horses with horses, and elephants with elephants; the race of Vijjaṇa was extinct, Kalyâṇa was a heap of ruins, and the curse pronounced

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[1] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 69.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 97. Sir W. Elliot's paper, Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 20.
[3] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 70. [4] *Ib.*, pp. 78 & 89.
[5] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 21; Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 89.

by Basava was verified. Basava went in haste to his favourite shrine of Saṅgameśvara, situated on the confluence of the Malaprabhâ with the Kṛishnâ, and there in compliance with his prayers the god absorbed him in his body.[1]

Jaina account.

The account given by the Jainas is different. Vijjaṇa had gone on an expedition to Kolhápur to reduce the Śilâhâra chief Bhoja II. to subjection. In the course of his march back to the capital he encamped at a certain place on the banks of the Bhîmâ, and, while reposing in his tent, Basava sent to him a Jaṅgama disguised as a Jaina with a poisoned fruit. Vijjaṇa, who is said to have been a Jaina himself, unsuspectingly took the fruit from the hands of the seeming Jaina priest; and as soon as he smelled it, he became senseless. His son Immadi Vijjaṇa and others hastened to the spot, but to no purpose. Vijjaṇa, however, somewhat recovered his senses for a short while; and knowing who it was that had sent the poisoned fruit, enjoined his son to put Basava to death. Immadi Vijjaṇa gave orders that Basava should be arrested and all Jaṅgamas, wherever found, executed.[2] On hearing of this, Basava fled; and being pursued went to the Malabâr coast and took refuge at a place called Ulavi.[3] The town was closely invested and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and died, while his wife Nîlâmbâ put an end to her existence by drinking poison. When Vijjaṇa's son was pacified, Chenna-Basava surrendered all his uncle's property to him and was admitted into favour.[4] He now became the sole leader of the Liṅgâyatas; but, even before, his position was in some respects superior to that of Basava. The religious portion of the movement was under his sole direction, and it was he who shaped the creed of the sect. In him the *Praṇava* or sacred syllable *Om* is said to have become incarnate to teach the doctrines of the Vîra Śaiva faith to Basava,[5] and, according to the Chenna-Basava Purâna, "Chenna-Basava was S'iva; Basava, Vṛishabha (or S'iva's bull, the Nandin); Bijiala, the door-keeper; Kalyâṇa, Kailâsa; (and) S'iva worshippers (or Liṅgâyatas), the S'iva host (or the troops of S'iva's attendants.)"[6]

Chenna-Basava's leadership.

Sovideva.

Vijjaṇa's death took place in S'aka 1089 (1090 *current*), or A.D. 1167. He was succeeded by his son Soma, who is also called Sovideva or Someśvara. The Belgaum copper-plate charter was issued by him on the twelfth of the bright half of Kârttika in S'aka 1096, the cyclic year being *Jaya*, to confirm the grant of land to fourteen Brâhmaṇs and the god Someśvara made by one of his queens named Bâvaladevî. The king had given her his consent to make the grant as a reward for a beautiful song that she sang on an occasion when the most influential persons belonging to his own and other kingdoms had gathered together in his audience-hall. Soma reigned till S'aka 1100 and was followed by his brother Saṁkama, whose inscriptions come down to the cyclic year *Śubhakṛit*. In an

Saṁkama.

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[1] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 96; Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., pp. 309-310.
[2] Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., p. 320.
[3] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 22.
[4] Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., p. 320.
[5] *Ib.*, p. 311.
[6] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 127.

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inscription at Baḷagâṁve the cyclic year *Vikârin* (S'. 1101) is called the third of his reign,[1] while in another at the same place the same year is spoken of as the fifth.[2] In other inscriptions we have two names Saṁkama and Âhavamalla and the cyclic years *Śârvarin* (S'. 1102) and *Plava* (S'. 1103) are represented as the third year of his or their reign, which is possible, and *Subhakṛit* (S'. 1104) as the eighth.[3] About S'aka 1104 the Châlukya prince Someśvara IV. wrested some of the provinces of his ancestral dominions from the Kalachuris, and the rest must have been conquered by the Northern Yâdavas; so that about this time the Kalachuri danasty became extinct.

Extinction of the Kalachuri dynasty.

Religious and social condition of the people during the later Châlukya period.

During the period occupied by the later Châlukya dynasty and the Kalachuris (Śaka 895-1110 or A.D. 973-1188), the old state of things as regards the religious and social condition of the country may be said to have finally disappeared and the new ushered in. First, we have in this period what might be considered the last traces of Buddhism. In the reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramâditya II., in the cyclic year *Yuvan*, and the nineteenth of his era (Śaka 1017), sixteen merchants of the Vaiśya caste constructed a Buddhistic *vihâra* or monastery and temple at Dharmavolal, the modern Dambal in the Dhârvâḍ district and assigned for its support and for the maintenance of another *vihâra* at Lokkiguṇḍi, the modern Lakkundi, a field and a certain amount of money to be raised by voluntary taxation.[4] In S'aka 1032 the S'ilâhâra chief of Kolhâpur constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of S'iva and Arhat, and assigned lands for their support.[5] Jainism ceased in this period to be the conquering religion that it was, and about the end received an effectual check by the rise of the Liṅgâyata sect. This new creed spread widely among the trading classes, which before were the chief supporters of Jainism. There is a tradition in some parts of the country that some of the existing temples contained Jaina idols at one time and that afterwards they were thrown out and Brâhmaṇic ones placed instead. This points to a change of feeling with reference to Jainism, the origin of which must be referred to this period.

Buddhism.

Jainism.

Purâṇic religion. Codification of the civil and religious law.

The worship of the Purâṇic gods flourished; and as in the times of the early Châlukyas the old sacrificial rites were reduced to a system, so during this period the endeavours of the Brâhmaṇs and their adherents were for the first time directed towards reducing the civil and the ordinary religious law to a system, or towards its codification, as it might be called. The texts or precepts on the subject were scattered in a great many Smṛitis and Purâṇas; and often there were apparent inconsistencies and the law was doubtful. *Nibandhas* or digests, of which we have now so many, began to be written in this period, but the form which they first took, and which even now is one of the recognized forms, was that of commentaries on Smṛitis. Bhoja of Dhârâ, who belongs to the first part of this

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1 P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 183.
2 *Ib.* No. 189.
3 *Ib.* Nos. 190, 192 and 193.
4 Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 185.
5 Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., p. 4, and *infra*, Section XVI.

period, must have written a treatise on the subject, since under the name of Dhâres'vara he is referred to by Vijñâneśvara in his work. He was followed by Vijñâneśvara, who, as we have seen, lived at Kalyâṇa in the reign of Vikramâditya II. Aparârka, another commentator on Yâjñavalkya, who calls his work a *nibandha* on the *Dharmaśâstra* or institutes of Yâjñavalkya, was a prince of the Śilâhâra family of northern Konkan and was on the throne in S'aka 1109 (A.D. 1187) and in the cyclic year *Parâbhava.*[1] Or, if he was the earlier prince of that name, he must have flourished about fifty years before. This movement was continued in the next or thirteenth century by Hemâdri, and by Sâyaṇa in the fourteenth.

Genealogy of the Châlukya family between Vijayâditya and Tailapa as given in the Miraj grant of Jayasimha dated S'aka 946.

- Vijayâditya.
  - Vikramâditya II.
    - Kirtivarman II.
  - Another son.
    - Kîrtivarman.
      - Tailapa
        - Vikramâditya.
          - Ayyana, married the daughter of Krishna.
            - Vikramâditya, married Bomthâdevî the daughter of Lakshmana, king of Chedi.
              - Tailapa.

Genealogy of the later Châlukyas.

- 1. TAILAPA I. (S'aka 895-919. A.D. 973-997.)
  - 2. SATYÂS'RAYA, Irivibhujanga. (S'aka 919-930. A.D. 997-1008.)
  - Das'avarman.
    - 3. VIKRÂMADITYA I. (S'aka 930-940. A.D. 1008-1018.)
    - 4. JAYASIMHA, Jagadekamalla I. (S'aka 940-962. A.D. 1018-1040.)
      - 5. SOMES'VARA I., Âhavamalla, Trailokyamalla I. (S'aka 962-991. A.D. 1040-1069.)
        - 6. SOMES'VARA II., Bhuvanaikamalla. (S'aka 991-998. A.D. 1069.1076.)
        - 7. VIKRAMÂDITYA II., Tribhuvanamalla. (S'aka 998-1048. A.D. 1076-1126.)
          - 8. SOMES'VARA III., Bhûlokamalla. (S'aka 1048-1060. A.D. 1126-1138.)
            - 9. JAGADEKAMALLA II. (S'aka 1060-1072. A.D. 1138-1150.)
            - 10. TAILAPA II., Nurmadi Taila, Trailokyamalla II. (S'aka 1074-1087 ? A.D. 1150-1165.)
              - 11. SOMES'VARA IV (S'aká 1104-1111 ? A.D. 1182-1189.)
        - Jayasimha.

[1] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., pp. 334-335.

SECTION XIV.

The Yâdavas of Devagiri.

Early History of the Family.

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Authorities.

The genealogy of the Yâdavas is given in the introduction to the Vratakhaṇḍa attributed to or composed by Hemâdri who was a minister of Mahâdeva, one of the later princes of the dynasty. Some of the manuscripts of the work, however, do not contain it, and in others it begins with Bhillama, as it was he who acquired supreme power and raised the dynasty to importance. Others again contain an account of the family from the very beginning, the first person mentioned being the Moon who was churned out of the milky ocean. From the Moon the genealogy is carried down through all the Purâṇic or legendary ancestors to Mahâdeva. But it is not difficult from the account itself to determine where the legend ends and history begins. Besides, the names of most of the historical predecessors of Bhillama agree with those occurring in the copper-plate grant translated by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indraji.[1] He considered the Yâdava dynasty mentioned in his grant to be different from that of Devagiri and called it "A New Yâdava Dynasty," as, of course, in the absence of the information I now publish, he was justified in doing. But it is now perfectly clear that the princes mentioned in the grant were the ancestors of the Devagiri Yâdavas. The following early history of the family is based on the account given in the Vratakhaṇḍa[2] and on the grant published by the Paṇḍit. The latter, however, brings down the genealogy only to

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 119 *et seq.*

[2] The edition of the Vratakhaṇḍa in the Bibliotheca Indica contains neither of these two very valuable and important *Pras'astis.* I have therefore had recourse to manuscripts. There is one manuscript only in the Government collections deposited in the Library of the Dekkan College and that is No. 234 of Collection A of 1881-82 which was made by me. It contains the shorter Praśasti beginning with the reign of Bhillama. There is another copy in the collection belonging to the old Sanskrit College of Poona, which contains the longer Praśasti. Unfortunately, however, the third and fourth leaves of the manuscript are missing; and the second ends with Parammadeva the successor of Seuṇachandra II., while the fifth begins with some of the last stanzas of the introduction referring to Hemâdri and his works. The valuable portion therefore was in leaves 3 and 4; but that is irretrievably lost. I therefore endeavoured to procure copies from the private collections in the city of Poona and obtained one from Khâsgivâle's library. It contains the shorter Praśasti only. My learned friend Gaṅgâdhar S'âstrî Dâtâr procured another. In it the two, the shorter one and the longer, are jumbled together. There are in the commencement the first seventeen stanzas of the shorter, and then the longer one begins; and after that is over, we have the remaining stanzas of the shorter. This is the only manuscript of the four now before me which contains the whole of the longer Pras'asti, and the information it gives about the later princes of the dynasty known to us from the inscriptions is also valuable and new, but the manuscript is extremely incorrect. I therefore caused a search for other copies to be made at Nâsik, Kolhâpur, and Ahmedabad; but none was available at those places. I give the two Praśastis in Appendix C. [Since the first edition was published I have obtained and purchased another copy of the Vratakhaṇḍa for the Government collections. The introductory portion here is more correctly written, and I have used it in revising this section and the Praśasti in Appendix C.]

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Seuṇachandra II. who was on the throne in 991 Śaka or 1069 A.D., and omits the names of some of the intermediate princes. Two other grants by princes of this dynasty found at Saṁgamner and Kalas-Budruk of earlier dates[1] have been recently published, and these also have been compared.

Dridhaprahâra, the founder of the family.

Subâhu who belonged to the Yâdava race was a universal sovereign. He had four sons among whom he divided the whole earth ruled over by him. The second son Dṛiḍhaprahâra[2] became king in the south or Dekkan. The Yâdavas, it is stated, were at first lords of Mathurâ; then from the time of Kṛishṇa they became sovereigns of Dvâravatî or Dvârakâ; and came to be rulers of the south from the time of the son of Subâhu, *viz*. Dṛiḍhaprahâra. His capital was Śrînagara according to the Vratakhaṇḍa, while from the grant it appears to have been a town of the name of Chandrâdityapura, which may have been the modern Châṁdor in the Nâsik district. He had a son of the name of Seuṇachandra who succeeded to the throne. The country over which he ruled was called Seuṇades'a[3] after him, and he appears to have founded a town also of the name of Seuṇapura. Seuṇades'a was the name of the region extending from Nâsik to Devagiri, the modern Daulatâbâd, since later on we are told that Devagiri was situated in Seuṇades'a and that this latter was situated on the confines of Daṇḍakâraṇya.[4] This name seems to be preserved in the modern Khândes'. In a foot-note on the opening page of the Khândes' Volume, the Editor of the "Bombay Gazetteer" observes that the name of the country was older than Musalman times, and it was afterwards changed by them to suit the title of Khân given to the Fâruki kings by Ahmed I. of Gujarât. Seuṇades'a, therefore, was very likely the original name and it was changed to Khândes', which name soon came into general use on account of its close resemblance in sound to Seuṇades'a. The country however extended farther southwards than the present district of Khândes', since it included Devagiri or Daulatâbâd, and probably it did not include the portion north of the Tâpî.

Seuṇachandra I.

Seuṇades'a.

Seuṇachandra's successors.

Seuṇachandra's son Dhâḍiyappa[5] became king after him and he was succeeded by his son Bhillama. After Bhillama, his son S'rîrâja according to the grants, or Râjugi according to the other authority, came to the throne, and he was succeeded[6] by his son Vaddiga or Vâdugi. Vaddiga is in the Saṁgamner grant represented as a follower of Kṛishṇarâja who was probably Kṛishṇa III. of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty, and to have married Voddiyavvâ, daughter of a

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[1] Mr. Cousen's impression of the first of these grants was seen by me before it was published by Prof. Kielhorn in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II., p. 212 *et seq.*, and its contents embodied in the copy of this work revised for this second edition. I have, however, since availed myself of one or two points made out by Prof. Kielhorn and not noticed by me. The second grant is published in Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII., p. 120, *et seq.*

[2] He is called Dṛiḍhaprahâri (nom. sing.) in the MSS.; stanza 20, Appendix C. I.

[3] Stanza 22, Appendix C. I.

[4] Stanza 19, Appendix C. II.

[5] Called Dhâḍiyasa in the MSS.; Apppendix C. I., stanza 23.

[6] *Ibid.* Pandit Bhagvânlâl translates the words *arvâk tasya* (see note 6 below) occurring in the Yâdava grant as "before him," and placing Vaddiga before Śrîrâja, conjectures that he was Bhillama's son and that Śrîrâja his uncle deposed him and usurped the throne; (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., pp. 125*a* and 128*b*). But *arvâk tasya* can never

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prince of the name of Dhorappa. Then came Dhâḍiyasa,[1] who was the son of Vâdugi according to the Vratakhaṇḍa. Two of the grants omit his name, probably because he was only a collateral and not an ancestor of the grantor in the direct line, and the third has a line or two missing here. Dhâḍiyasa was succeeded by Bhillama, who was the son of Vaddiga or Vâdugi and consequently his brother.[2] Bhillama married according to the grants Lakshmî or Lachchiyavvâ,[3] the daughter of Jhañjha, who was probably the Śilahâra prince of Ṭhâṇâ of that name. Lachchiyavvâ sprang on her mother's side from the Râshṭrakûṭa family, and through her son became "the upholder of the race of Yadu;"[4] so that she was connected with three ruling dynasties and flourishing kingdoms. The Saṁgamner grant appears to have been issued by this Bhillama in the Śaka year 922, *i. e.* 1000 A.D., and the prince mentioned in

Bhillama II.

mean "before him," and must mean "after him", and hence the conjectures are groundless. I have never seen a *preceding* prince mentioned in the grants after his successor, with such an introductory expression as "*before him* so and so became king." By the occurrence of the word अजनिष्ट in stanza 23, line 2, Appendix C. I., it appears Râjagi was the son of Bhillama I.

[1] Appendix C. I. stanza 24. If he had been mentioned in the grant, he would probably have been called Dhâḍiyappa.

[2] *Ibid.* Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl omits this prince though he is mentioned in his grant. The last two lines of the fourth stanza in this are:—

आर्वात्तकस्य बभूव भूतलहरिः श्रीवाद्दिगाख्यो नृपः
तस्मात्श्रीवरभिल्लमक्षितिपतेः प्रत्यक्षधर्माभवत् ॥

The Paṇḍit translates this:—"Before him was the illustrious king Vaddiga, a Hari on earth; and therefore he was exactly like the illustrious good Bhillama in his actions." I have already remarked that instead of "before him," we should have "after him" here. The word तस्मात् is translated by "therefore." "Wherefore?" I would ask. No reason is given in the first of these lines for his being *exactly like* Bhillama; and therefore, it will not do to translate तस्मात् by "therefore." Again, the Paṇḍit's interpretation of प्रत्यक्षधर्मा as "exactly like in actions" is farfetched and unnatural. The thing is, the genitive or ablative क्षितिपतेः cannot be connected with any word in the line, and is therefore one of the innumerable mistakes which we have in this grant and most of which have been pointed out by the Paṇḍit himself. What is wanted here is the nominative क्षितिपतिः for क्षितिपतेः and then the whole is appropriate, and तस्मात् will have its proper sense of "after him," or "from him."

The correct translation then is "*After him* was a king of the name of Vaddiga the prosperous, who was a Hari on earth, and *after him* or *of him* (*i. e.* Vaddiga) came the prosperous, great Bhillama in whom Virtue became incarnate." In this way we have here another king Bhillama, as mentioned in the Praśasti in the Vratakhaṇḍa in the passage cited above.

[3] This lady, according to my translation, becomes the wife of Bhillama, who is the king mentioned immediately before, and not of his father Vaddiga as the Paṇḍit makes out.

[4] Here there is another difficulty arising from a mistake in the grant which Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl has in my opinion not succeeded in solving; and he bases upon that mistake conjectures which are rather too far-reaching (p. 125*a*, Ind. Ant., Vol. XII.). The stanza is:—

भार्या यस्य च झंझराजतनया श्रीलस्थियव्वाह्वया
धर्मत्यागविवेकबुध्दिसगुणा राष्ट्रकूटान्वया ।
या जाता नवबालनाजसमये यदन्वयाधारिता
सप्तांगोद्यतराज्यभारधरणाद्रायत्रयार्ध्या ततः॥

The Paṇḍit's translation is:—"Whose wife was the daughter of king Jhañjha Lasthiyavvâ by name, possessed of the (three) good qualities of virtue, liberality, and

the grant as having struck a blow against the power of Muñja and rendered the sovereign authority of Raṇaraṅgabhîma firm seems also to be he himself. Raṇaraṅgabhîma was probably Tailapa, and thus it follows that the Yâdava prince Bhillama II. assisted Tailapa in his war with Muñja which we have already noticed. Vaddiga was a follower of Krishṇa III. of the Râshṭrakûṭa family, whose latest known date is 881 Śaka, and Bhillama II. of Tailapa. The date 922 Śaka of Bhillama's grant is consistent with these facts. The Yâdavas appear thus to have transferred their allegiance from the old to the new dynasty of paramount sovereigns as soon as it rose to power. The next king was Vesugi[1] called in Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's grant Tesuka, which is a mistake or misreading for Vesuka or Vesuga. He married Nâyaladevî, the daughter of Gogi, who is styled a feudatory of the Châlukya family,[2] and was perhaps the same as the successor of the Ṭhâṇâ prince Jhañjha. The Râshṭrakûṭas must have been overthrown by the Châlukyas about the end of Jhañjha's reign, and thus his successor became a feudatory of the Châlukyas.

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hospitality, who was of the Râshṭrakûṭa race, *as being adopted (by them) at the time of the rule of the young prince (during his minority)* and who therefore by reason of bearing the burden of the kingdoms, with its seven aṅgas, was an object of reverence to the three kingdoms."

I agree with the Paṇḍit in reading श्री before राष्ट्रकूटान्वया and taking रायत्रय as राज्यत्रय, and, generally, in his translation of the first two and the fourth lines. But the translation of the third line, that is, the portion italicised in the above, is very objectionable. The Paṇḍit reads राज from नाज and says that the य in यदन्वया° ought to be long for the metre, but would make no sense. Now, in seeking the true solution of the difficulty here, we must bear in mind that in the fourth line the lady is spoken of as "an object of reverence to the three kingdoms." Which are the three kingdoms? First evidently, that of Jhañjha, her father, who is spoken of in the first line; and secondly, that of the Râshṭrakûṭas from whose race she is spoken of as having sprung in the second line. Now, we must expect some allusion to the third kingdom in the third line. The third kingdom was clearly that of the Yâdavas into whose family she had been married. I, therefore, read यद्रून्वया° for यदन्वया° and thus the difficulty about the metre is removed, the य becoming prosodially long in consequence of the following द्रू. In the same manner I think बालनाज is a mistake for बालजान The word जान the writer must have taken from his vernacular and considered it a Sanskrit word; or probably not knowing Sanskrit well, he must have formed it from the root जन् on the analogy of माद from मद्, नाद from नद्, मान from मन् &c. Or बालनाज may be considered as a mistake for बालजन्म, the sense being the same, viz. "birth of a child." The compound यद्रून्वयाधारिता is to be dissolved as आधारितः यद्रून्वयः यया। आधारित being made the second member according to Pâṇini II. 2, 37. Or, the line may be read as या याता नवबालजन्मसमये यद्रून्वयाधारतां, the dot over ता being omitted by mistake, and याता written as जाता in consequence of the usual confusion between य् and ज्. The translation of the line, therefore, is "who became the upholder of the race of Yadu on the occasion of the birth of a new child," *i. e.* through her child she became the upholder of the Yâdava race. In this manner the supposition of her being adopted by the Râshṭrakûṭas during the young prince's minority becomes groundless. She must have belonged to the Râshṭrakûṭa race on her mother's side.

[1] Stanza 24, Appendix C. I.

[2] The expression चालुक्यान्वयमण्डलीक in the grant admits of being taken in the manner I have done, मण्डलीक being a mistake for माण्डलिक. The Paṇḍit understands Gogirâja as belonging to the Châlukya race. I consider my interpretation to be more probable.

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Bhillama III., son-in-law of Jayasiṁha.

The Vratakhaṇḍa places Arjuna after Vesugi,[1] but the two grants omit his name; and perhaps the former mentions Arjuna not as a Yâdava prince, but Arjuna the Pâṇḍava, meaning to compare Vesugi with him and his enemies to Bhîshma. The next king was Bhillama[2] who according to the Kalas-Budruk grant was Vesugi's son. He married Hammâ, the daughter of Jayasiṁha and sister of Âhavamalla, the Châlukya emperor, under whose standard he fought several battles.[3] The Kalas-Budruk charter was issued by this prince in 948 Śaka. The cyclic year being Krodhana, 948 Śaka must have been the current year, corresponding to 1025 A.D. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's grant then proceeds at once to the donor, the reigning prince Seuṇa, who is spoken of in general terms as "having sprung from the race" of the last-mentioned king, and is represented to have defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after "the death of Bhillama." This Bhillama was his immediate predecessor, but he was a different person from the brother-in-law of Âhavamalla, since Seuṇa, is spoken of not as the son of the latter or any such near relation but simply as "having sprung from his race." The Vratakhaṇḍa supplies the names of the intermediate princes. The elder Bhillama was succeeded by Vâdugi,[4] his son, "whose praise was sung by poets in melodious words." After him Vesugi[5] became king, but how he was related to Vâdugi we are not told. He humbled a number of subordinate chiefs who had grown troublesome. Then came Bhillama, and after him Seuṇa[6] who issued the charter translated by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl. What relationship the last three princes bore to each other is not stated.

Seuṇachandra II., the ally of Vikramâditya II.

Seuṇa is represented to have saved Paramardideva, that is, Vikramâditya II., who is styled the "luminary of the Châlukya family" from a coalition of his enemies, and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyâṇa.[7] This appears to be a reference to the coalition between the Veṅgi prince and Vikramâditya's brother Someśvara. The Yâdava prince Seuṇa was thus a close ally of the Châlukya monarch and their dates also are consistent with the fact. Seuṇachandra's grant is dated Śaka 991 *Saumya Saṁvatsara*, while Vikramâditya II. got possession of the Châlukya throne in Śaka 998 *Nala*. The grant mentions the relations of previous Yâdava princes to the Châlukyas of Kalyâṇa, while the important service rendered by Seuṇachandra to Vikramâditya is not recorded, and he is spoken of only in general terms as having vanquished "all kings." This itself shows that in all likelihood the fact mentioned in the Vratakhaṇḍa of Seuṇachandra's having delivered that prince from his enemies and placed him on the throne took place after Śaka 991, and we know it as a matter of fact that Vikramâditya became king in Śaka 998.

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[1] Stanza 24, Appendix C. I. [2] Stanza 26, *Ibid.*

[3] This appears to me to be the general sense of stanza 8 and not that he fought with Âhavamalla as Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl understands. I need not discuss the matter in detail.

[4] Stanza 26, Appendix C. I. [5] Stanza 27, *Ibid.*

[6] Stanza 28. *Ib.* [7] Stanza 29, *Ib.*

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Successors of Seuṇachandra II.

Seuṇachandra was succeeded by Parammadeva who was probably his son, and after him came Siṁharâja[1] or "King Siṁha," whose full name was Siṅghaṇa[2] and who appears to have been his brother. He is said to have brought an elephant of the name of Karpûratilaka from Lañjîpura and thus did a piece of service to Paramardin, who appears to be Vikramâditya II. of the Châlukya dynasty.[3] He was succeeded by his son Mallugi, who took a town of the name of Parṇakheṭa from his enemies, and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala or Orissa.[4] Then followed his son Amaragâṅgeya[5] whose name is mentioned in a copper-plate grant issued in the reign of a subsequent king.[6] After him came Govindarâja who was probably his son. Govindarâja was succeeded by Amaramallagi, a son of Mallugi, and he by Kâliya Ballâḷa. This prince was in all likelihood the son of Amaramallagi, though it is not expressly stated. Ballâḷa's sons were set aside and the sovereignty of the Yâdava family fell into the hands of his uncle Bhillama,[7] who was possessed of superior abilities. Bhillama being represented as the uncle of Ballâḷa must have been another son of Mallugi, and he is so spoken of in the grant referred to above.[8] He got possession of the throne after two of his brothers and their sons, wherefore he must have been a very old man at the time. Hence it is that he reigned only for a short time, having come to the throne in Śaka 1109 and died in 1113. It was this Bhillama who acquired for his family the empire that was ruled over by the Châlukyas.

Bhillama V., the founder of the Yâdava Empire.

Seuṇachandra of Añjaneri.

Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl has published a stone-inscription[9] existing in a ruined temple at Añjaneri near Nâsik, in which a chief of the Yâdava family, named Seuṇadeva, is represented to have made some grant in the S'aka year 1063[10] to a Jaina temple. From the account given above, it will be seen that there were two princes only of the name of Seuṇa in the Yâdava family, and that the later of the two was an ally of Vikramâditya II., and consequently reigned about the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century of the S'aka

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[1] Stanzas 30 and 31, Appendix C. I.
[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 315.
[3] Stanza 32, Appendix C. I.
[4] Stanzas 33 and 34, *Ibid.*
[5] Stanza 35, *Ibid.*
[6] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., p. 386.
[7] Stanzas 35-37, Appendix C. I.
[8] In an inscription at Gadag published by Dr. Kielhorn (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., p. 219) Bhillama is represented as the son of Karṇa, who is said to be a brother of Amaragâṅgeya. In the many inscriptions of the Yâdava dynasty and in the Praśastis given in several books the name Karṇa does not occur even once. The Gadag inscription makes Mallugi the son of Sevaṇadeva, while in the Vratakhaṇḍa and the Paiṭhan plates he is represented as the son of Singhaṇa, who according to the former authority was one of the successors of Seuṇachandra and was probably his younger son. The inscription is here opposed to two authorities which agree with each other. Hence this must be a mistake; and that makes it probable that the other is also a mistake. These suppositions are strengthened by the fact that the composer of the Gadag inscription does not mention a single particular fact with reference to any one of the princes, thus showing that he had no accurate knowledge of them. Such a merely conventional description is characteristic of a forged charter. I am, for these reasons, inclined to think that the Gadag grant published by Dr. Kielhorn is a forgery.
[9] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 126.
[10] The correct year has been shown to be 1064 Śaka by Prof. Kielhorn, Ind. Ant., Vol. XX., p. 422.

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era. The Seuṇadeva of the Añjaneri inscription therefore cannot be this individual, and no other prince of that name is mentioned in the Vratakhaṇḍa. Besides Seuṇadeva calls himself pointedly a *Mahâsâmanta* or chief only; while about 1063 S'aka, when the Châlukya power had begun to decline, it does not appear likely that the Yâdavas of Seuṇades'a should give themselves such an inferior title. It therefore appears to me that the Seuṇadeva of Añjaneri belonged to a minor branch of the Yâdava family dependent on the main branch, and that the branch ruled over a small district of which Añjaneri was the chief city.

Approximate date of the foundation of the Yâdava family.

The number of princes who reigned from Dṛiḍhaprahâra to Bhillama V. inclusive is 22. There are in the list a good many who belonged to the same generation as their predecessors and consequently these twenty-two do not represent so many different generations. Allowing, therefore, the usual average, in such cases of 18 years to each reign, the period that must have elapsed between the accession of Dṛiḍhaprahâra and the death of Bhillama V. is 396 years. The dynasty, therefore, was founded about 717 Śaka or 795 A.D., that is, about the time of Govind III. of the Râshṭrakûṭa race. Possibly considering that Vaddiga I. was contemporary of Krishṇa III., one might say that the dynasty was founded in the latter part of the reign of Amoghavarsha I.

Genealogy of the early Yâdavas or the Yâdavas of Seuṇades'a.

Dṛiḍhaprahâra.
Seuṇachandra I.
Dhâḍiyappa I.
Bhillama I.
Râjagi or S'rîrâja.
Vâdugi or Vaddiga I.

Dhâḍiyappa II. | Bhillama II. Śaka 922.

Vesugi I.
Bhillama III. S'aka 948.
Vâdugi II.
Vesugi II.*
Bhillama IV.*
Seuṇachandra II.* S'aka 991 or A.D. 1069.

Parammadeva. | Siṅghaṇa.

Mallugi.

Amaragâṅgeya. | Amaramallagi. | BHILLAMA V. or I. died S'aka 1113 or A.D. 1191.

Govindarâja. | Ballâḷa.

*The relations of those whose names are marked with an asterisk to their predecessors are not clearly stated.

SECTION XV.

THE YÂDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

Later History.

Section XV.

Ambitious projects of the Hoysala Yâdavas.

We have seen that the Hoysaḷa Yâdavas of Haḷebiḍ in Maisur were becoming powerful in the time of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramâditya II. and aspiring to the supreme sovereignty of the Dekkan, and Vishṇuvardhana, the reigning prince of the family at that period, actually invaded the Châlukya territory and encamped on the banks of the Krishṇâ-Veṇâ. But those times were not favourable for the realization of their ambitious projects. The Châlukya prince was a man of great ability, the power of the family was firmly established over the country, its resources were large, and the dependent chiefs and noblemen were obedient. But the state of things had now changed. Weaker princes had succeeded, the Châlukya power had been broken by their dependents the Kalachuris, and these in their turn had succumbed to the internal troubles and dissensions consequent on the rise of the Liṅgâyata sect. At this time the occupant of the Hoysaḷa throne was Vîra Ballâḷa, the grandson of Vishṇuvardhana. He fought with Brâhma or Bomma, the general of the last Châlukya prince Somesvara IV., and putting down his elephants by means of his horses defeated him and acquired the provinces which the general had won back from Vijjaṇa.[1]

Vîra Ballâḷa.

Rise of Bhillama.

The Yâdavas of the north were not slow to take advantage of the unsettled condition of the country to extend their power and territory. Mallugi seems to have been engaged in a war with Vijjaṇa. A person of the name of Dâdâ was commander of his troops of elephants and is represented to have gained some advantages over the army of the Kalachuri prince. He had four sons of the names of Mahîdhara, Jahla, Sâmba, and Gaṅgâdhara. Of these Mahîdhara succeeded his father and is spoken of as having defeated the forces of Vijjaṇa.[2] But the acquisition of the empire of the Châlukyas was

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300.

[2] Introduction to Jahlâṇ's Sûktimuktavali, now brought to notice for the first time :

तस्यान्वयेऽभूत्करिवृन्दनाथो दादाः सदादाननिदानभृतः ।
यस्येक्षणाद्विज्जणभूपसैन्यं दैन्यं गतं संयति विक्रमेण ॥ ५ ॥

चत्वारस्तस्य संजातास्तनया नयशालिनः ।
भुजा इव हरेः शश्वद्विक्रमश्रीविभूषिताः ॥ ६ ॥

चतुर्मुखमुखोद्गीर्णनिगमा इव ते बभुः ।
ख्याता महीधरो जल्हः साम्बो गङ्गाधरस्तथा ॥ ७ ॥

उपायैरिव तैः काले चतुर्भिः सुप्रयोजितैः ।
मे (मै) लुगिक्षोणिपालस्य राज्यं जातं सदोन्नतम् ॥ ८ ॥
विज्जणबलजलराशिं विमथ्य भुजमन्दरेण यः कृतवान् ।
वीरश्रियमङ्कस्थां स न कस्य महीधरः स्तुत्यः ॥ ९ ॥

The full introduction will be published elsewhere.

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completed by Mallugi's son Bhillama. He captured a town of the name of Śrîvardhana from a king who is called Antala, vanquished in battle the king of Pratyaṇḍaka, put to death the ruler of Maṅgalaveshṭaka, (Maṅgaḷvedhem̐), of the name of Villaṇa, and having obtained the sovereignty of Kalyâṇa, put to death the lord of Hosala who was probbaly the Hoysala Yâdava Narasiṁha, the father of Vîra Ballâḷa.[1] The commander of his elephants was Jahla, the brother of Mahîdhara, and he is represented to have rendered Bhillama's power firm. He led a maddened elephant skilfully into the army of the Gûrjara king, struck terror into the heart of Malla, frightened the forces of Mallugi, and put an end to the victorious career of Muñja and Anna.[2] When in this manner Bhillama made himself master of the whole country to the north of the Kṛishṇâ, he founded the city of Devagiri[3] and having got himself crowned, made that city his capital. This took place about the S'aka year 1109.

Foundation of Devagiri.

Contests between the rivals.

Bhillama then endeavoured to extend his territory farther southwards, but he was opposed by Vîra Ballâḷa, who, as we have seen, had been pushing his conquests northwards. It was a contest for the possession of an empire and was consequently arduous and determined. Several battles took place between the two rivals, and eventually a decisive engagement was fought at Lokkiguṇḍi, now Lakkuṇḍi, in the Dhârvâḍ District, in which Jaitrasiṁha, who is compared to "the right arm of Bhillama" and must have been his son, was defeated and Vîra Ballâḷa became sovereign of Kuntala. The inscription in which this is recorded bears the date S'aka 1114 or A.D. 1192;[4] and Vîra Ballâḷa who made the grant recorded in it was at that time encamped with his victorious army at Lokkiguṇḍi, from which it would appear that the battle had taken place but a short time before. The northern Yâdavas had to put off the conquest of Kuntala or the Southern Marâṭhâ Country for a generation.

Jaitrapâla.

Bhillama was succeeded in 1113 Śaka by his son Jaitrapâla or Jaitugi. He took an active part in his father's battles. "He assumed

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[1] Appendix C. I., stanza 38. Maṅgaḷvedhem̐ is near Paṇḍharpur. It was probably the capital of a minor chief.

[2] Intr. Jahl. Sukt. :—

विजित्य विज्जणं याते सुरलोकं महीधरे ।
निनाय भिल्लमं जह्लो राजतां क्षयवर्जिताम् ॥ ११ ॥
गूर्जरभूभृत्कटके कण्टकविषमेऽतिदुर्गमे येन ।
भगदत्तकीर्तिभाजा दुष्टगजः स्वेच्छया नीतः ॥ १२ ॥
मल्लः पल्लवितोरुभीतिरभितस्त्रस्यद्बलो मैल्लुगि-
र्मुञ्जः पिण्डितविक्रमस्त्रिभुवनब्रह्मा किल ब्राह्मणः ।
अन्नो नुन्नपराक्रमो विधुतभूर्भञ्जूरणप्राङ्गणे
येनाकारि मुरारिविक्रमभृता किं किं न तस्योर्जितम् ॥ १३ ॥

The Mallugi mentioned here must have been one of the enemies of Bhillama. He probably belonged to a minor branch of the Yâdava family.

[3] Appendix C. I., st. 39.

[4] Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300.

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the sacrificial vow on the holy ground of the battle-field and throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of the ladles of his weapons, performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the lord of the Tailangas, and vanquished the three worlds."[1] This same fact is alluded to in the Paiṭhaṇ grant, in which Jaitugi is represented to have killed the king of the Trikaliṅgas in battle. He is there spoken of also as having released Gaṇapati from prison and to have placed him on the throne.[2] The Rudra therefore whom he is thus represented to have killed on the field of battle must have been the Rudradeva of the Kâkatîya dynasty whose inscription we have at Anamkoṇḍ near Worangaḷ, and the Gaṇapati, his nephew[3] who was probably placed in confinement by Rudradeva. In other places also his war with the king of the Andhras or Tailangas and his having raised Gaṇapati to the throne are alluded[4] to, and he is represented to have deprived the Andhra ladies of the happiness arising from having their husbands living.[5] Lakshmîdhara, the son of the celebrated mathematician and astronomer Bhâskarâcharya, was in the service of Jaitrapâla and was placed by him at the head of all learned Paṇḍits. He knew the Vedas and was versed in the Tarkaśâstra and Mîmâṁsâ.[6]

Siṅghaṇa.

Jaitrapâla's son and successor was Siṅghaṇa, under whom the power and territory of the family greatly increased. He ascended the throne in 1132 S'aka.[7] He defeated a king of the name of Jajjalla and brought away his elephants. He deprived a monarch named Kakkûla of his sovereignty, destroyed Arjuna who was probably the sovereign of Mâlvâ, and made Bhoja a prisoner. Janârdana, the son of Gaṅgâdhara, who was Jahla's brother, is said to have taught Siṅghaṇa the art of managing elephants which enabled him to vanquish Arjuna.[8] He had succeeded to the office of commander of elephants held by Jahla and after him by Gaṅgâdhara. "King Laksh-

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[1] Appendix C. I., st. 41. Just as the fruit of a horse sacrifice is the conquest of the whole world, the fruit of a man-sacrifice is supposed here to be the conquest of the three worlds. Jaitrapâla performed metaphorically such a sacrifice; and that is considered to be the reason, as it were, of his having obtained victories everywhere, *i. e.* in the usual hyperbolic language, of his having succeeded in vanquishing the three worlds.

[2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 316. [3] Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI., p. 197.

[4] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., p. 386, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., p. 113.

[5] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. I., N. S., p. 414. [6] *Ib.* p. 415.

[7] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 5.

[8] Intr. Jahl. Sukt. :—

आसीद्गङ्गाधरस्तस्य भ्राता गङ्गाधरोपमः ।
एकान्वबन्ध यो व्यालान्मुमोचैकान्यदृच्छया ॥ १६ ॥
तस्याभवत्सूनुरनूनसत्त्वो जनार्दनाह्वः करिवाहिनीशः ।
समुद्ववद्यो भुवनं बभार सह श्रिया चित्रमशेषमेतत् ॥ १८/
सिंहोऽप्यध्यापितस्तेन गजशिक्षां तदद्भुतम् ।
यजार्जुनं लसत्पत्रं समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २० ॥

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mîdhara, the lion of Bhambhâgiri, was reduced, the ruler of Dhârâ was besieged by means of troops of horses, and the whole of the country in the possession of Ballâḷa was taken. All this was but a child's play to King Siṅghaṇa."[1] Jajjalla must have been a prince belonging to the eastern branch of the Chedi dynasty that ruled over the province of Chhattisgarh, for that name occurs in the genealogy of that dynasty.[2] The name Kakkûla I would identify with Kokkala which was borne by some princes of the western branch of the family, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur. The kings of Mathurâ and Kâśî were killed by him in battle, and Hammîra was vanquished by but a boy-general of Siṅghaṇa[3] In an inscription also at Tiḷivaḷḷi in the Dhârvâḍ District, he is represented to have defeated Jajalladeva, conquered Ballâḷa the Hoysaḷa king, subdued Bhoja of Panhâḷâ, and humbled the sovereign of Mâlava.[4] He is also spoken of as "the goad of the elephant in the shape of the Gûrjara king."[5] We have an inscription of his at Gaddaka dated 1135 Śaka, which shows that Vîra Ballâḷa must have been deprived of the southern part of the country before that time.[6] Siṅghaṇa is represented as reigning at his capital Devagiri.[7]

The Bhoja of Panhâḷâ spoken of above was a prince of the Śilâhâra dynasty, and after his defeat the Kolhâpur kingdom appears to have been annexed by the Yâdavas to their dominions. They put an end to this branch of the family as later on they did to another which ruled over Northern Konkan. From this time forward the Kolhâpur inscriptions contain the names of the Yâdava princes with those of the governors appointed by them to rule over the district. An inscription of Siṅghaṇa at Khedrâpur in that district records the grant of a village to the temple of Koppeśvara in the year 1136 Śaka.

Siṅghaṇa's invasions of Gujarât.

Siṅghaṇa seems to hava invaded Gujarât several times. In an inscription at Âmbeṁ a Brâhmaṇ chief of the name of Kholeśvara of the Mudgala Gotra is spoken of as a very brave general in the service of the Yâdava sovereign. He humbled the pride of the Gûrjara prince, crushed the Mâḷava, destroyed the race of the king of the Âbhîras, and being like "wild fire to the enemies" of his master, left nothing for Siṅghaṇa to be anxious about. His son Râma succeeded him, and a large expedition under his command was again sent to Gujarât. Râma advanced up to the Narmadâ, where a battle was fought, in which he slew numbers of Gûrjara soldiers, but he himself lost his life.[8] From this it would appear that Gujarât was invaded by Siṅghaṇa on two occasions at least, if not more; and this is borne out by what we find stated in the authorities

[1] Appendix C. I., st. 43 and 44. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 316.
[2] General Cunningham's Arch. Reports, Vol. XVII., pp. 75, 76 and 79.
[3] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. I., N. S., p. 414.
[4] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 326.
[5] Major Graham's Report on Kolhapur, Ins. No. 13.
[6] Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 297.
[7] Major Graham's Report, Ins, No. 10.
[8] Arch. Surv. of W. I, Vol. III., p. 85.

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First Invasion.

for the history of Gujarât. Somadeva, the author of the Kîrttikaumudî, which gives an account of the minister Vastupâla and his masters the princes of the Vâghelâ branch of the Chaulukya family, describes an invasion of Gujarât by Siṅghaṇa in the time of Lavaṇaprasâda and his son Vîradhavala. "The capital of Gujarât trembled with fear when the advance of Siṅghaṇa's army was reported. Being afraid of this foreign invasion no one among the subjects of the Gûrjara king began the construction of a new house or stored grain, and the minds of all were restless. Neglecting to secure the grain in their fields they showed a particular solicitude to procure carts, and as the army of the enemy approached nearer and nearer, the people with their fears greatly excited removed farther and farther. When Lavaṇaprasâda heard of the rapid advance of the innumerable host of the Yâdava prince, he knit his brow in anger; and though he had but a small army, proceeded with it to meet that of the enemy, which was vastly superior. When the forces of Siṅghaṇa arrived on the banks of the Tâpî he rapidly advanced to the Mahî. Seeing, on the one hand, the vast army of the enemy and, on the other, the indomitable prowess of the Chaulukya force, the people were full of doubt and could not foresee the result. The enemy burnt villages on their way, and the volume of smoke that rose up in the air showed the position of their camp to the terrified people and enabled them to direct their movements accordingly. The Yâdavas overran the country about Bharoch while the plentiful crops were still standing in the fields; but the king of Gujarât did not consider them unconquerable."[1] In themean while, however, four kings of Mârvâḍ rose against Lavaṇaprasâda and his son Vîradhavala, and the chiefs of Godhrâ and Lâṭa, who had united their forces with theirs, abandoned them and joined the Mârvâḍ princes. In these circumstances Lavaṇaprasâda suddenly stopped his march and turned backwards.[2] The Yâdava army, however, did not, according to Someśvara, advance farther; but he gives no reason whatever, observing only that "deer do not follow a lion's path even when he has left it."[3] But if the invasion spread such terror over the country as Someśvara himself represents, and the army of Siṅghaṇa was so large, it is impossible to conceive how it could have ceased to advance when the Gûrjara prince retreated, unless he had agreed to pay a tribute or satisfied the Yâdava commander in some other way. In a manuscript discovered some years ago of a work containing forms of letters, deeds, patents, &c., there is a specimen of a treaty with the names of Siṃhaṇa and Lavaṇaprasâda as parties to it, from which it appears that a treaty of that nature must actually have been concluded between them.[4] The result of the expedition,

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[1] Kirttikaumudî IV., stanzas 43 - 53.

[2] *Ib.*, st. 55 - 60. [3] *Ib.*, st. 63.

[4] This work is entitled Lekhapañchâśikâ, and the manuscript was purchased by me for Government in 1883. The first leaf is wanting and the colophon does not contain the name of the author. The manuscript, however, is more than four hundred years old, being transcribed in 1536 of the Vikrama Saṁvat. For the variable terms

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therefore, was that Lavaṇaprasâda had to submit and conclude a treaty of alliance with Siṅghaṇa.

Second Invasion.

This invasion of Gujarât must have been one of the earlier ones alluded to in the Âmbeṁ inscription, and Kholes'vara himself must have been the commander of the Yâdava army on the occasion. For Lavaṇaprasâda is said to have declared himself independent of his original master Bhîma II. of Anahilapattana about the year 1276 Vikrama,[1] corresponding to 1141 S'aka, which was about the ninth or tenth year of Siṅghaṇa's reign, and the work in which the treaty mentioned above occurs was composed in 1288 Vikrama, *i. e.* 1153 S'aka. But the expedition under the command of Râma, the son of Kholeśvara, must have been sent a short time before S'aka 1160, the date of the Âmbeṁ inscription. For Râma's son is represented to have been a minor under the guardianship of that chief's sister Lakshmî, who governed the principality in the name of the boy. Râma, therefore, had not died so many years before S'aka 1160 as to allow of his boy having attained his majority by that time. On the occasion of this expedition Vîsaladeva, the son of Vîradhavala, was the sovereign of Gujarât. For in an inscription of his he boasts

in the forms given by the author, he often uses the usual expression *amuka*, meaning "some one" or "such a one." This general expression, however, is not used to indicate the date, and we have in all the forms one date, *viz.* 15 Sudi of Vais'âkha, in the year of Vikrama 1288, except in one case where it is the 3rd Sudi. This probably was the date when the author wrote. Similarly, when giving the form of a grant inscribed on copper-plates, the author in order probably to make the form clear, uses real and specific names. He gives the genealogy of the Chaulukya kings of Anahilapattana from Mûlarâja to Bhîma II. and then introduces Lavaṇaprasâda, whom he calls Lâvaṇyaprasâda and styles a Mahâmaṇḍales'vara, as the prince making the grant. Similarly, in giving the form of a treaty of alliance called *yamalapattra*, the persons who are introduced as parties to it are Siṁhaṇa and Lâvayṇaprasâda and the form runs thus :—

संवत् १२८८ वर्षे वैशाखशुदि १५ सोमेऽद्येह श्रीमद्विजयकटके महाराजाधिराजश्री-मत्सिंहणदेवस्य महामण्डलेश्वरराणकश्रीलावण्यप्रसादस्य च । संराज(साम्राज्य or सम्राट्) कुलश्रीश्रीमत्सिंहणदेवेन महामण्डलेश्वरराणश्रीलावण्यप्रसादेन पूर्वरूढ्यात्मीय २ (i.e., आत्मीय again) देशेषु रहणीयं । केनापि कस्यापि भूमी नाक्रमणीया ।

"On this day the 15th Sudi of Vais'âkha, in the year Saṁvat 1288, in the Camp of Victory, [a treaty] between the paramount king of kings, the prosperous Siṁhaṇa and the Mahâmaṇḍales'vara Râṇaka, the prosperous Lâvaṇyaprasâda. Siṁhaṇa whose patrimony is paramount sovereignty, and the Mahâmaṇḍales'vara Râṇâ the prosperous Lâvaṇyaprasada should according to former usage confine themselves, each to his own country; neither should invade the country of the other."

The treaty then provides that when either of them is taken up by an enemy, the armies of both should march to his release; that if a prince from either country ran away into the other with some valuable things, he should not be allowed quarter, &c. Now, it is extremely unlikely that the author of the work should introduce these persons in his form unless he had seen or heard of such a treaty between them. Siṁhaṇa is but another form of Siṅghaṇa, and he is spoken of as a paramount sovereign. The treaty, it will be seen, was concluded in the "victorious camp," which is a clear reference to the invasion described by Someśvara.

In रहणीयं we have, I think, the vernacular root रह "to remain," "to live." For further details see my Report on the search for manuscripts during 1882-83, pp. 39 and 225.

[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 190.

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of his having been "the submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Siṅghaṇa's army,"[1] and he must have succeeded his father about the year 1292 Vikrama corresponding to S'aka 1157,[2] though he obtained possession of the throne at Aṇahilapattana in Vikrama 1302, corresponding to Śaka 1167 and 1246 A.D. The foundation of his boast was probably the fact of Râma's having been killed in the battle. What the ultimate result was, however, the inscription does not inform us.

Conquests in the South.

Siṅghaṇa appointed one Bîchaṇa or Bîcha, the son of Chikka and younger brother of Malla, to be governor of the southern provinces and his viceroy there. He fought with his master's enemies in the south as Kholeśvara did in the north and kept them in check. Bîchaṇa is represented to have humbled the Raṭṭas who were petty feudatories in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, the Kadambas of Konkan, *i. e.* of Goa, the Guttas sprung from the ancient Guptas, who held a principality in the south, the Pâṇḍyas, the Hoysaḷas, and the chiefs of other southern provinces, and to have erected a triumphal column on the banks of the Kâverî.[3] The date of the grant in which all this is recorded is Śaka 1160 or A.D. 1238.

Siṅghaṇa's titles.

It thus appears that the Yâdava empire became in the time of Siṅghaṇa as extensive as that ruled over by the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties. The full titles of a paramount sovereign are given to Siṅghaṇa in his inscriptions, such as "the support of the whole world," "the lover of the earth (*Pṛithvîvallabha*)," and "king of kings." Since Kṛishṇa, the eighth incarnation of Vishṇu, is represented in the Purâṇas to have belonged to the Yâdava family, the princes of Devagiri called themselves *Vishṇuvaṁśodbhava*;[4] and as Kṛishṇa and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvârakâ, they assumed the title of *Dvâravatîpuravarâdhîśvara*, "the supreme lord of Dvâravatî, the best of cities."[5] In the reign of Siṅghaṇa as well as of his two predecessors the office of chief secretary or *Śrîkaraṇâdhipa*, which in a subsequent reign was conferred on Hemâdri, was held by a man of the name of Soḍhala. He was the son of Bhâskara, a native of Kaśmîr who had settled in the Dekkan. Soḍhala's son S'ârṅgadhara wrote in this reign a treatise on music entitled Saṁgîtaratnâkara which is extant.[6] There is a commentary

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., pp. 191 and 212.

[2] Vîradhavala, it is said, died not long before Vastupâla. The death of the latter took place in Vikrama 1297. Vastupâla was minister to Vîsaladeva also for some time. We might, therefore, refer the accession of the latter to Vikrama 1292. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 190.

[3] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., pp. 386-7, and Vol. XII., p. 43.

[4] *i. e.* "of the race of Vishnu."

[5] Graham's Report, Ins. No. 10, and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 7.

[6] तस्याभूत्तनयः प्रभूतविनयः श्रीसोढलः प्रौढधीर्येन श्रीकरणप्रवृध्दविभवं भूवल्लभं भिल्लमम् । आराध्याखिललोकशोकशमनी कीर्त्तिः समासादिता जैत्रे जैत्रपदं न्यधायि महतां श्रीसिङ्घणे श्रीरपि ॥ Then follows one verse in praise of Siṅghaṇa and two in praise of

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on this work attributed to a king of the name of Siṅga who is represented as a paramount sovereign of the Andhra circle. This Siṅga appears in all likelihood to be Siṅghaṇa; and the commentary was either written by him or dedicated to him by a dependant, as is often the case.[1] Châṅgadeva, the grandson of Bhâskarâchârya and son of Lakshmîdhara, was chief astrologer to Siṅghaṇa; and also Anantadeva, the grandson of Bhâskarâchârya's brother Śrîpati and son of Gaṇapati. Châṅgadeva founded a Maṭha or college for the study of his grandfather's Siddhântaśiromaṇi and other works at Pâṭṇâ in the Châlisgaṁv division of the Khândeś district, and Anantadeva built a temple at a village in the same division and dedicated it to Bhavânî on the 1st of Chaitra in the S'aka year 1144 *expired.*[2]

Jaitrapâla, Siṅghaṇa's son, died before him.

Siṅghaṇa's son was Jaitugi or Jaitrapâla, who "was the abode of all arts, and was thus the very moon in opposition, full of all the digits, that had come down to the earth, to protect it. He was death to hostile kings and firm in unequal fights."[3] But if he protected the earth at all he must have done so during the lifetime of his father as *Yuvarâja*, for the latest date of Siṅghaṇa is Śaka 1169, and in a copper-plate inscription of his grandson and Jaitugi's son Krishṇa, S'aka 1175, *Pramâdi-Saṁvatsara,* is stated to be the seventh of his reign, so that Krishṇa began to reign in S'aka 1169 corresponding to 1247 A.D.[4] And in the longer of the two historical introductions to the Vratakhaṇḍa, Jaitugi is not mentioned at all. After Siṅghaṇa, we are told that his grandsons Krishṇa and Mahâdeva came to the throne, of whom the elder Krishṇa reigned first.[5] Krishṇa's Prâkrit name was Kanhâra, Kanhara, or Kandhâra. He is represented to have been the terror of the kings of Mâlava, Gujarât, and Konkan, to have "established the king of Teluṅga," and to have been the sovereign of the country of the Chola king.[6] In the Vratakhaṇḍa also he is said to have destroyed the army of Vîsala, who we know was sovereign of Gujarât at this time and who had been at war with Siṅghaṇa, and, in general terms, to have "conquered a great many enemies in bloody battles in which numbers of horses and elephants were engaged, reduced some to captivity and compelled others to seek refuge in forests, and, having thus finished the work of vanquishing the series of earthly kings, to have marched to the heavenly world to conquer Indra."[7] Laksh-

Krishṇa.

Soḍhala in which he is represented to have pleased Siṅghaṇa by his merits and to have conferred benefits on all through the wealth and influence thus acquired; and then we have तस्माद्दुग्धाम्बुधेर्जातः शार्ङ्गदेवः सुधाकरः । उपर्युपरि सर्वान्यः सदोदारः स्फुरत्करः ॥ Introduction to Saṁgîtaratnâkara, No. 979, Collection of 1887–91, Dekk. Coll. इति श्रीमदनविनोदश्रीकरणाधिपतिश्रीसोढलनन्दननिःशङ्कश्रीशार्ङ्गदेवविरचिते संगीतरत्नाकरे प्रकीर्णकाध्यायस्तृतीयः समाप्तः fol. 122*a*.

[1] My Report on MSS. for 1882-83, pp. 37, 38 and 222.

[2] Jour. R. A. S., Vol. I., N.S., p. 415, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., p. 113.

[3] Appendix C. II., st. 7.

[4] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 42.

[5] Appendix C. I., st. 45.

[6] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 38.

[7] That is, "left this world," "died", Appendix C. II., st. 11.

mîdeva, son of Janârdana, is represented by his wise counsels to have helped Krishṇa to consolidate his power and to have by his sword subdued his enemies.[1] Krishṇa performed a great many sacrifices and thus "brought fresh strength to the Vedic ceremonial religion which in the course of time had lost its hold over the people." In a copper-plate grant dated S'aka 1171, found in the Belgaum Tâluka, Malla or Mallisetṭi is spoken of as the elder brother of Bîcha or Bîchaṇa, the viceroy of Siṅghaṇa in the south, and was himself governor of the province of Kuhuṇḍi. He lived at Mudugala, probably the modern Mudgala, and gave, by the consent of Krishṇa, his sovereign, lands in the village of Bâgevâḍi to thirty-two Brâhmaṇs of different Gotras.[2] Among the family names of these it is interesting to observe some borne by modern Mahârâshṭra Brâhmaṇs, such as *Paṭavardhana* and *Ghaisâsa*, prevalent among Chitpâvanas, and *Ghaḷisâsa*, *Ghaḷisa*, and *Pâṭhaka*, among Deśasthas. The name *Trivâḍi* also occurs; but there is no trace of it among Marâṭhâ Brâhmaṇs, while it is borne by Brâhmaṇs in Gujarât and Upper Hindustan. In another grant, Chauṇḍa the son of Bîchaṇa, who succeeded to the office and title of his father, is represented to have personally solicited king Krishṇa at Devagiri to permit him to grant the village mentioned therein.[3] Jahlaṇa, son of Lakshmîdeva who had succeeded his father, assisted Krishṇa diligently by his counsels in conjunction with his younger brother. He was commander of the troops of elephants and as such fought with Krishṇa's enemies. He compiled an anthology of select verses from Sanskrit poets, called Sûktimuktâvali, which is extant.[4] The Vedânta-kalpataru, which is a commentary on Vâchaspatimiśra's Bhâmatî

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[1] Intr. Jahl. Sukt. :—

विश्वत्राणपरायणः स्फुरदुरुस्वर्णार्चितार्थिव्रज-
स्तस्मादद्भुतविक्रमः समभवच्छ्रीलक्ष्मिदेवः सुधीः ।
मन्त्रैर्निर्जितदेवमन्त्रिधिषणैर्जाम्भन्नयप्रक्रमै
राज्यं कृष्णमहीपतेरविकलं दत्वा स्थिरं योऽव्यधात् ॥ २१ ॥
अगस्त्य इव यस्यासिर्न्यञ्चितक्षितिभृद्भभौ ।
चित्रं सोप्यकरोन्नृत्यत्कबन्धसमरार्णवम् ॥ २२ ॥

[2] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 27. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., 304. Kuhuṇḍi corresponds to a part of the modern Belgaum district.

[3] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 43.

[4] Intr. Jahl. Sukt. :—

तस्यास्ते तनयो नयोदधिविधुर्बन्धुर्बुधानां सुधीः
सारासारविचारणासु चतुरः श्रीजह्लणाख्यः क्षितौ ॥ २६ ॥
मत्पित्रा दत्तमस्मै प्रतिहतबलवद्द्विषि सर्गोपसर्गे
राज्यं प्राज्यप्रभावप्रथितगुणभृता कृष्णराजाय भक्त्या ।
तन्निर्वाह्यं मयेति द्विगुणितधिषणाशक्तिभक्तिर्विधत्ते
सर्वं यः स्वाधि (मि)कार्यं हितमनयद्दता भावुकेनानुजेन ॥ २७ ॥
ध्रुवं यस्यास्ति हस्ताब्जे मदान्धा करिवाहिनी ।
दानोदकप्रवाहोत्र दृश्यते कथमन्यथा ॥ २८ ॥

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which itself is a commentary on Śaṁkarâchârya's Vedântasûtrabhâshya, was written by Amalânanda in the reign of Kṛishṇa.[1]

Mahâdeva.

Kṛishṇa was succeeded by his brother Mahâdeva in 1182 S'aka or 1260 A.D. "He was a tempestuous wind that blew away the heap of cotton in the shape of the king of the Tailaṅga country, the prowess of his arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gûrjara, he destroyed the king of Konkan with ease, and reduced the arrogant sovereigns of Karṇâta and Lâṭa to mockery."[2] The Gûrjara here mentioned must be Vîsaladeva noticed above, as Mahâdeva is represented in the Paiṭhaṇ grant to have vanquished him;[3] and the king of Karṇâta was probably a Hoysaḷa Yâdava of Haḷebîd. "King Mahâdeva never killed a woman, a child, or one who submitted to him; knowing this and being greatly afraid of him, the Andhras placed a woman on the throne; and the king of Mâlava also for the same reason installed a child in his position, and forthwith renouncing all his possessions practised false penance for a long time. He took away in battle the elephants and the five musical instruments of the ruler of Tailaṅgaṇa, but left the ruler Rudramâ as he refrained from killing a woman."[4] In a work on Poetics called Pratâparudrîya by Vidyânatha there occurs a specimen of a dramatic play in which Gaṇapati of the Kâkatîya dynasty, the same prince who is represented in the Paiṭhaṇ grant to have been released from confinement by Jaitugi, is mentioned as having left his throne to his daughter, whom, however, he called his son and named Rudra, and who is spoken of as "a king" and not queen. She adopted Pratâparudra, the son of her daughter, as her heir. This, therefore, was the woman spoken of above as Rudramâ and as having been placed on the throne by the Andhras.[5] "Soma, the lord of Konkan, though skilled in swimming in the sea, was together with his forces drowned in the rivers formed by the humour trickling from the temples of Mahâdeva's maddened elephants." "Mahâdeva deprived Someśvara of his kingdom and his life."[6] We have seen that Kṛishṇa fought with the king of Konkan, but it appears he did not subjugate the country thoroughly. His successor Mahâdeva, however, again invaded it with an army consisting of a large number of elephants.

Conquest of Northern Konkan.

तेनेयं क्रियते वीक्ष्य सत्सुभाषितसंग्रहान् ।
सूक्तिमुक्तावलीकण्ठकन्दलीभूषणं सताम् ॥ ३८ ॥

[1] Transactions Ninth Congress of Orientalists, Vol. I., p. 423.

[2] Appendix C. I., st. 48, and II., st. 13. [3] Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p., 316.

[4] Appendix C. I., st. 52, and II., st. 14 and 15.

[5] एवमेतत् । अन्यथा कथमीश्वरप्रसादादृते निरङ्कुशं स्त्रीव्यक्तिविशेषस्य लोकाधिपत्यम् । एवं मानुषशम्भुना गणपतिमहाराजेनाभ्यन्तरस्यानुभावस्य सदृशमत्र पुत्र इति व्यवहारः कृतस्तदनुगुणा च रुद्र इत्याख्या । Poona lithographed edition of Śaka 1771, fol. 29. See also Dr. Hultzsch's paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI., pp. 198, 199.

[6] Appendix C. I., st. 49, 50, and II., st. 17.

Soma or Someśvara was completely defeated on land and his power broken, whereupon he appears to have betaken himself to his ships. There somehow he met with his death,[1] probably by being drowned, for it is said that "even the sea did not protect him" and that "he betook himself to the submarine fire," thinking the fire of Mahâdeva's prowess to be more unbearable.[2] Konkan was thereupon annexed to the territories of the Yâdavas. Hence it is that the country was governed by a viceroy appointed by the Devagiri king during the time of Mahâdeva's successor, as we find from the Ṭhânâ plates published by Mr. Wathen.[3] The Someśvara whom Mahâdeva subdued belonged to the S'ilâhâra dynasty of Ṭhânâ that had been ruling over that part of Konkan for a considerable period. He is the last prince of the dynasty whose inscriptions are found in the district, and his dates are S'aka 1171 and 1182.[4] Mahâdeva like his predecessors reigned at Devagiri, which is represented as the capital of the dynasty to which he belonged and as situated in the country called Seuṇa on the borders of Daṇḍakâraṇya. "It was the abode of the essence of the beauty of the three worlds and its houses rivalled the peaks of the mountain tenanted by gods, and the Seuṇa country deserved all the sweet and ornamental epithets that might be applied to it."[5] At Paṇḍharpur there is an inscription dated 1192 S'aka, *Pramoda Saṁvatsara,* in which Mahâdeva is represented to have been reigning at the time. He is there called *Prauḍhapratâpa Chakravartin,* or "Paramount sovereign possessing great valour." The inscription records the performance of an *Aptoryâma* sacrifice by a Brâhmaṇ chief of the name of Keśava belonging to the Kaśyapa Gotra.

Râmachandra or Râmadeva.

The immediate successor of Mahâdeva was Âmaṇa[6] who appears to have been his son; but the sovereign power was soon wrested from his hands by the rightful heir Râmachandra, son of Kṛishṇa, who ascended the throne in 1193 S'aka or 1271 A.D. He is called Râmadeva or Râmarâja also. In the Ṭhânâ copper-plate grants he is spoken of as "a lion to the proud elephant in the shape of the lord of Mâlava," from which it would appear that he was at war with that country. He is also called "the elephant that tore up by the root the tree in the shape of the Tailaṅga king." This must be an allusion to his wars with Pratâparudra the successor of Rudramâ, which are mentioned in the work noticed above. Several other epithets occur in the grants; but they are given as mere *birudas* or titles which were inherited by Râmachandra from his predecessors, and do not point to any specific events in his reign. His inscriptions are found as far to the south as the confines of Maisur, so that the empire

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1 Appendix C. I., st. 49.

2 *Ib.* I., st. 51, and II., st. 18.

3 Jour. R. A. S. (old series), Vol. V., p. 177.

4 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIII., Part II., p. 422.

5 Appendix C. II., st. 19 and 20. "The mountain tenanted by gods" may be the Himâlaya or Meru. In this epithet there is a reference to the etymology of Devagiri which means "a mountain of or having gods."

6 Paiṭhaṇ grant, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 317.

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he ruled over was as large as it ever was. There is in the Dekkan College Library a manuscript of the Amarakos'a written in Konkan on Tâla leaves during his reign in the year 4398 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to S'aka 1219 and A.D. 1297. His viceroy in Konkan in S'aka 1212 was a Brâhmaṇ named Krishṇa belonging to the Bhâradvâja Gotra, whose grandfather Padmanâbha first acquired royal favour and rose into importance in the reign of Siṅghaṇa. One of the Ṭhânâ grants was issued by him, and the other dated 1194 S'aka by Achyuta Nâyaka, who was also a Brâhmaṇ and who appears to have been a petty chief and held some office which is not stated. Where he resided is also not clear. By the Paiṭhaṇ copper-plate charter, which was issued in Śaka 1193, Râmachandra assigned three villages to fifty-seven Brâhmaṇs on conditions some of which are rather interesting. The Bráhmaṇs and their descendants were to live in those villages, not to mortgage the land, allow no prostitutes to settle there, prevent gambling, use no weapons, and spend their time in doing good deeds.[1]

Hemâdri, the minister of Mahâdeva and Râmadeva.

Hemâdri, the celebrated author, principally of works on Dharmas'âstra, flourished during the reigns of Mahâdeva and Râmachandra and was minister to both. In the introduction to his works on Dharmaśâstra he is called Mahâdeva's *Śrîkaraṇâdhipa* or *Śrîkaraṇaprabhu*. In the Ṭhânâ copper-plate of 1194 S'aka also, he is said to have taken upon himself the *âdhipatya* or controllership of all *karaṇa*. This office seems to have been that of chief secretary or one who wrote and issued all orders on behalf of his master and kept the state record. Hemâdri is also called *Mantrin* or counsellor generally. In his other works and in the Ṭhânâ plate Râmarâja instead of Mahâdeva is represented as his master. Mahâdeva's genealogy and his own are given at the beginning of his works on Dharma. Sometimes the former begins with Siṅghaṇa, sometimes with Bhillama, while in the Dânakhaṇḍa the exploits of Mahâdeva alone are enumerated. The description of the several princes is often couched in general terms and consists of nothing but eulogy. But the Vratakhaṇḍa, which was the first work composed by Hemâdri, contains, as we have seen, a very valuable account of the dynasty from the very beginning, and by far the greater portion of it is undoubtedly historical.

Hemâdri's Works.

Hemâdri was a Brâhmaṇ of the Vatsa Gotra. His father's name was Kâmadeva, grandfather's, Vâsudeva, and great-grandfather's, Vâmana.[2] He is described in terms of extravagant praise; and the historical truth that may be gleaned from it appears to be this. Hemâdri was very liberal to Brâhmaṇs and fed numbers of them every day. He was a man of learning himself, and learned men found a generous patron in him. He is represented to be religious and pious, and at the same time very brave. He evidently possessed a great deal of influence. Whether the voluminous works attributed to him were really written by him may well be questioned; but the

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 319.

[2] Paris'eshakhaṇḍa, Ed. Bib. Ind., pp. 4-5.

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idea at least of reducing the religious practices and observances that had descended from times immemorial to a system must certainly have been his, and must have been carried out under his supervision.

Chaturvarga Chintâmaṇi.

His great work is called the *Chaturvarga Chintâmaṇi*, which is divided into four parts, viz., (1) *Vratakhaṇḍa*, containing an exposition of the religious fasts and observances; (2) *Dânakhaṇḍa*, in which the several gifts to which great religious importance is attached are explained; (3) *Tîrthakhaṇḍa*, which treats of pilgrimages to holy places; and (4) *Mokshakhaṇḍa*, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth. There is a fifth *Khaṇḍa* or part which is called *Pariśeshakhaṇḍa* or appendix, which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities that should be worshipped, (2) on *Śrâddhas* or offerings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rites, and (4) on *Prâyaśchitta* or atonement. All these works are trepele with a great deal of information and innumerable quotations. They are held in great estimation, and future writers on the same subjects draw largely from them. A commentary called *Âyurvedarasâyana* on a medical treatise by Vâgbhaṭa and another on Bopadeva's *Muktâphala*, a work expounding Vaishṇava doctrines, are also attributed to him.

Other works.

Bopadeva.

This Bopadeva was one of Hemâdri's protegees and the author of the work mentioned above and of another entitled Harilîlâ, which contains an abstract of the Bhâgavata. Both of these were written at the request of Hemâdri as the author himself tells us.[1] Bopadeva was the son of a physician named Keśava and the pupil of Dhaneśa. His father as well as his teacher lived at a place called Sârtha situated on the banks of the Varadâ. Bopadeva, therefore, was a native of Berâr. Bopadeva, the author of a treatise on grammar called *Mugdhabodha*, appears to be the same person as this, since the names of the father and the teacher there mentioned are the same as those we find in these works. A few medical treatises also, written by Bopadeva, have come down to us.

Hemâḍpant of the Marâṭhâs.

Hemâdri has not yet been forgotten in the Marâṭhâ country. He is popularly known by the name of Hemâḍpant and old temples throughout the country of a certain structure are attributed to him. He is said to have introduced the Moḍî or the current form of writing and is believed to have brought it from Laṅkâ or Ceylon. As chief secretary he had to superintend the writing of official papers and records, and it is possible he may have introduced some improvements in the mode of writing.

Jñânes'vara, the Marâṭhâ sâdhu.

The great Marâṭhâ *sâdhu* or saint Jñâneśvara or Dnyânes'vara as his name is ordinarily pronounced, flourished during the reign of

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1 विद्वद्धनेशशिष्येण भिषक्केशवसूनुना । हेमाद्रिर्बोपदेवेन मुक्ताफलमचीकरत् ॥
श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्धाध्यायार्थादि निरूप्यते । विदुषा बोपदेवेन मन्त्रिहेमाद्रितुष्टये ॥
Dr. Rájendrâlâl's notices of Skr. MSS., Vol. II., pp. 48 and 200.

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Râmachandra. At the end of his Marâṭhî commentary on the Bhagavadgîtâ he tells us: "In the Kali age, in the country of Mahârâshṭra and on the southern bank of the Godâvarî, there is a sacred place five *kos* in circuit, the holiest in the three worlds, where exists Mahâlayâ, who is the thread that sustains the life of the world. There, king Râmachandra, a scion of the Yadu race and the abode of all arts, dispenses justice, and there a vernacular garb was prepared for the Gîtâ by Jñânadeva, the son of Nivṛittinâtha, sprung from the family of Maheśa."[1] The date of the completion of the work is given as S'aka 1212 or A. D. 1290, when we know Râmachandra was on the throne.

Conquest of the country by the Mussalmans.

Râmachandra was the last of the independent Hindu sovereigns of the Dekkan. The Mussalmans had been firmly established at Delhi for about a century, and though they had not yet turned their attention to the Dekkan it was not possible they should refrain from doing so for a long time. Alla-ud-din Khilji, the nephew of the reigning king, who had been appointed governor of Karra, was a person of a bold and adventurous spirit. In the year 1294 A.D. or S'aka 1216 he collected a small army of 8000 men and marched straight to the south till he reached Ellichpur, and then suddenly turning to the west appeared in a short time before Devagiri. The king never expected such an attack and was consequently unprepared to resist it. According to one account he was even absent from his capital. He hastily collected about 4000 troops, and threw himself between the city and the invading army. But being aware he could not hold out for a long time, he took measures for provisioning the fort and retired into it. The city was then taken by the Mahomedans and plundered, and the fort was closely invested. Alla-ud-din had taken care to spread a report that his troops were but the advanced guard of the army of the king which was on its way to the Dekkan. Râmachandra, therefore, despairing of a successful resistance, began to treat for peace. Alla-ud-din, who was conscious of his own weakness, received his proposals with gladness and agreed to raise the siege and retire on condition of receiving from the king a large quantity of gold. In the meantime, Râmachandra's son Saṁkara collected a large army and was marching to the relief of the fort, when Alla-ud-din left about a thousand men to continue the siege and proceeded

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1 ऐसें युगीं परि कळीं । आणि महाराष्ट्रमंडळीं ।
श्रीगोदावरीच्या कूळीं । दक्षिणलीं ॥ १ ॥
त्रिभुवनैकपवित्र । अनादि पंचक्रोशक्षेत्र ।
जेथ जगाचें जीवनसूत्र । श्रीमहालया असे ॥ २ ॥
तेथ यदुवंशविलास । जो सकळकळानिवास ।
न्यायातें पोषी क्षितीश । श्रीरामचंद्र ॥ ३ ॥
तेथ महेशान्वयसंभूतें । श्रीनिवृत्तिनाथसुतें ।
केलें ज्ञानदेवें गीते । देशीकार लेणें ॥ ४ ॥

with the rest to a short distance from the town and gave battle to Śaṁkara's forces. The Hindus were numerically superior and forced the Mahomedans to fall back; but the detachment left to observe the movements of the garrison joined them at this time, and Śaṁkara's followers thinking it to be the main army that was on its way from Delhi were seized with a panic, and a confusion ensued which resulted in the complete defeat of the Hindus.

Râmachandra or Râmadeva then continued the negotiations, but Alla-ud-din raised his demands. The Hindu king's allies were preparing to march to his assistance, but in the meanwhile Râmachandra discovered that the sacks of grain that had been hastily thrown into the fort really contained salt; and since the provisions had been well nigh exhausted he was anxious to hasten the conclusion of peace. It was therefore agreed that he should pay to Alla-ud-din "600 maunds of pearls, two of jewels, 1000 of silver, 4000 pieces of silk, and other precious things," cede Ellichpur and its dependencies, and send an annual tribute to Delhi. On the receipt of the valuable treasure given to him by the Devagiri prince Alla-ud-din retired.

Some time after, Alla-ud-din assassinated his aged uncle and usurped the throne. King Râmachandra did not send the tribute for several years, and to punish him the Delhi monarch despatched an expedition of 30,000 horse under the command of Malik Kafur, a slave who had risen high in his favour. Malik Kafur accomplished the long and difficult march "over stones and hills without drawing rein," and arrived at Devagiri in March 1307 A.D., or about the end of Śaka 1228. A fight ensued in which the Hindus were defeated and Râmadeva was taken prisoner.[1] According to another account, Malik Kafur came laying waste the country about Devagiri, and the Hindu king observing the futility of resistance surrendered himself. Râmachandra was sent to Delhi, where he was detained for six months and afterwards released with all honour. Thenceforward he sent the tribute regularly and remained faithful to the Mahomedans. In Śaka 1231 or A.D. 1309, Malik Kafur was again sent to the Dekkan to subdue Tailaṅgaṇa. On the way he stopped at Devagiri, where he was hospitably entertained by the king.

Râmadeva died this year and was succeeded by his son Śaṁkara. He discontinued sending the annual tribute to Delhi and Malik Kafur was again sent to the Dekkan in Śaka 1234 or A.D. 1312 to reduce him to submission. He put Śaṁkara to death, laid waste his kingdom, and fixed his residence at Devagiri.

In the latter years of Alla-ud-din his nobles, disgusted with the overwhelming influence which Malik Kafur had acquired over him, revolted. In the meantime Alla-ud-din died and was succeeded by his third son Mubarik. The opportunity was seized

[1] Elliot's History of India, Vol. III., p. 77.

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by Harapâla, the son-in-law of Râmachandra, who raised an insurrection and drove away some of the Mahomedan governors. In 1240 Śaka or A.D. 1318 Mubarik marched to the Dekkan in person to suppress the revolt. He took Harapâla prisoner and inhumanly flayed him alive.

Thus ended the last Hindu or Marâṭhâ monarchy of the Dekkan, and the country became a province of the Mahomedan empire.

Genealogy of the later Yâdavas or the Yâdavas of Devagiri.

Mallugi.
|
1. BHILLAMA
(S'aka 1109-1113 or A.D. 1187-1191.)
|
2. JAITRAPÂLA or Jaitugi.
(S'aka 1113-1132 or A.D. 1191-1210.)
|
3. SINGHANA
(S'aka 1132-1169 or A.D. 1210-1247.)
|
Jaitrapâla or Jaitugi.
|
4. KRISHNA, Kanhâra or Kandhâra. (S'aka 1169-1182 or A.D. 1247-1260.)
|
6. RÂMACHANDRA or Râmadeva. (S'aka 1193-1231 or A.D. 1271-1309.)
|
7. ŚAMKARA (S'aka 1231-1234 or A.D. 1309-1312.)
|
Brother-in-law, Harapâla, killed in S'aka 1240 or A.D. 1318.

5. MAHÂDEVA (S'aka 1182-1193 or A.D. 1260-1271.)
|
Âmaṇa.

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THE S'ILÂHÂRAS OF KOLHÂPUR.

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Three branches of the S'ilâhâra family.

THREE distinct families of chiefs or minor princes with the name of S'ilâra or S'ilâhâra ruled over different parts of the country. They all traced their origin to Jîmûtavâhana the son of Jîmûtaketu, who was the king of a certain class of demigods called Vidyâdharas, and who saved the life of a serpent named S'aṅkhachûḍa by offering himself as a victim to Garuḍa in his place.[1] One of the titles borne by the princes of all the three families was *Tagarapuravarâdhîśvara* or "lords of Tagara, the best of cities," which fact has a historical significance. We have seen that Kâṁvadeva, the donor of the Râjâpur grant who was a Châlukya, called himself *Kalyâṇapuravarâdhîśvara*, and one of the titles of the later Kadambas after they had been reduced to vassalage and of the rulers of Goa was *Banavâsîpuravarâdhîśvara*. As these titles signify that the bearers of them belonged to the families that once held supreme power at Kalyâṇa and Banavâsî, so does *Tagarapuravarâdhîśvara* show that the S'ilâhâras who bore the title belonged to a family that once possessed supreme sovereignty and reigned at Tagara. In one S'ilâhâra grant it is expressly stated that "the race known by the name of S'ilâhâra was that of the kings who were masters of Tagara."[2] As mentioned in a former section, Tagara was a famous town in the early centuries of the Christian era and retained its importance till a very late period, but unfortunately the town has not yet been identified, nor have we found any trace of the S'ilâhâra kingdom with Tagara as its capital. Perhaps it existed between the close of the Andhrabhṛitya period and the foundation of the Châlukya power.

Tagara, the original seat of the family.

The North Konkan branch.

The three S'ilâhâra dynasties of Mahâmaṇḍaleśvaras or dependent princes which we have been considering were founded in the times of the Râshṭrakûṭas. One of them ruled over Northern Konkan, which was composed of fourteen hundred villages, the chief of them being Purî, which probably was at one time the capital of the province. As represented in an inscription at Kânheri noticed before, Konkan was assigned to Pullaśakti by Amoghavarsha a few years before S'aka 775. Another S'ilâhâra family established itself in Southern Konkan. The founder or first chief named S'aṇaphulla enjoying the favour of Kṛishṇarâja acquired the territory between the sea-coast and the Sahya range.[3] There were three Râshṭrakûṭa princes of the name of Kṛishṇarâja but the one meant here must be the first prince of that name who reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the S'aka era

The South Konkan branch.

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[1] This story has been dramatized in the Sanskrit play Nâgânanda attributed to S'rî-Harsha.

[2] Grant translated by Dr. Taylor and published in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. III. शिलाहाराख्यवंशोयं तगरेश्वरभूभृताम् ।

[3] Khârepâṭan plates, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 217. The name of the first chief is read "Jhallaphulla" by Bâl Gangâdhara S'âstrî; but the first letter looks like स though there is some difference. That difference, however, brings it nearer to श. The letter which was read by him as ह्ल is clearly ण. For देशसंभावनो I find देशसंसावनो on the plates.

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or between 753 and 775 A.D.[1] The genealogy of this dynasty is given in the Khârepâṭaṇ grant, the last prince mentioned in which was on the throne in S'aka 930 while the Châlukya king Satyâśraya was reigning. The capital must have been situated somewhere near Khârepâṭaṇ.

The Kolhâpur branch.

The third S'ilâhâra family the history of which falls within the scope of this paper ruled over the districts of Kolhâpur, Miraj, and Karhâḍ, and in later times Southern Konkan was added to its territory. This dynasty was the latest of the three and was founded about the time of the downfall of the Râshṭrakûṭa empire, as will be hereafter shown. The first prince of the family was Jatiga, who was succeeded by his son Nâyimma or Nâyivarman. Nâyimma was followed by his son Chandrarâja, and Chandrarâja by his son Jatiga, who is called "the lion of the hill-fortress of Panhâḷâ."[2] Jatiga's son and successor was Goṁka, otherwise called Goṁkala or Gokalla. He is represented to have been the ruler of the districts of Karahâṭa-Kuṇḍi[3] and Mairiñja and to have harassed Konkan. He had three brothers named Gûvala, Kîrtirâja, and Chandrâditya, of whom the first at least appears to have succeeded him. Then followed Mârasiṁha the son of Goṁka, whose grant first published by Wathen is dated S'aka 980. He is represented to have constructed temples; and to have been reigning at his capital, the fort of Khiḷigiḷi, which probably was another name of Panhâḷâ in the Kolhâpur districts. Mârasiṁha was succeeded by his son Gûvala and he by his brother Bhoja I. Bhoja's two brothers Ballâḷa and Gaṇḍarâditya governed the principality after him in succession.

Jatiga, the founder.

An inscription at Kolhâpur mentions another brother named Gaṅgadeva and the order in which the brothers are spoken of is Gûvala

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[1] From Śanaphulla the first chief to Raṭṭa the last there are ten generations. Somehow each succeeding chief in this line happens to be the son of the preceding. Though in a line of princes some of whom bear to others the relation of brother or uncle, the average duration of each reign is from 19 to 21 years; the average duration of a generation is always much longer, and varies from 26 to 28 years. One can verify this by taking any line of princes or chiefs in the world. Raṭṭa was on the throne in S'aka 930, and supposing him to have begun to reign about that time, nine generations or about 27×9 years must have passed away from the date of the foundation of the family to S'aka 930. Subtracting $27 \times 9 = 243$ from 930, we have Śaka 687 as the approximate date of S'aṇaphulla. If we take the average to be 26, we shall have 696 as the date. In either case we are brought to the reign of Krishna I. The dates of Kṛishṇa II. range from S'aka 797 to 833 and of Kṛishṇa III. from S'aka 862 to 881, and therefore neither of these will do. Even if we take the other average of a reign in the present case and subtract $19 \times 9 = 171$ from 930, we get S'aka 759, which will not take us to the reign of Kṛishṇa II. whose earliest date is S'aka 797. The Khârepâṭaṇ family therefore was the oldest of the three, and was founded in the reign of Kṛishṇa I.

Bâl S'âstrî read the name of the last chief in the grant as Rahu; but the second syllable of the name is certainly not हु the form of which in the grant itself is different. It looks exactly like the ट्ट in the word परमभट्टारक and आघट्टनानि which occur elsewhere in the grant.

[2] See the grant of Gaṇḍarâditya published by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indraji in Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., p. 2, of Mârasiṁha in Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 280, and Arch. Surv. W. I., No. 10, p. 102, and of Bhoja II. in Trans. Lit. Soc. Bom., Vol. III.

[3] Mârasiṁha's grant. Kuṇḍi or Kuhuṇḍi was some part of the Belgaum district, as stated before. Mairiñja is Miraj.

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Gaṅga, Ballâḷa, Bhoja, and Gaṇḍarâditya.[1] But the grants of Gaṇḍarâditya and Bhoja II. agree in representing Bhoja as the elder and Ballâḷa as the younger brother, and in omitting Gaṅga.

Gaṇḍarâditya.

Of all these brothers the youngest Gaṇḍarâditya seems to have been the most famous. He is the donor, as indicated above, in the grant published by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indraji,[2] and in others recorded on stone at Kolhâpur and in the districts. His dates are Śaka 1032, 1040, 1058.[3] He ruled over the country of Miriñja along with the seven Khollas and over Konkan, which thus seems to have been subjugated by the Kolhâpur S'ilâhâras before 1032. Probably it was added to their dominious in the time of Goṁka or soon after. From the grant of Bhoja II. it appears that the part of Konkan ruled over by the Dekkan S'ilâhâras was the same as that which was in the possession of the family mentioned in the Khârepâṭaṇ grant,[4] wherefore it follows that the S'ilâhâras of southern Konkan were uprooted by their kinsmen of the Kolhâpur districts. Gaṇḍarâditya fed a hundred thousand Brâhmans at Prayâga. This must be the place of that name which is situated near Kolhâpur; and not the modern Allahâbâd. He built a Jaina temple at Âjareṁ, a village in the Kolhâpur districts,[5] and constructed a large tank, called after him *Gaṇḍasamudra* or "the sea of Gaṇḍa," at Irukuḍi in the Miraj district, and on its margin placed idols of Îśvara or Śiva, Buddha, and Arhat (Jina), for the maintenance of each of which he assigned a piece of land. Several other charities of his, in which the Jainas also had their share, are mentioned, and his bountiful nature as well as good and just government are extolled.[6] He first resided at a place called Tiravâḍa and afterwards at Valavâṭa, which has been identified with the present Valavdeṁ.[7]

Vijayârka.

Gaṇḍarâditya was succeeded by his son Vijayârka, who was on the throne in Śaka 1065 and 1073.[8] He restored the chiefs of the territory about Ṭhânâ to their principality which they had lost, and replaced the princes of Goa on the throne and fortified their position which had become shaky.[9] He assisted Vijjaṇa[10] in his revolt against his masters, the Châlukyas of Kalyâṇa, and enabled him to acquire supreme sovereignty. This event, as we have seen, took place about 1079 S'aka.

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[1] Inscription No. 4, Major Graham's Report. [2] In *loc. cit.*

[3] Bhagvânlâl's plates, and Inscriptions Nos. 1, 2, and 3, Major Graham's Report. The S'aka in Bhagvânlâl's grant and No. 1 of Major Graham's inscriptions is the same, *i. e.* 1032, though in the translation of the latter it is erroneously given as 1037, but the cyclic years are different. As to this see Appendix B.

[4] For the village granted is Kas'eḷî, which is near Jaitâpur and Khârepâṭaṇ.

[5] Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 76, note.

[6] His grant in *loc. cit.* [7] Bhagvânlâl's plates and Major Graham's Ins. No. 2.

[8] Ins. Nos. 4 and 5, Major Graham's Report. [9] Grant of Bhoja II. in *loc. cit.*

[10] In the transcript of the inscription in Vol. IV. Trans. Lit. Soc. Bom. we have Vîkshaṇa for Vîjjaṇa. There is no question this must be a mistake of the reader of the inscription or of the engraver. For the Kalachuri usurper at Kalyâṇa is called both Vijjala or Vijjaṇa in his inscriptions, and there was none who about the date of Vijayârka obtained the position of a Chakravartin or paramount sovereign, as stated in the inscription.

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Bhoja II.

After Vijayârka, his son Bhoja II. became Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara and reigned in the fort of Panhâḷâ. His dates are Śaka 1101, 1109, 1112, 1113, 1114, and 1127.[1] He granted the village of Kaśelî in Konkan near Khârepâṭaṇ on the application of his son Gaṇḍarâditya for feeding Brâhmaṇs regularly[2]; and gave lands for Hindu and Jaina temples in other places also. Two of the grantees in one case at Kolhâpur are called Karahâṭakas, which shows that the caste of Karhâḍe Brâhmaṇs had come to be recognized in those days; and two others bore the family name of *Ghaisâsa*, which is now found among Chitpâvan Brâhmaṇs.[3] In the reign of Bhoja II. a Jaina Paṇḍit of the name of Somadeva composed in Śaka 1127 a commentary entitled *S'abdârṇavachandrikâ*[4] on Pûjyapâda's Sanskrit Grammar. The Kolhâpur chiefs enjoyed a sort of semi-independence. Vijjaṇa, the new sovereign at Kalyâṇa, however, endeavoured probably to establish his authority over Bhoja. But that chief was not content to be his feudatory, and to reduce him to subjection Vijjaṇa marched against Kolhâpur a little before his assassination in S'aka 1089.[5] On the establishment of the power of the Devagiri Yâdavas, Bhoja seems similarly to have assumed independence; but Siṅghaṇa subdued him completely, and annexed the principality to the Yâdava empire.[6]

Approximate date of the foundation of the Kolhâpur branch.

The number of generations from Jatiga, the founder of the dynasty, to Gaṇḍarâditya is seven. The latest date of the latter is S'aka 1058 and the earliest of his successor Vijayârka is 1065; so that if we suppose Gaṇḍarâditya to have died in 1060 and allow about 27 years to each generation, we shall arrive at S'aka 871 as the approximate date of the foundation of the family. At that time the reigning Râshṭrakûṭa sovereign was Kṛishṇa III., the uncle of Kakkala the last prince.

Religion of the Kolhâpur S'ilâhâras.

One of the many titles used by the S'ilâhâras was *Srîman-Mahâlakshmî-labdha-vara-prasâda, i. e.* "one who has obtained the favour of a boon from the glorious Mahâlakshmî." Mahâlakshmî was thus their tutelary deity, and they were clearly the followers of the Purâṇic and Vedic religion; but they patronized both Brâhmaṇs and Jainas alike; and their impartiality is strikingly displayed by the fact noticed above of Gaṇḍarâditya's having placed an idol of Buddha, whose religion had well nigh become extinct, along with those of the gods worshipped by the other two sects, on the margin of the tank dug by him.

There are at the present day many Marâṭhâ families of the name of Selâra reduced to poverty, and the name Selâravâḍi of a station

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[1] Major Graham's Ins. Nos. 6, 7, 8, the grant, and Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 76, note.

[2] There are, however, some mistakes here in the transcript of the grant and the sense is not clear, though it appears pretty certain that it was the village that was granted and not a field in it or anything else, from the fact that the boundaries of the village are given.

[3] Ins. No. 8, Major Graham's Report.

[4] Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 76, note. The manuscript here mentioned is in the Dekkan College library and I have seen in it the colophon given in the note.

[5] Vijalarâya Charitra in Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., p. 320.

[6] Sec. XV.

on the railway from Khaṇḍâlâ to Poona is also, I believe, to be traced to the family name of the sovereigns of Tagara.

Genealogy of the S'ilâhâras of Kolhâpur.

- Jatiga I.
  - Nâyimma.
    - Chandrarâja.
      - Jatiga II.
        - Goṁka.
          - Mârasiṁha, S'aka 980 or A.D. 1058.
            - Gûvala II.
            - Bhoja I.
            - Ballâḷa.
            - Gaṇḍâraditya, S'aka 1032, 1040, 1058, or A.D. 1110, 1118, 1136.
              - Vijayârka, S'aka 1065, 1073, or A.D. 1143, 1151.
                - Bhoja II, S'aka 1101, 1109, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1127, or A.D. 1179, 1187, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1205.
        - Gûvala I.
        - Kirtirâja.
        - Chandrâditya.

APPENDIX A.

Note on the Gupta Era.

Appendix A.

In order to render the chronologies of the different dynasties that ruled over western and northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era mutually consistent, it is necessary to discuss the initial date of the Gupta era. Albiruni, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghizni in his invasion of Gujarât in the early part of the eleventh century, states that that era was posterior to the S'aka by 241 years, and that it was the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas. He mentions another era named after Balaba, the initial date of which was the same as that of the Guptas.

Now in some of the inscriptions of the Gupta kings and their dependent chiefs the dates are referred to *Guptakâla* or the Gupta era, wherefore Albiruni's statement that it was the epoch of their extermination cannot be true. This error is regarded as throwing discredit on his other statement, *viz.*, that the era was posterior to the S'aka by 241 years. But it has nothing whatever to do with it. Albiruni must have derived his knowledge of the initial date from contemporary evidence, since the era of the Guptas was, as stated by him, one of those ordinarily used in the country in his time, and as his statements regarding the initial dates of the Vikrama and the S'aka eras are true, so must that with reference to the Gupta era be true. On the other hand, his information as regards the event which the Gupta era memorialized must have been based upon the tradition current among the Hindu astronomers of the day, who were his informants. Such traditions are often erroneous, as has been proved in many a case. Albiruni was also informed that the S'aka era was the epoch of the defeat of the S'aka king by Vikramâditya. This was the tradition as to its origin among Indian astronomers, though it has now given place to another. For Soḍhala in his commentary on Bhâskarâchârya's Karaṇakutûhala, a manuscript of which more than four hundred years old exists in the collection made by me for Government during 1882-83, tells us that "the epoch when Vikramâditya killed Mlechchhas of the name of Śakas is ordinarily known as the S'aka era." But we know that in Mañgalîs'a's inscription at Bâdâmî it is spoken of as the era of the "coronation of the S'aka king"; that Ravikîrti in the inscription at Aihole describes it as the era of the Śaka kings and that it is similarly represented in many other places. Albiruni's error therefore as regards the origin of the Gupta era no more invalidates his statement as to its initial date than his error about the origin of the S'aka era does his statement about the initial date of that era. The only reasonable course for us under the circumstances is to reject the statement as to the era being an epoch of the extermination of the Guptas and accept that about the initial date of the era. But some antiquarians reject both these statements and accept what simply hangs on them and what must fall with them, *viz.*, that the Guptas were exterminated in Śaka 242, and make elaborate endeavours to find an earlier initial date for the era. If the inscriptions show that the era was not posthumous but contemporaneous, we should rather believe that the Guptas rose to power in Śaka 242, assigning its due value to the statement of Albiruni, which must have been based on contemporary evidence, that the era began in that year. But if instead of that we declare that they ceased to reign in Śaka 242, we in effect reject contemporary evidence and accept a mere tradition which in so far as it represents the era to be posthumous has been proved to be erroneous.

Again, Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era and of the Valabhî era was the same seems to some not "at all probable." To

my mind the improbability is not so great as to render valueless what clearly is contemporary evidence. We all know that the date occurring in a grant of one of the sons of the founder of the dynasty is 207, and we have a large number of grants of subsequent kings with dates posterior to this and in harmony with it. So that it is clear that these dates cannot refer to an era dating from the foundation of the dynasty. Such a long time as 207 years cannot be considered to have elapsed between the father who founded the dynasty and his son, even supposing him to have been a posthumous son. The dates. therefore, are understood to refer to the Gupta era. What, then, could have been the Valabhî era, if it was never used by the Valabhî princes during the 275 years or thereabouts of the existence of their dynasty? An era cannot receive the name of a certain line of princes unless used by those princes, at least on a few occasions, and enforced. The era used by the Valabhî princes must be the Valabhî era. One certainly would expect that it should be so. The only supposition, therefore, on which the whole becomes intelligible is that the era introduced by the Valabhîs in Surâshṭra and used by them was called the Valabhî era by their subjects, and not one dating from the foundation of the dynasty; for such a one, we see, was not used by the Valabhî princes themselves. The era introduced and used by the Valabhîs was that of the Guptas, whose dependents they were in the beginning, and hence Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta and Valabhî eras was the same is true. From an inscription at Somanâth discovered by Colonel Tod, we gather that Śaka 242 was the first year of the Valabhî era. Hence, therefore, the initial date of the Gupta era was 242 S'aka, as stated by Albiruni.

The question in this way is, I think, plain enough. Still since astronomical calculations have been resorted to to prove the incorrectness of the date given by Albiruni and to arrive at an earlier one so as to place the extinction of the Gupta dynasty in S'aka 242, it is necessary to go into the question further. The following tests may be used and have been used to determine the correctness of a proposed initial date :—

1. The date of Budha Gupta's pillar inscription at Eran, which is Thursday, the 12th of Âshâḍha, in the Gupta year 165.
2. Râjâ Hastin's inscription dated 156 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter being Mahâvaiśâka.
3. Râjâ Hastin's inscription dated 173 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahâs'vayuja.
4. Râjâ Hastin's inscription dated 191 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahâchaitra.
5. Râjâ Saṁkshobha's inscription dated 209 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahâśvayuja.
6. An eclipse of the sun mentioned in the Morvi copper-plate grant dated 5th Phâlguna Sudi 585 of the Gupta era.

Before applying these tests to the initial date given by Albiruni, it must be premised that according to the Arabic author the Gupta era was 241 years posterior to the Śaka. To convert a Śaka date into a Valabhî date, or which is the same thing, into a Gupta date, he tells us to deduct from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5, that is, 241. And proceeding to give actual instances, he says 953 Śaka corresponds to 712 Valabhî or Gupta. We have thus to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding S'aka date. Again, as I shall show in Appendix B, in inscriptions the numerical date indicates, in a large number of instances, the number of years of an era that have elapsed, that is, the *past* year and in about a third of the instances, the *current* year. The year of the cycle, however, whenever it occurs, is as a rule the current year, though in rare cases that also is the past year. If, therefore, a past Gupta year is to be converted into

Appendix A.

the current Śaka year, we shall have to add 242 to the former; while if both are current or both past, the difference between them is only 241.

Now, as to the first of the above tests, Gupta 165 + 241 = 406 S'aka. If Albiruni is correct, the 12th Âshâḍha Sudi of this year should be a Thursday. I asked my friend Professor Keru Lakshmaṇ Chhatre to make the calculation for me, and he tells me that it *was* a Thursday. Since our astronomical methods are based on the past S'aka year, and even our present S'aka year 1805 really represents, as I shall show in the next Appendix, the years that have elapsed, the current year being really 1806, Gupta 165 was a past year, as well as S'aka 406. Hence only 241 has to be added. S'aka 406 corresponds to 484 A.D. General Cunningham takes the Gupta 165 to correspond to 483 A.D., adding 240 + 78 = 318 to it, and of course arrives at the result that "the 12th day of Âshâḍha Sudi was a Friday instead of a Thursday." If, however, he had added 241 + 78 = 319 and taken 484 A.D. to correspond to Gupta 165, he would have arrived at the correct result.

Then as to the dates in years of the 12-year cycle, General Cunningham himself has placed before us the means of verifying them. In the tables published by him in Volume X. of the Archæological Reports, the cyclic year corresponding to the *current* Christian year is given, and if we subtract 78 from the number representing the year, we shall arrive at the *current* S'aka year. Now, if we take the Gupta figured dates to represent the years that had elapsed before the cyclic year commenced, (and this way of marking the dates is, as remarked above, the one we usually find), then 173 Gupta, the third date in the above, corresponds to 414 S'aka *past* and 415 *current*, 241 being added in the first case, and 242 in the second. If we add 78 to 415 we shall get the *current* Christian year, which is 493. Now in General Cunningham's tables we do find the year *Mahâs'vayuja* given as corresponding to 493 A.D. In the same way, 191 Gupta *past* + 242 = 433 S'aka *current*, + 78 = 511 A.D. *current*. In the tables we find 511 put down under *Mahâchaitra*. Similarly 209 Gupta *past* + 242 = 451 S'aka *current*, + 78 = 529 A.D. *current* which was *Mahâs'vayuja*.

Now, as to the first of the dates in the 12-year cycle, 156 Gupta + 242 + 78 is equal to 476 A.D., which however is Mahâchaitra instead of Mahâvais'âkha. Here there is a discrepancy of one year; but such discrepancies do sometimes occur even in Śaka dates and the years of the 60-years' cycle given along with them, and some of them will be noticed in the note forming the next Appendix. They are probably due to the fact that the frequent use of the past or expired year and also of the current year led sometimes the *past* year to be mistaken for the *current* year, just as we *now* mistake the year 1805 S'aka for the current year, though it really is the completed or past year. Thus the completed year 157 must, in the case before us, have come to be mistaken by the writer of the inscription for the current year, and he thought 156 to be the past year and thus gave that instead of 157. Now 157 Gupta + 242 + 78 = 477 A.D., which is *Mahâvaiśâkha*, according to the tables.*

* Though by using General Cunningham's table, I arrive at the desired result in three cases, still I now find that his current Christian year is derived by adding 78 to the past S'aka, while I have added 79; *i.e.*, the cyclic year given in the dates is true not of the Gupta year in the date as a past year but of the Gupta year + 1 as a past year. And the third date 173 Gupta is a correction of General Cunningham's, the actual date in the inscription being 163. I have, however, allowed the paragraphs to remain, as I am by no means quite satisfied that the question of these cyclic dates is settled beyond dispute (1894).

The eclipse mentioned in the Morvî plate occurred, according to my friend Professor Keru Lakshman, on the 30th of Vaiśâkha, Śaka 827. The Gupta year given in the plate is 585. If 827 is in the astronomical calculation the *current* year, it must correspond to 585 Gupta *past;* for $585 + 242 = 827$. It is by no means necessary to suppose that the eclipse occurred on the new-moon day immediately previous to the 5th of Phâlguna Sudi mentioned in the grant. For it is perfectly possible that the actual religious ceremony with reference to the grant was made in Vaiśâkha and the deed executed in Phâlguna.*

I have thus shown that Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era stands all these tests. It may even be said that it stands them better than 167 A.D. and 190 A.D. proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley respectively. But I am loath to decide such questions simply on astronomical grounds; for there are several very confusing elements involved, and a modern astronomer cannot know them all and make allowance for them.

It now remains to notice the last point relied on by the opponents of Albiruni. The date on a copper-plate grant by the last S'îlâditya of Valabhî hitherto known is 447. This S'îlâditya is also styled Dhrûbhaṭa in the grant and has been identified with the Tu-lu-va-po-tou or Dhruvabhaṭa of Hwan Thsang who visited Valabhî in 640 A.D. The date 447 is understood as referring to the Gupta era, and, 319 being added it, corresponds to 766 A.D. It has therefore been argued that an earlier initial date must be assigned to the Gupta era so as to bring this S'îlâditya or Dhrûbhaṭa nearer to the date of Hwan Thsang's visit. But the identification of the last S'îlâditya with Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhaṭa cannot stand. In the Si-yu-ki the Chinese writer does not speak of *a king* but of *kings*, and says they were nephews of S'îlâditya of Mâlvâ and the younger of them named Dhruvabhaṭa was son-in-law to the son of Harshavardhana. If they were nephews of the king of Mâlvâ they were brothers and both of them kings. Now, the predecessor of the last Sîlâditya of Valabhî was his father, and among the kings of Valabhî we do not find brothers reigning in succession at this period. There were two brothers who occupied the throne before this period, one of them being named Dharasena and the other Dhruvasena. They were the sons of Kharagraha, and the younger of them was the father and predecessor of Dharasena IV. This younger brother or Dhruvasena must have been Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhaṭa. Nothing important is involved in the suffix *Bhaṭa*. It was a mere title or honorific termination as Pant and Râv are among us the Marâṭhâs. Sena, Siṁha, and Bhaṭa were the Valabhî honorific endings and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasena may have been called Dhruvabhaṭa by ordinary people, from whom Hwan Thsang must have got the name. Now, a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena bears the date 310, and the earliest date of his successor Dharasena IV. is 326. The first corresponds to 629 A.D. ($310+241+78=629$), and the second to 645 ($326+241+78=645$). It is quite possible, therefore, that Dhruvasena was on the throne in 640 A.D. at the time when Hwan Thsang visited Valabhî.

* There was an eclipse also in S'aka 826 on the new-moon day of Kârttika; so that Gupta 585 *past* + 241 = 826 Śaka. This is evidently the eclipse mentioned in the grant and not that mentioned in the text. On the whole question see my paper on the epoch of the Gupta era, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII, p. 80.

Appendix A.

The initial date mentioned by Albiruni is thus consistent with everything with which it has been thought to be not consistent. I have shown that the statement of the Arabic writer is in itself entitled to our confidence, being based, as it must have been, on contemporary evidence, as his statements about the S'aka and Vikrama eras were. I will now show that the date mentioned by him is alone consistent with the information we possess as regards the relations of the several dynasties that ruled over Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâḍ in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the dates proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley are not. We know that the Guptas succeeded the Satraps, and the Valabhîs were at first dependents of the Guptas and afterwards attained independence. Chandragupta II. must have been the Gupta prince who overthrew the Satraps, since he is the first prince of that dynasty whose silver coins are a close imitation of those of the Satraps. The latest date of that monarch is 93. This corresponds to 260 A.D. and 283 A.D. on the supposition that the Gupta era took its start in 167 A.D. and 190 A.D. respectively. Now, the latest date of the Satrap dynasty is 304. If the era to which it refers is the S'aka, it corresponds to 382 A.D., that is, we shall have to suppose one of the princes of the dynasty to have reigned about a hundred years after the dynasty had been put an end to by Chandragupta II. The S'aka era will therefore not do. Supposing the Satrap dates refer to the Vikrama era, 304 corresponds to 248 A.D., which of course is consistent with Chandragupta's date 260 A.D. or 283 A.D. If then the Satrap dates refer to the era of Vikrama, Rudradâman's 72 must correspond to 16 A.D. Rudradâman's grandfather Chashṭana will have to be placed about B.C. 4. But Ptolemy, writing after 150 A.D., tells us that Ujjayinî was ruled over about the time when he wrote by Tiastenes, who has been very reasonably identified with Chashṭana. Ptolemy's information cannot certainly be 150 years old. It has, however, been argued that Ptolemy does not state that Tiastenes reigned about the time when he lived, and that he and Siro Polemios were contemporaries. For, he gives the information in the form of two short notes, "Ozone, the royal residence of Tiastenes," and "Baithana, the royal residence of Siro Polemios." Such notes it is possible that one should write even if the princes reigned several hundred years before him, as a modern geographer *may* mention Berlin as "the capital of Frederick the Great," or Ghizni as "the capital of Mahmud." As to this I have to observe that the analogy does not hold good. A modern geographer and his readers are very well acquainted with past history, while neither Ptolemy nor those for whom he wrote could have known the past history of India. A modern geographer knows which of the princes that ruled over a certain country in past times was the ablest or most powerful, and selects him out of a number and mentions his name in connection with a certain place. It is extremely improbable or almost impossible that Ptolemy should have known many Indian princes who reigned before he lived, along with their achievements, and should have chosen the ablest of them for being mentioned. And, as a matter of fact, we know that one at least of the rulers mentioned by him could be a person of no importance. For Baleocuros who according to him held power in Hippocura was, as we have seen, but a Viceroy or dependent of Puḷumâyi and Gotamîputra Yajña Śrî, since as Viḷivâyakura his name occurs along with those of the two princes on the Kolhâpur coins. Again, Ptolemy must have derived his information from merchants carrying on trade with India and these from the natives of the country. And we know that natives of India care very little for past history and

soon forget their kings. Hence the information derived by the merchants cannot have reference to princes who reigned long before the time of Ptolemy. It is possible that Indians may remember a celebrated prince for a century or two. But, as stated above, one of the rulers mentioned by Ptolemy was but a dependent sovereign and could not have been a man of note. The only other supposition that our opponents may resort to, is that Ptolemy's statements were based on those of previous geographers whose contemporaries the princes mentioned by him were. No ground whatever has however been adduced in support of such a supposition. In the Periplus which was written before Ptolemy, Paithana and Ozene are mentioned, but Polemios and Tiastenes are not. On the contrary, the author of that work says that Ozene was "formerly the capital wherein the king resided." If Tiastenes lived before him, and Ptolemy's mention of the former was due to his having been a prince of note like Frederick the Great and Mahmud of Ghizni in modern times, we should expect the author of the Periplus to have noticed him, especially when he does allude to the kings of Ozene. Tiastenes, Polemios and Baleocuros must thus have reigned about the time of Ptolemy. The last two were, we know, contemporaries, and so also must the third have been.

In this manner the Vikrama era will not do for the Satrap dates. Besides, no trace whatever has hitherto been discovered of the use of that era in the early centuries of Christ. Since, then, the use of no other era at the time has been well authenticated, the Satraps must be supposed to have employed the S'aka era. The circumstances of the country at that period render, as I have shown, the establishment of this era by the S'akas who ruled over the country in every way probable. The latest Satrap date will thus correspond to 382 A.D., and Chandragupta, the conqueror of the Satraps, can be rendered posterior to this only by taking 242 S'aka *current* or 319-320 A.D. as the first *current* year of the Gupta era; for his 93 *past* will then correspond to 412-413 A.D. And in this way Rudradâman's 72 will correspond to 150 A.D.; and Chashṭana's date will be about 130 A.D., *i.e.* anterior to the date of Ptolemy's geography by about 25 years.

Thus, then, the evidence in favour of Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era appears to me to be simply overwhelming.

APPENDIX B.

Note on the S'aka dates and the years of the Bârhaspatya cycle, occurring in the Inscriptions.

Appendix B.

THERE are certain difficulties with reference to the S'aka dates and the cyclic years or *Samvatsaras* occurring in the inscriptions which require to be cleared up. The current S'aka year (A.D. 1883-84) in the Bombay Presidency is 1805, and the year of the sixty years' cycle, *Subhânu*. In the southern provinces and the Madras Presidency the current S'aka year is 1806, the cyclic year being the same. The first question, then, is, "Do the dates in the inscriptions conform to the Bombay reckoning or the Madras reckoning?" and the next, "What is the cause of this difference of a year?"* We have also to consider whether the S'aka dates in the inscriptions represent the number of years *that have expired* before the event recorded in them or the *current* year in which the event took place.

Mr. Robert Sewell of the Madras Civil Service gives in the first column of the Chronological Tables compiled by him the number of the S'aka years that have expired before the beginning of the cyclic year set against it in the same line in the third column. The current S'aka year corresponding to that cyclic year is the one given in the next line in the first column. Thus against S'aka 855, the date of the Sâṅgalî grant of Govind IV. of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty, we have in the third column the cyclic year *Vijaya* which shows that 855 years of the S'aka era *had expired* before the *Vijaya* year began, while the *current* S'aka year corresponding to *Vijaya* was that given in the next line, *viz.* 856. Mr. Sewell follows the Madras reckoning. If we interpret the tables according to the Bombay mode, the S'aka year appearing in the first column will be the current year corresponding to the cyclic year in the same line in the third column, while the number in the line immediately above will represent the years that have expired before the beginning of that cyclic year. Thus against 1805, the current S'aka year on this side of the country, we have in the third column the current cyclic year *Subhânu*, while 1804 in the line above shows the number of years that have expired. By comparing the S'aka dates and cyclic years occurring in the inscriptions with those in the tables we shall be able to determine the points raised above.

In the analysis of Pâli, Sanskrit, and old Kânarese inscriptions published by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess there are 97 cases in which the S'aka date as well as the cyclic year are distinctly given. On comparing these with the tables I observe that in 58 out of these the given S'aka date occurs in the same line with the cyclic year mentioned in the inscription. These are :—

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* It will be obvious to any careful reader that the manner in which the question here proposed for solution is stated, is based upon the ordinary view that S'aka 1805 was the current year in 1883-84. I have no right to assume in the beginning of my inquiry that the ordinary view is mistaken, and it would be unscientific to do so. But having stated the question in that manner, I come at the end of my inquiry to the conclusion that the ordinary view is incorrect, and that 1805 S'aka was not *current* in 1883-84 A.D. but *past*, and that the Madras way of understanding the matter alone is correct. In the previous note also I have stated that "we *now* mistake the year 1805 S'aka for the *current* year" (in 1883-84); so that there is no possibility whatever of anybody misunderstanding my meaning.

Nos. 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 35, 36, 37, 38, 52, 70, 87, 88, 90, 92, 98, 99, 101, 102, 109, 114, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134, 136, 141, 148, 149, 150, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 183, 189, 201, 214, 215, 219, 229, 230 (first part), 240, 241, 243, 283, 286.

Thus in inscription No. 20, the date given is 1200, and the cyclic year the *Bahudhânya*, both of which occur in the same line set against each other in the tables.

In 28 cases the S'aka date given in the inscription occurs in the tables in the line below that in which the given cyclic year occurs. These are :—

Nos. 19, 22, 26, 33, 34, 47, 72, 89, 91, 95, 96 (first part), 96 (second part), 100, 110, 111, 112, 118 (first part), 118 (second part), 146, 151 194, 227, 230 (second part), 231, 234, 236, 237, 281.

In No. 19, for instance, the S'aka date is 1184 and the cyclic year *Durmati*. In the tables, *Durmati* occurs in the upper line set against 1183, and 1184 is in the line below, and *Dundubhi* is the year marked against it.

Now on the supposition that the inscriptions conform to the Madras reckoning, in the first 58 cases the S'aka date represents the number of S'aka years that *had expired* before the current cyclic year of the inscription and in 28 it shows the *current* year of that era. If we suppose the Bombay reckoning to have been in use, the dates in the first 58 cases will represent the current year and those in the next 28, the *future* year and not the *past*. But since it is almost absurd to suppose that the immediately next year should be stated in the inscriptions, it follows that the Madras mode of reckoning was the one in use. The objection, however, may be obviated by supposing that these 28 cases conform to the Madras reckoning and give the current year, while the first 58 follow the Bombay mode. But this supposition is not reasonable or probable, since these groups are not confined to particular provinces, and often one of the former exists in the same district or even place with one of the latter. We thus see that though in the majority of cases the inscriptions give the *past* S'aka year, there is a large number in which the *current* year is given and not the *past*.

I have also compared other dates with the tables, and the result I give below :—

	S'aka date.	Cyclic year.	What the S'aka date represents.
Kânarese grant of Govinda III. Râshṭrakûṭa	726	Subhânu ...	Current year.
Râdhânpur grant of do. ...	730	Sarvajit ...	Do.
Krishṇa II or Akâlavarsha, completion of the Jaina Purâṇa ...	820	Piṅgala ...	Do.
Do., in a Jaina temple by Chîkârya	824	Dundubhi ...	Years elapsed.
Govind IV., Sâṅgalî grant ...	855	Vijaya ...	Do.
Kakkala, Kardâ grant	894	Aṅgiras ...	Do.
Tailapa's accession	895	S'rîmukha ...	Do.
Satyâśraya, Khârepâṭaṇ plates of Raṭṭa	930	Kîlaka ...	Do.
Jayasiṁha Jagadekamalla, Miraj grant	946	Raktâkshi ...	Do.
Mârasiṁha S'ilâhâra of Kolhâpur, grant	980	Vilambin ...	Do.

Appendix B.

	S'aka date	Cyclic year.	What the S'aka date represents.
Gaṇḍarâditya S'ilâhâra of Kolhâpur, Ins. No. 1.	1032	Vikṛiti ...	Years elapsed.
Do. do. grant translated by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl ...	1032	Virodhin ...	Current year.
Do. Kolhâpur Ins. No. 2 ...	1040	Vilambin ...	Years elapsed.
Vijayârka do. do. No. 4 ...	1065	Dundubhi ...	Current year.
Someśvara III. Bhûlokamalla, Abhilashita Chintâmaṇi	1051	Saumya ...	Years elapsed.
Bhojadeva II., Kolhâpur Ins. No. 6 ...	1101	Vilambin ...	Current year.
Do do. " No. 8 ...	1112	Sâdhâraṇa ...	Years elapsed.
Do. Dr. Taylor's grant ...	1113	Virodhin ...	Do.
Do. Kolhâpur Ins. No. 8.	1114	Paridhâvin ...	Do
Siṅghaṇa Yâdava, Khedrâpur Ins....	1136	Śrîmukha ...	Current year.
Kâmvadeva Châlukya	1182	Raudra ...	Years elapsed.
Mahâdeva Yâdava, Paṇḍharpur Ins.	1192	Pramoda ...	Do.
Râmachandra Yâdava, Ṭhânâ ...	1194	Aṅgiras ...	Do.
Do. do. do. ...	1212	Virodhin ...	Current year.

Out of these 24 dates, eight give the current year and the rest the years that had expired, the proportion being the same as in the other case, *viz.* 1 to 2. In all cases in which the cyclic year is given it is possible to determine whether the date represents the current or past year, but not in others. The inscriptions of the early Châlukyas do not give it, and hence the exact date remains doubtful.

Now the Bombay mode of reckoning, which is one year behind that prevalent in Madras, is, I believe, due to a mistake. We have seen it was more usual in recording a date to mark the years that had expired than the current year. A word expressive of that sense such as *gateshu*, "having elapsed," was used after the number, and another such as *pravartamâne*, "being current," was used in connection with the name of the cyclic year. These words were, for brevity's sake, afterwards dropped; and in the course of time the sense, to express which they were used, was also forgotten, and the number came to be regarded as denoting the current year. So that what we do on this side of the country is that we use the *past* or *expired* year without knowing that it is the *past* year. And there are in the inscriptions instances of mistakes due to the circumstance that the real *past* year came to be regarded as the current year. Thus in No. 86 of the Pâli, Sanskrit, and old Kânarese inscriptions, S'aka 911 is given along with the cyclic year Vikṛiti. Now, according to the tables, the number of years that had expired before Vikṛiti was 912 and the current year was 913. This discrepancy is to be explained by the supposition that S'aka 912 which represented the years that had expired came to be thought of as the current year, just as we, on this side of the country, consider 1805 as the current year now, though it indicates the past year, and the writer of the inscription wishing to give the years that had expired before his current year, put them as 911. The same is the case with Nos. 27, 67, 115, 130, 224, and 284, the S'aka dates in which are 1444, 1084, 1430, 1453, 1114, and 1128, respectively, and are two years behind the current year as determined by the cyclic years given along with them. In some cases the S'aka dates are in advance of the *Samvatsara* or cyclic year by one year. Thus in the Vaṇi-Diṇḍori grant of Govinda III. the S'aka date is 730 and the Saṁvatsara *Vyaya*, and in the Kânheri inscription of Amoghavarsha we have S'aka 775 and the *Prajâpati* Saṁ-

vatsara. Now the S'aka years immediately preceding Vyaya and Prajâpati were 728 and 773, while the current years were 729 and 774 respectively. This difference might be accounted for on the supposition that the *current* years 729 and 774 were from the usual custom understood to be *past* years and the writers of the documents desirous of giving the *current* years added 1 and put them down as 730 and 775. The date in No. 79 of Pâli, Sanskrit, and old Kânarese inscriptions is three years behind the current Saṁvatsara, and that in No. 228, four years; No. 221 has 1113 for 1121; and No. 246, 1492 for 1485. These must be considered to be mistakes.

The S'aka dates given in the preceding pages represent in *most* cases the years that had expired before the particular occurrences mentioned. Thus "in 855" means *after 855 years of the S'aka era had expired.*

APPENDIX C.

Introduction to Hemâdri's Vratakhaṇḍa.

Appendix C.

In the critical notes D. represents the MS. in the Dekkan College Library, No. 234 of A. 1881-82; D 2. another recently added to the collection; S. the MS. belonging to the old Sanskrit College, No. 657; Kh. the MS. belonging to Khâsgivâle, and G. the MS. procured by Gaṅgâdhar S'âstrî Dâtâr. See Section XIV., first page, note 2.

* श्रीगोपालमपारवैभवभवस्वच्छन्दलीलालयं
सान्द्रस्निग्धतमालकोमलदलश्यामाभिरामाकृतिम् ।
कूजत्कोकिलकामिनीकलरवप्रोल्लासिगोपाङ्गना-
गीतस्फीतपवित्रचित्रचरितव्रातं नमस्कुर्महे ॥ १ ॥
उन्मीलत्कमनीयकान्तिसरसीमध्ये विबुद्धप्रभं
सारासारविचारचारुमनसा हंसेन संसेवितम् ।
नित्यानन्दपरागसङ्गसुभगं वन्दारुवृन्दारक-
श्रेणीभ[१]ङ्गमनङ्गवैरिचरणाम्भोजद्वयं पातु वः[२] ॥ २ ॥

* These two stanzas exist only in a mutilated form in S. and D 2, but they occur fully in D. and Kh. which contain the shorter Praśasti. In G., which contains both the Praśastis mixed together, they occur at the head of the shorter one, so that they appear to belong to the latter rather than to the other.

१ सङ्ग for भङ्ग D. Kh. २ नः for वः D. Kh.

Râjapraśasti I.

जी[१]यान्नूतनभूतसर्गसमयाविर्भावसंभावना-
तु[२]ष्यत्तल्पभुजङ्गपुङ्गवशिरःश्रेणीशतैर्वन्दितः ।
कल्पान्तोपरमेषु नाभिकमले प्रोद्दामसामस्वर-
स्वैरोच्चारणचारणायितविधिव्याधूतनिद्रो हरिः ॥ १ ॥
अस्ति प्रशस्तं पुरुषोत्तमस्य शय्यागृहं क्षीरमयः पयोधिः ।
यदीयपीयूषरसायनेन स्वर्लोकभाजामजरामरत्वम् ॥ २ ॥
संतानचिन्तामणिकामधेनुकल्पद्रुमश्रीजननैकहेतोः ।
सिन्धोरमुष्मादुदभूदमन्दनिस्यन्दमाना[३]मृतबिन्दुरिन्दुः ॥ ३ ॥
ततस्तनूजं विबुध[४]प्रधानं बुधं सुधादीधितिरप्यसूत ।
बभूव तस्मादथ चक्रवर्ती पुरूरवाः पुण्यप[५]थानुवर्ती ॥ ४ ॥
अभजत ज[६]निमस्मादायुरायुः प्रजानां
नघुषपदनिदानं ज्योतिरासीत्ततोपि ।

१ जायान्नू॰ S. जीवन्नू॰ G. २ ॰त्नल्प॰ S. त्तुल्प. G. ३ ॰मानो G. मानी S. ४ प्रतापं for प्रधानं G. ५ र वा॰ for पथा॰ S. D 2. ६ जन S. D 2. जसि G. for जनि.

नृपतिरथ ययातिः ख्यातिमानप्यमुष्मा-
दयमपि यदुमूर्तिं[1] कीर्तिमाविश्वकार ॥ ५ ॥

यदोरदोषविशदैर्यशोभिरभिशोभितः
अन्ववायः स एवायमवाप यदुवंशताम् ॥ ६ ॥

ततः क्रोष्टा तस्मादजनि वृजिनीवानपि नृप-
स्ततो जज्ञे राज्ञः क्षितिपतिरिह स्वाहित[2] इति ।
नृशङ्कुस्तत्पुत्रः समभवदथो चित्ररथ इ-
त्यतो जातः ख्यातः स किल शशबिन्दुर्नरपतिः ॥ ७ ॥

ततः पृथुश्रवा वीरस्तदनन्तरमन्तरः ।
ततः सुयज्ञ उशनाः सितेयुरिति च क्रमात् ॥ ८ ॥

सूनुस्तस्य मरुत्त इत्यनुपमः प्रोद्दामदोर्विक्रम-
स्तस्मात्कम्बलबर्हिरुज्ज्वलयशः[3]प्रक्षालितक्ष्मातलः ।
एतस्मादुदियाय रुक्मकवचस्तस्मात्पराजिन्नृप-
स्तस्माद्भूरितुरंगमेध[4]सुकृती राजाजनि ज्यामयः ॥ ९ ॥

ततो विदर्भः क्रथकुन्तिवृष्णिनिवृत्तिसंज्ञाः परतो दशार्हः ।
व्योमा[5] च जीमूत इति क्रमेण जाता नरेन्द्रा विकृतिश्च वीरः ॥ १० ॥

तदनु भीमरथः पृथिवीपतिर्नवरथश्च ततो रथिनां वरः ।
दशरथः शकुनिश्च करम्भिरित्युपदिशन्ति पुराणपरायणाः ॥ ११ ॥

देवराज[6]स्ततः श्रीमान्देवक्षेत्रस्ततो मधुः ।
ततः कुरुबलो राजा[7] पुरुहोत्रः क्रमादभूत् ॥ १२ ॥

अथायुरासीदथ सात्वतो[8]भूदथान्धको[9]स्माद्भजमानसंज्ञः ।
विदूरथस्तत्परतोपि शूरराशिः[10] प्रतिक्षत्र इति क्षितीशः ॥ १३ ॥

बभूवाथ स्वयंभोजस्ततोपि हृदिकोभवत् ।
असूत सोपि धर्मात्मा राजानं देवमीढुषम् ॥ १४ ॥

निस्त्रिंशनिःशेषितवैरिपूरस्ततः क्षितिं पालयति स्म शूरः ।
ततोपि राजा वसुदेवनामा यो विश्वहेतोरपि हेतुरासीत् ॥ १५ ॥
वृन्दारवृन्दारकवृन्दमालिमन्दारमालासुरभीकृताङ्घ्रिः ।
आसीदमुष्मादसुरावतारभारापहाराय पुरा मुरारिः[11] ॥ १६ ॥

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१ मूर्तिः S. D 2. मूर्ति G. २ स्वाहित S. स्ताहित G. ३ यशाः S. G. ४ मेधि S. G. ५ व्योमावृ S. व्योमाय G. व्योमाछ D 2. ६ देवरातः D 2. ७ नाम for राजा G. ८ सत्वतो D 2. ९ ०न्धकस्मा० G. S. १० So both MSS., also D 2. But there must be a mistake. The name of Śûra's son शोणि is disguised as राशि. Perhaps the reading is शूरशोणी. ११ पुरा सुरारिः S. पुरारिः D 2.

बभूव प्रद्युम्नः किल कुसुमधन्वा मधुरिपो-
स्त्रिलोकीवीरोसौ तनयमनिरुद्धं प्रसुषुवे ।
ततो भूभृत्पक्षक्षपणनिपुणेनैव[१] महसा
परिस्फूर्जन्वज्रः[२] शतमखसखः प्रादुरभवत् ॥ १७ ॥
वज्रस्य सूनुः प्रतिबाहुरासीद्दासीकृतक्ष्मापतिचक्रवालः ।
ततोपि सम्राडभवत्सुबाहुः[३] प्रासूत सोयं चतुरस्तनूजान् ॥ १८ ॥
तेन ते सार्वभौमेन तनया विनयान्विताः ।
विभज्य वसुधाचक्रं चक्रिरे पृथिवीश्वराः ॥ १९ ॥
यथाविभागं वसुधामशेषां तेषां तदा पालयतां[४] चतुर्णां ।
दृढप्रहारी दिशि दक्षिणस्यां प्रभुर्बभूव प्रथमात्कनीयान् ॥ २० ॥
सर्वेपि पूर्वे मथुराधिनाथाः कृष्णादितो द्वारवतीश्वरास्ते ।
सुबाहुसूनोस्तु दक्षिणाशाप्रशासिनो यादववंशवीराः ॥ २१ ॥
ततः स राजा निजराजधानीमधिश्रितः श्रीनगरं गरीयः ।
लेभे सुतं सेउणचन्द्रसंज्ञं यत्संज्ञया सेउणदेशमाहुः ॥ २२ ॥
अथ धाडियसो महीपतिस्तनयस्तस्य बभूव भिल्लमः ।
अजनिष्ट ततोपि राजगि[५]स्तदनु प्रादुरभूत्स बादुगिः[६] ॥ २३ ॥

जज्ञे धाडियमस्ततः[७] प्रतिभटक्ष्मापालकालानल-
स्तस्मादाविरभूत्प्रभूतविभवो भर्ता भुवो भिल्लमः।
एतस्मान्महसां महानिधिरसौ श्रीवेसुगिर्जज्ञिवान्
हन्ता भीष्मभुजोजसा[८]मसुहृदां तस्मादभूदर्जुनः ॥ २४ ॥
अजस्रमाविष्कृतदानवारिः प्रभूतहस्तार्चितदानवारिः ।
ततः स राजा विरराज राजाश्रियो विलासैर्जितराजराजः ॥ २५ ॥
आसीद्विलासी नृपतेरमुष्मात्स भिल्लमः पल्लवितोरुकीर्तिः ।
स बादुगिः स्वादुगिरां कवीनां स्तोत्रैकपात्रं[९] भवति स्म तस्मात् ॥ २६ ॥
ततो महीं महीपालः[१०] पालयामास वेसुगिः ।
संहत[११]प्रोद्यदुद्दामधामसामन्तसंततिः ॥ २७ ॥
ततोपि नृपभिल्लमः समरसीमभीमक्रिया-
निरर्गलभुजार्गलायुगलकाललीलालयः ।

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१ स्व for एव D 2. २ परिस्फूर्ज्जद्वन्यः S.; G. totally incorrect and there is a lacuna. D 2. has वज्युः for वन्य of S. 3. The Purâṇic genealogy ends here. Subâhu, however, is there called Suchâru. ४ दायवतां D 2. ५ राज्ञगिस्तदुत D 2. ६ स बाहुगिः S. सुबाहुदुणः G. ७ This is the reading of S., D 2 and G. probably for धाडियस. But the name according to Paṇḍit Bhagvânlal's grant was धाडियप्प. ८ S. and G. have a wrong and unintelligible reading here. ९ पाव S. पावै G. for पात्रं. १० The visarga is dropped in S. and G. ११ संहत D 2.

ततः समदमेदिनीपतिपतङ्गभङ्गव्रतः
प्रतापशिखिलङ्घित[1]त्रिजगदङ्गणः सेउणः ॥ २८ ॥

समुद्धृतो[2] येन महाभुजेन द्विषां विमर्दात्परमर्दिदेवः ।
आस्थापि चालुक्यकुलप्रदीपः कल्याणराज्येपि स एव येन ॥ २९ ।

परम्मदेवः स ततो बभूव द्विषद्वधूनेत्रघना[3]म्बुवृष्टौ ।
प(ऐ) रम्मदेनेव रुचां चयेन यस्य प्रतापेन चिरं व्यराजि[4] ॥ ३० ॥

तस्मादनन्तरमनन्तभुजप्रतापः[5] क्षोणीपतिः समभवत्स ह[6] सिंहराजः ।
तस्यानुजस्तदनु भूवलयं बलीया[7]नत्रायत त्रिजगतीविजयी स राजा ॥ ३१ ॥
लञ्जीपुरात्समानीय कर्पूरतिलकं गजम् ।
स कर्पूरव्रतं पूर्णमकरोत्परमर्दिनः[8] ॥ ३२ ॥

तस्मादप्रतिमल्लोभून्मल्लगि[9]र्वल्लभः क्षितेः ।
उदजृम्भत जम्भारिर्भूरिदोर्दण्डचण्डिमा ॥ ३३ ॥

आसाद्य सद्यः स्वनिवास[10]हेतोः श्रीपर्णखेटं नगरं रिपुभ्यः ।
अहारि[11] येनोत्कलभूमिपालादुत्तुङ्गमातङ्गघटा हठेन ॥ ३४ ॥

तस्मादमरगाङ्गेयः संबभूव भुवः पतिः ।
अथाविन्दत गोविन्दराजः साम्राज्यसंपदम् ॥ ३५ ॥

ततो मल्लगि[12]पुत्रोभूद्भूपालोमर[13]मल्लगिः ।
अथ कालीयबल्लालः पालयामास मेदिनीम् ॥ ३६ ॥

महीपतेस्तस्य विहाय पुत्रान् गुणानुरक्ता यदुवंशलक्ष्मीः ।
श्रीभिल्लमं तस्य ततः पितृव्यमत्याजराजद्भुजमाजगाम ॥ ३७ ॥

यः[14] श्रीवर्धनमाससाद नगरं क्षोणीपतेरंतलात्[15]
यः प्रत्यण्डकभूभृतं च समरे दुष्टं व्यजेष्ट क्षणात् ।
यो वा मङ्गलवेष्टकं क्षितिपतिं श्रीबिल्लणं[16] जघ्निवान्
कल्याणश्रियमप्यवाप्य विदधे यो होसलेशं व्यसुं[17] ॥ ३८ ॥

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१ S. G. have लंवितः त्रिजग॰ २ समुद्धतो D 2. ३ व्रता for घना S. G. ४ Here S. ends, and the following is based on G. and D 2, of which the former is, as I have already observed, an extremely incorrect manuscript. ५ ॰ प्रतापं G. ६ साहि सिंहि G. ७ This word in G. must be some mistake as it has no significance here. D 2. has नुयामु which also is a mistake. ८ नन्दितः for मर्दिनः G. ९ G. has मुल्लगि॰ १० स्वनिवास is सनिवाह in G. ११ आहारि D 2. १२ मुल्लागि D 2. १३ ॰लोपर॰D 2. १४ स D 2. for यः १५ रंसलात् for रंतलात् G. १६ वज्रिणं for बिल्लणं G. १७ G. has वसु and D 2. व्यसं for व्यसुं.

Appendix C.

स दण्डिकामण्डलमण्डयित्रीमकम्पसंपत्प्रभवैर्विलासैः ।
चक्रे पुरं देवगिरिं गिरीशप्रसादसंसादित[1]दिव्यशक्तिः ॥ ३९ ॥

तदनु मदनमूर्तिः कार्त्तिकीचन्द्रसान्द्र-
द्युतिविशदयशोभिः शोभिताशावकाशः[2] ।
अभवदवनिपालो जैत्रपालः करालः
प्रहरणरणरङ्ग[3]त्तुङ्गदुत्तुङ्गखड्गः ॥ ४० ॥

दीक्षित्वा रणरङ्गदेवयजने प्रोदस्तशस्त्रस्रुवः
श्रेणीभिर्जगतीपतीन्हुतवता येन प्रतापानले ।
तिल्ङ्गा[4]धिपतेः पशोर्विशसनं रौद्रस्य[5] रौद्राकृतेः
कृत्वा पूरुषमेधयज्ञविधिना लब्धस्त्रिलोकीजयः ॥ ४१ ॥

तस्मादभूदभिनवस्मरचारुमूर्त्तिः[6]
कीर्त्तेः पदं स किल सिङ्घणदेवभूपः ।
उद्दण्डदोर्युगलगर्वितवैरिवीर-
सीमन्तिनी[7]वदनकैरवचण्डभानुः ॥ ४२ ॥

येनानीयत मत्तवारणघटा जज्जल्लभूमिभृतः
कक्कूलादवनीपतेरपहृता येनाधिराज्यश्रियः ।
येन क्षोणीभृदर्जुनोपि बलिना नीतः कथाशेषतां
येनोद्दामभुजेन भोजनृपतिः काराकुटुम्बीकृतः ॥ ४३ ॥

य[8]द्रम्भागिरिकेसरी विनि[9]हतो लक्ष्मीधरः क्ष्मापति-
र्येद्वाहावलिभिः प्रसह्य रुरुधे धाराधराधीश्वरः ।
बल्लालक्षितिपालपा[10]लितभुवां सर्वोपहारश्च यः
श्रीसिंहस्य महीपतेर्विजयते त[11]द्बाल्लीलायितम् ॥ ४४ ॥

कृष्णो महादेव इति प्रतीतौ जातौ ततः सिंहनृपस्य पौत्रौ ।
तयोस्तु पूर्वप्रभवः पुरस्तात् कृष्णोतिविख्यातमतिर्नृपोभूत् ॥ ४५ ॥

येनाकारि विशालवीसलचमूसंहारकालानले
हेलोन्मूलितमूलराजसमरे निर्वीरमुर्वीतलम् ।
येनानेकमहाफलक्रतुकृता संवर्ध्यमानोनिशं
क्षीण[12]ः कालवशात्पुनस्तरुणतां धर्मोपि संप्रापितः ॥ ४६ ॥

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१ In the MSS. we have प्रसादमासादित°. २ G. has विकाशः for अवकाशः. ३ रणरंगस्तुंगदुत्तंग. D 2. ४ तल्लिंग in G. ५ रौद्रस्य ought to be रुद्रस्य, unless the son of Rudradeva is meant. ६ कीर्त्तिः for मूर्तिः D. 2. ७ This line is thus written in G. सीमंतविनीदनकैरवचंद्रभासान्; also in D 2. except त् for last न्. ८ यद्वंगारिग G. ९ विनिकृतो G. १० लालित for पालित G. ११. यद्बाल° G. १२ क्षीणे G.

ततः कृष्णे राजन्यमरतरुणीचामरमरु-
त्तरङ्गैरुत्तुङ्गं दिवि किमपि तेजः श्रितवति ।

परित्राता भूमेः समजनि जगज्जित्वरमहा[1]
महादेवः सेवारसिकसकलक्ष्माभृतनुतः ॥ ४७ ॥

तिलङ्गक्षितिपालतूल[2]निचयप्रक्षेपचण्डानिलो
गर्जद्दूर्जरगर्वपर्वतभिदादम्भोलिदोर्विक्रमः ।
हेलोन्मूलितकौङ्कणक्षितिपतिः कर्णाटलाटोद्भट-
क्षोणीपालविडम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ ४८ ॥

यो भोजदेवान्नृपतेः प्रतापी जग्राह वाहं मदमन्दसत्त्वः[3] ।
सार्धं जनन्या सहजीवितेन सोमेश्वरस्यापि जहार राज्यम्[4] ॥ ४९ ॥

यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिष्ठ्यूतदानाम्बुतरङ्गिणीषु ।
सोमः समुद्रप्लवपेशलोपि ममज्ज सैन्यैः सह कुङ्णेशः ॥ ५० ॥

सीमोल्लङ्घनमेव यस्य जगतां संहार इत्युच्यते
क्रुद्धे वज्रधरेपि यः क्षितिभृतं मैनाकमत्रायत ।
स्मारं स्मारममुष्य दुःसहमहःसंदोहदावानलं
तेनाम्भोनिधिनापि कुङ्णपतिर्नारक्षि कुक्षिस्थितः ॥ ५१ ॥

बाहानामपि यस्य वैरिविषयेष्वातन्वतां धन्विना (ता?)
मातिल्लिङ्गनृपाङ्गणादनुदिनं वाद्यादिलीलाभवत् ।
यस्तस्यैव रणे जहार करिणस्तत्पञ्चशब्दादिकान्
यस्तत्याज वधूवधादुपरतस्तद्भूभुजं रुद्रमाम् ॥ ५२ ॥

Râjapraśasti II.

वंशो हिमांशोर्जयति प्रसिद्धो यस्मिन्स राजा यदुराविरासीत् ।
बभूव यस्मिन्नसुरावतारभारापहाराय पुरा मुरारिः ॥ ३ ॥

वंशे तस्मिन्कंसविध्वंसनस्य क्षोणीपालो भिल्लमः प्रादुरासीत् ।
निन्ये नाशं वैरिभूभृत्पतङ्गान्यस्यानेकद्वीपदीपः प्रतापः ॥ ४ ॥

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१ This महा is omitted in the MSS. since it is followed by another महा, and the copyists mistook the one for the other. The compound is to be dissolved as जगतो जित्वरं जगज्जित्वरम् । जगज्जित्वरं महो यस्य स जगज्जित्वरमहाः. २ चूल for तूल D 2. ३ मदमन्दसत्त्वः which is also the reading of D. 2, as an epithet of Mahâdeva, involves censure instead of praise. The correct form of the word is, probably, मदमन्दसत्त्वात्, in which case it would be an epithet of Bhojadeva. 4 After this follow stanzas 14 and 19 of the next Praśasti in D 2.

Appendix C.

नम्रीभवत्सकलराजसमाजमौलीमाणिक्यदीधितिविबोधितपादपद्मः ।
उद्दामदर्परिपुसर्पविहङ्गराजः श्रीभिल्लमादवनिपोजनि जैत्रपालः ॥ ५ ॥

तस्मादभूदभिनवस्मरचारुमूर्तिः कीर्तेः पदं जगति सिङ्घणदेवभूपः ।
उद्दण्डदोर्युगुल[1]गर्वितवैरिवर्गसीमन्तिनीवदनकैरवचण्डभानुः[2] ॥ ६ ॥

अथ सकलकलानामालयः पालनाय क्षितितलमवतीर्णः पौर्णमासीशशीव ।
अभवदवनिपालो जैतुगिर्नाम तस्मादसमसमरधीरद्वेषिभूपालकालः ॥ ७ ॥

स भूमिपालो जनयांबभूव कृष्णं महादेवमहीपतिं च ।
हिताय लोकस्य यथा पयोधिश्चिन्तामणिं कौस्तुभमप्युदारम् ॥ ८ ॥

जन्मान्तरोत्थं परिवर्तयन्तौ ज्येष्ठावरत्वं किल कौतुकेन
कृतावतारौ यदुराजवंशे प्रीत्या पुनस्ताविव रामकृष्णौ ॥ ९ ॥

धर्मार्थाविव तौ साक्षात्पालयन्तौ वसुंधराम् ।
विलोक्य लोकः सस्मार राजानौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ॥ १० ॥

दृप्यद्दारुणवाजिवारणरणक्षोणीषु जित्वा बहून्
दासीकृत्य तथापरान्विहितवानन्यानरण्यौकसः ।
इत्थं पार्थिवराजराजिविजयव्यापारपारंगत-
श्चक्रे शक्रजयाय कृष्णनृपतिः स्वर्लोकयात्रागतम्[3] ॥ ११ ॥

अथ प्रभावातिशयेन लब्धं विभज्य लोकद्वितयाधिपत्यम् ।
त्रिविष्टपं शासति कृष्णभूपे भुवं महादेवनृपः प्रशास्ति ॥ १२ ॥

तैलङ्ग[4]क्षितिपालतूलनिचयप्रक्षेप[5]झञ्झानिलो[6]
गर्जद्गूर्जरगर्वपर्वतभिदादम्भोलिदोर्विक्रमः ।
हेलोन्मूलितकौङ्कणक्षितिपतिः कर्णाटलाटोद्भट[7]-
क्षोणीपालविडम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ १३ ॥

अयं शिशुस्त्रीशरणागतानां हन्ता महादेवनृपो न जातु ।
इत्थं विनिश्चित्य[8] ततोतिभीतैरन्ध्रैः पुरन्ध्री निहिता नृपत्वे ॥ १४ ॥

अत एव हि मालवेश्वरः[9] शिशुमेव स्वपदे न्यवेशयत् ।
स्वयमाशु विहाय संपदः कपटेनैव चिरं तपस्यति[10] ॥ १५ ॥

विषमसमरकर्तुः शत्रवो यस्य पाणौ[11]
प्रलयदहनधूमश्यामधामातिभीमम् ।
पृथुतरकरवालव्यालमालोकयन्तो
भव शरणमितीमं मन्त्रमुच्चारयन्ति ॥ १६ ॥

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१ युगल Kh. २ चन्द्रभानुः D. & Kh. चण्डभातः G. ३ यात्रां गतः Kh. ४ तल्लिंग Kh. & G. ५ प्रोत्क्षेप Kh. क्षोक्षेप G. ६ चंडानिलो Kh. & G. ७ ०लाटोद्भवक्षोणी० Kh. ०लाटोद्भवः क्षोणी G. ८ इत्थं विनिश्चिन्तयतो विभीतैरान्ध्रैः Kh. विनिश्चिन्त्य D. ९ हिमाचलेश्वरं G. १० न पश्यति for तपस्यति G. ११ पाणेः Kh.

Appendix C.

यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिश्च्यूतदानाम्बुतरङ्गिणीषु

सोमः समुद्रप्लवपेशलोपि ममज्ज सैन्यैः[१] सह कुङ्गेशः ॥ १७ ॥

एतत्प्रतापो बहिरम्बुराशेर्[२]और्वोन्तरेप्यस्ति कुतः प्रयामि ।
चिरं विमृश्येति यदीयवैरी सोमेश्वरो वाडवमेव यातः ॥ १८ ॥

आस्ते मण्डितदण्डकापरिसरः श्रीसे[३]उणाख्यः परं
देशः पेशलवेशभूषणवचोमाधुर्यधुर्याकृतिः ।
तस्मिन्देवगिरिः पुरी विजयते त्रैलोक्यसारश्रियां
विश्रान्तिः सुरशालिशैलशिखरस्पार्धिष्णु[४]सौधावलिः ॥ १९ ॥

जगत्त्रयीगीतगुणप्रशस्तिः शास्ता समस्तावनिमण्डलस्य ।
श्रीमानिमामन्वयराजधानीं सोयं महादेवनृपो बिभर्ति ॥ २० ॥

कुर्वन्विभूतिविस्तारैरिलावृत्तसमश्रियम् ।
अधितिष्ठति हेमाद्रिरिमां विबुधबान्धवः ॥ २१ ॥

सा संपत्तदिदं यशो बलमिदं सोयं प्रतापो महा-
नैकेकं पृथिवीभृतो भुवि महादेवस्य लोकोत्तरम् ।
यस्य[५] श्रीकरणाधिपः स्वयमयं[६] हेमाद्रिसूरिः पुरः
प्रौढप्रातिभवर्ण्यमानविलसद्वंशो भृशं शोभते ॥ २२ ॥

इतिराजप्रशस्तिः ॥

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१ सोन्यैः G. २ ०राशेरन्तः पुरोप्यस्ति कुतः प्रयामि D. प्रयासि Kh. ३ सेवलाख्यः D. सेवणाख्यः Kh. The middle letter of the name in G. looks somewhat like ठ, but there is little question that the copyist had उ before him and made it appear like ठ by producing the nether curve and making its end touch the knot of उ. ४ स्पर्धालु D. ५ तस्य D 2. ६ अहं for अयं D 2.

THE

DYNASTIES OF THE KANARESE DISTRICTS

OF THE

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

FROM THE

EARLIEST HISTORICAL TIMES

TO THE

MUSALMAN CONQUEST OF A.D. 1318.

BY

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CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY.

No authentic work of a definite historical character, written by the ancient inhabitants of Western India, has ever yet come to light. But, in the inscriptions on copper-plates and stone-tablets, on monumental stones, the pedestals of idols, the walls and pillars of temples, and rocks, there have come down to us, particularly in the Kanarese country, a large number of original historical records of the most important kind. And in these records, which, chiefly engraved for the purpose of registering some grant to a priest, temple, or religious community, or of commemorating the death of some hero in battle, usually name the reigning king, with more or less information about his ancestors and predecessors, and are generally dated in his regnal year or in one or other of the Hindû eras, there exist abundant materials for compiling a detailed and connected history of the greater part of the Bombay Presidency and of the neighbouring territories of Madras, Mysore, and Haidarâbâd, from about the middle of the sixth to the end of the sixteenth century A. D., and, at the same time, for illustrating the development of the modern forms of the alphabets, and, in the Kanarese country, of the vernacular language,[1]

[1] In defining the limits of the Kanarese language, Sir Walter Elliot said (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. IV. p. 3; and *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science*, Vol. VII. p. 195) that "the boundary of the Kanarese tongue on the west and north may be designated "by a line drawn from Sadâshivagaḍ" (Kârwâr), "on the Malabâr coast, to the westward "of Dhârwâr, Beḷgaum, and Hukkêri, through Kâgal and Kurundwâḍ, passing between "'Keligaon' and 'Pandegaon,' through Brâhmapurî on the Bhîma, and Shôlâpur, "and thence east, to the neighbourhood of Bîdar." This, however, wrongly excludes Kôlhâpur.— Bîdar, in the Nizám's Dominions, is about fifty miles east of Kalyâṇi, and about sixty miles to the north by east of Mâlkhêḍ. As regards Shôlâpur, which now counts officially as a Marâṭhî district, Kanarese is still, to a great extent, the vernacular in the south-east corner of it. And there are Kanarese inscriptions of the Western Châlukya, Kaḷachurya, and Dêvagiri-Yâdava kings, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and some later ones, at Shôlâpur itself, and at Kûḍal and Môhôḷ in that district, and at Karajgi, Kûḍal, and Taḍwaḷ in the Akalkôṭ State.— In official language, three out of the four recognised Kanarese districts of this Presidency, *viz.* the Beḷgaum, Bijâpur, and Dhârwâr Collectorates are, together with the Kôlhâpur, Miraj, and other Native States, always called the "Southern Marâṭhâ Country." A more misleading appellation, however it originated, could not well have been devised. It is true that, in one of the earliest inscriptions, of Pulikêśin II., this part of the country is included in what was known then, and even many centuries before his time, as Mahârâshṭra. But this term, meaning literally "the great country," does not inherently imply any of the racial and linguistic peculiarities which are now naturally attached to the terms Marâṭhâ and Marâṭhî, derived from it. In the whole area of the so-called Southern Marâṭhâ Country, not a single Marâṭhî inscription has been discovered, of a greater age than two or three centuries. With the exception that two Prâkṛit records have been obtained at Banawâsi in North Kanara and 'Malavali' in Mysore, and that a few Prâkṛit words occur here and there in other records, the inscriptions are all either in pure Sanskṛit or pure Kanarese, or in the two languages combined. This fact speaks of itself, as to what the vernacular of the country was in early times. In the present day, the people and the language of the British districts are essentially Kanarese; and the Kanarese people and language have been displaced, to a certain extent, by the Marâṭhî people and language in the Native States, only because those States were established by the aggressions of Marâṭhâs from

and the decay of old and the growth of new forms of religion, the origin of many of the different land-tenures and territorial divisions that now exist, and many other subjects of political, historical, and antiquarian interest and importance. The title which I have given to my book may, indeed, seem rather to limit the results of the researches into these records to the southernmost parts of the Presidency. But I am not prepared to deal now with the history of Kâṭhiâwâḍ and northern Gujarât. For the rest of the Presidency, the dynasties which possessed it, one after the other, all had their chief seats of government in, or close to the borders of, the Kanarese country, and were identified specially with the Kanarese provinces as the most important parts of their dominions. And the title that I have selected will serve the purpose as well as any other, until we come hereafter to deal with the ancient history of India on a more comprehensive plan than has ever yet been aimed at.

The first systematic collection of copies of these inscriptions was made by Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I, who, when in the Madras Civil Service, was employed for a long time in the Kanarese districts. Besides a large number of facsimile impressions of copper-plate grants, he compiled manuscript copies of no less than five hundred and ninety-five stone-tablet inscriptions from the Kanarese country alone and in the Sanskrit and Kanarese languages, in addition to a large number of others from the Telugu country and in the Telugu language. The results of his labours were published in his paper on *Hindu Inscriptions*, which appeared first in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, First Series, Vol. IV. p. 1 ff., and was afterwards reprinted, with corrections and additions, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. VII. p. 193 ff. One copy of his collection of inscriptions from the Kanarese country, in two volumes entitled *Carnátaka-Désa Inscriptions*, was presented to the library of the Edinburgh University; and another copy of it was given to the Royal Asiatic Society, London.[1] And his collection of original copper-plate charters was presented, on his death, to the British Museum. The voluminous contents of the manuscript compilations made by him have as yet only very partially been made public.

In 1865, the Mysore Government published a photographic collection of one hundred and fifty inscriptions on stone-tablets and copper-plates at Chitaldurg, Baḷagâmve, Harihar, and other places in Mysore, from negatives taken by Major Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Regiment, M. N. I. And, in 1866, Sir Theodore Hope, K.C.S.I., then in the Bombay Civil Service, edited for, and at the cost of, the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of Western India, under the title of *Inscriptions in Dharwar and Mysore*, a series of sixty-four photographic

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the north, whose local influence proved to be greater than that of the native rulers whom they dispossessed. Even in those Native States, and in Marâthî official correspondence, the Political Agent at Kôlhâpur is, to the present day, always addressed as the Political Agent, not of the "Dakshiṇa-Mahârâshṭra" or "Southern Marâṭhâ Country," but of the "Karavîra Ilâkhâ and the Karṇâṭaka Prânt."

[1] My references are to the copy belonging to the library of the Edinburgh University. But probably the paging will be found to be the same in the copy that is in the Royal Asiatic Society's library.—I believe that there were also two other copies of this collection; but, what became of them, I do not know.

copies of inscriptions in the Belgaum, Dhârwâr, Bijâpur, and North Kanara Districts of the Bombay Presidency, and in the neighbouring parts of the Madras Presidency and Mysore, from negatives taken by Dr. Pigou, Bo. M. S., and Col. Biggs, R.A.;[1] and a few other inscriptions, from negatives taken by the same gentlemen, were inserted by him in another work, entitled *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore*, edited by him at the same time. These collections being out of print and difficult to obtain, and the negatives being available at the India Office, the contents of them were re-arranged by myself and compiled, with additions, into one volume, which was published by the India Office in 1878, under the title of *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions, from the Bombay Presidency and parts of the Madras Presidency and Mysore.*[2] And, in 1879, Mr. Rice, C.I.E., published, under the title of *Mysore Inscriptions*, translations of all the inscriptions included in Major Dixon's collection, and of some others collected by himself.

Meanwhile, a few detached inscriptions had been published by Sir Walter Elliot, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*,—by Mr. Wathen and Professor Dowson, in the early volumes of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,—by Bal Gangadhar Shastri and General Sir George LeGrand Jacob, in the early volumes of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*,—and by Dr. Taylor, in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay.*[3]

These publications, however, were desultory, and few and far between; and it was not till the *Indian Antiquary* was started by Dr. Burgess, C.I.E., in 1872, that any real impetus was given to the study of the epigraphy of Western India. His journal gradually attracted many competent writers, interested in the whole range of Indian epigraphy. And it undoubtedly also did much towards arousing the official interest which is so necessary for the successful prosecution of antiquarian researches in such a country as India, where official action must do what would elsewhere be accomplished by private enterprise, and which, previously wanting, soon afterwards began to be displayed.

In January, 1883, through the influence, at Simla, of General Sir Alexander Cunningham, K.C.I.E., and Mr. Gibbs, C.S.I., I was appointed to the specially created post of Epigraphist to the Government of India, with the primary duty of preparing the volume that was to contain the inscriptions of the Early Gupta kings. I held that appointment up to June, 1886, when it was abolished. And the book in question, entitled *Gupta Inscriptions*, and numbered as Volume III.

1 Only ten copies of this work were published. Of these ten copies, one was presented to each of the following,— the Royal Asiatic Society; the Société Asiatique at Paris; the German Oriental Society, Leipzig; the India Office Library; and Mr. Thomas, F. R. S.: and the remaining five were sent to Bombay for distribution.

2 The funds available, however, permitted of the publication of only nine copies of this work. They were distributed to the India Office, the British Museum, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bombay Secretariat, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. Gibbs, Dr. Burgess, myself, and, I think, the Bodleian Library.

3 I am speaking, of course, only of such publications as bear on the history of that part of the country which is the subject of the present account. Many other inscriptions were published by other scholars in the same Journals, and in the *Asiatic Researches* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, was finished in 1888. My work was fortunately rendered complete and successful by two things. In consequence of information given by Mr. Arthur Sulivan, Mandasôr was visited,— first in March, 1884; and there my copyists then discovered the all-important inscription which supplied what had always been felt to be a most urgent desideratum, *viz*, a date, for any one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in a standard era, capable of identification, other than the era that was habitually used by the Early Guptas themselves. It furnished the date of the Mâlava year, *i.e.* the Vikrama year, 493 expired, corresponding to A. D. 436-37 current, for Kumâragupta I.; and thus, with also a revised translation, given to me by Professor Wright, of a well-known passage in Albêrûnî's writings, I was enabled to prove, for the first time, what had often been asserted but had never been proved before,— *viz*. that the Early Gupta kings rose to power in the fourth century A. D., and that the dates of their records run, not from A. D. 77-78, 166-67, or 190-91, but from A. D. 319-20 or very closely thereabouts. And, at the end of 1886, Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit came to the front,— shewed how, with the use of certain Hindû Tables, Hindû dates may be converted into their exact English equivalents,[1] — and made the necessary calculations, some of them extremely laborious, for the Early Gupta dates, as the result of which, the given unqualified years being applied as current years, the exact epoch, or year 0, of the Gupta era is shewn to be A. D. 319-20, and the first current year, A. D. 320-21.[2]

During my tenure of the above-mentioned appointment, and for a year or so before it, I had from the Bombay Government an annual grant for the collection of impressions of inscriptions in the Bombay Presidency. Two hundred and twenty-villages, in the Belgaum and Dhârwâr Districts and in the Native States of the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, were visited by the men employed by me. Impressions were made of nearly a thousand inscriptions. And the impressions have now been deposited in the office of Mr. Cousens, Superintendent of the Bombay Archæological Survey, where they are available to anyone who will take them in hand for publication or study.

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1 See his paper entitled "a Method of calculating the Week-days of Hindû Tithis and the corresponding English Dates," *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 113 ff., and *Gupta Inscriptions*, Appendix III.; and, for certain corrected data, his note entitled "a Table for the Abdapa, Tithi-Suddhi, and Tithi-Kêndra," *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 268 ff.— Another interesting paper by him is that on "the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter," *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. pp. 1 ff., 312 ff., and *Gupta Inscriptions*, Appendix III.— On the line of study thus started, further light has now been thrown, by Professor Jacobi, in his papers entitled "Methods and Tables for verifying Hindû Dates, Tithis, Eclipses, Nakshatras, &c.," *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 145 ff., "the Computation of Hindû Dates in Inscriptions, &c." *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 403 ff., and "Tables for calculating Hindû Dates in True Local Time," *id.* Vol. II. p. 487 ff.; by Professor Kielhorn, in his papers on "the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter," *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 193 ff., 380 ff.; and by Dr. Schram, through the production of an English version of his "Tables for the Approximate Conversion of Hindû Dates," *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 290 ff.

2 See *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 69 ff.; and, for a final classification of the dates, with an explanation of the difference between the Gupta and Valabhî varieties of the era, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 376 ff.

In November, 1886, Dr. Hultzsch was appointed Epigraphist to the Government of Madras. This post he still holds. And he has already issued one volume, and the first two parts of another, of *South-Indian Inscriptions,* which furnish a great deal of new and valuable information about the Pallavas, the Eastern Chalukya kings, and their Chôḷa contemporaries, with incidental references to the history of Western India.

And, at some time in 1888 or 1889, Dr. Burgess, while, in succession to General Sir Alexander Cunningham, he still held the post of Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, started, for the Government of India, an official journal entitled *Epigraphia Indica,* intended specially for the publication of inscriptions. Of this work, Vols. I. and II. have been issued by Dr. Burgess. And subsequent issues are being brought out by Dr. Hultzsch, in connection with the *Indian Antiquary,* which, conducted by Dr. Burgess to the end of Vol. XIII., was continued through Vols. XIV. to XX. by myself and Major Temple, C.I.E., and is still going on under Major Temple's management.

The publications noted above, the later volumes of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Dr. Burgess' *Archæological Reports of Western India,* two more books by Mr. Rice entitled *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa* and *Inscriptions in the Mysore District,* Part I., and the materials collected in the Bombay Presidency, have now made available a great deal of additional information, which it has been my aim to utilise. The constant pressure of official duties has prevented my including all the details that could be supplied from the unpublished materials now on hand. As far as is practicable, however, I have worked them in. And I am able to put forth this second version, of a work which was first issued thirteen years ago under much less favourable conditions and has now been rewritten practically throughout, with the satisfactory knowledge that it contains many substantial improvements, and will add very largely to our knowledge of the ancient history of that part of the country with which it deals.

J. F. FLEET.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY DYNASTIES.

The earliest epigraphic records that bear in any way upon Southern India, are the inscriptions, belonging to the first half of the third century B. C., of the great Buddhist king Aśôka, the grandson of the Maurya king Chandragupta of Pâṭaliputra who was known to the Greek historians as Sandrocottos. Aśôka's dominions proper seem not to have extended south of the Narmadâ (*vulgo* Nerbudda). But, in all directions, he exercised an active suzerainty over provinces which lay on the borders of his kingdom. And, among the tribes mentioned in this connection, we find,[1] in the south, the Pêtêṇikas or inhabitants of Pratishṭhâna, which is the modern Paiṭhaṇ, on the Gôdâvarî, in the Nizâm's Dominions; the Bhôjas, nearer to the Narmadâ, or towards the coast of the Koṅkaṇ; the Risṭikas or Râsṭikas, who are supposed by some to be the Mahârâshṭrîs or Marâṭhâs of the Dekkan; and the Andhras, who were the inhabitants of a tract of country which embraced the region towards the east coast lying between the rivers Krishṇa and Gôdâvarî, and part of which, under the name of the land of Veṅgî, came, in the early part of the seventh century A. D., into the hands of the eastern branch of the Chalukya dynasty. Among Aśôka's independent neighbours there are mentioned,[2] for Southern India, two kings named Satiyaputa and Kêralaputa, probably towards the west coast,— the Pâṇḍyas, whose country was the triangle at the south of the peninsula, including the present Madurâ and Tinnevelly Districts of the Madras Presidency, and perhaps the Travancore State,— and the Chôḍas, *i. e.* Chôḷas, whose territory lay on the east coast, from the northern boundary of the Pâṇḍya kingdom up to the river Pâlâṛu.

It is probably to the first or second century of the Christian era, that we must refer the earliest two inscriptions that have as yet been found in the country with which we are dealing; *viz.*, one in a Prâkṛit dialect, engraved on the two edges of a large slate slab, on which there is sculptured a five-hooded cobra, in the court of the great temple at Banawâsi in North Kanara,[3] and one, partly in Prâkṛit and partly in Sanskṛit, on a pillar at 'Malavalli' in the Shikârpur tâluka, Mysore.[4] They are of the time of a king named Hâritiputra-Sâtakarṇi,[5] of the

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 240, 247, 248.

[2] *ibid.* pp. 240, 249.

[3] *Cave-Temple Inscriptions* (No. 10 of the brochures of the Archæological Survey of Western India), p. 100; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 331.

[4] I quote from an ink-impression which Mr. Rice was kind enough to send me.

[5] The second part of this appellation is a dynastic name. The first part is a personal name, a metronymic, meaning literally 'the son of a woman belonging to the family of the Hâritas;' and it is analogous to the Gôtamiputra or Gautamiputra, and the Vâsishṭhi-

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Viṇhukaḍaduṭu or Viṇhupaḍuchuṭu family, in respect of whom the 'Malavalli' record further tells us that he belonged to the Mânavya *gôtra* or clan,[1] and probably also that he was one of the kings of Vaijayantî, *i.e.* of Banawâsi.[2] The Banawâsi record is dated in the twelfth

putra, of the Andhrabhṛitya kings, and (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 227) to the Vâtsîputra, Gauptîputra, and Gârgîputra of one of the Bharaut inscriptions. The same metronymic, or a closely similar one, appears also in an early inscription in the Rîwâ or Rêwâ State in Central India, which records the construction of a cave by Haritiputra-or Hâritiputra-Saunaka (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 121). And the early Kadambas also, and the Chalukyas, are represented as Hâritîputras.— As regards the word Hârita, if it is the name of a Brâhmaṇical *gôtra* or clan to which a royal family was affiliated (see the next note), that *gôtra* must be a later offshoot from the original Harita *gôtra* of Professor Max Müller's list (*Sanskṛit Literature*, p. 383). But there was also a royal family of Aṅgirasa-Hâritas, who were descended from Ikshvâku, son of Manu, son of the Sun (see Wilson's *Translation of the Vishnu-Purâṇa*, Hall's edition, Vol. III. pp. 230, 231, 259, 280, and Muir's *Original Sanskṛit Texts*, Vol. I. p. 225).

[1] The word *gôtra* denotes a subdivision or clan, based on original family descent, in the Brâhmaṇ caste. And Dr. Bühler tells us (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 240) that, according to the compilations on *gôtras*, it was the practice of royal families to be affiliated to the Vêdic *gôtras* of their domestic priests.—In the present case, the *gôtra*-name seems, as in similar instances (see, *e. g.*, the preceding note; other cases are probably the Kâśyapa and Kauṇḍinya *gôtras* of epigraphic records, which seem to be offshoots from the original Kaśyapa and Kuṇḍina *gôtras*), to represent a later offshoot from the original Mânava *gôtra* (*Sanskṛit Literature*, p. 370). But the word is also a patronymic, meaning 'descended from Manu.' And Dr. Burnell,— who attributed the origin of the *Mânava-dharmaśâstra* or law-book of the Mânavas, popularly known as the Ordinances of Manu, to the period of the Western Châlukya kings of Bâdâmi, who also, with further the Kadambas, are represented as belonging to the Mânavya *gôtra*, — seems to have held (*Ordinances of Manu*, Introd. p. xxv., and note 4) that the Mânavas had then begun to call themselves Mânavyas, in connection with the tradition (for which, in detail, see Muir's *Original Sanskṛit Texts*, Vol. I. pp. 161 to 238) that the whole Hindû race was descended from Manu, the son of the Sun.—A Western Châlukya record, apparently of the time of Jayasiṁha II. and dated in A.D. 1025-26 (at Kalyân in the Baṅkapur tâluka, Dhârwâr District; *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 48), would account for the *gôtra*-name by the existence of a person named Mânavya: it says that the mind-born son of the god Brahmaṇ was Svayaṁbhuva-Manu; his son was Mânavya, from whom came all those who belonged to the Mânavya *gôtra*; Mânavya's son was Harita; his son was Pañchaśikhi-Hâriti; and his son was Châlukya, from whom sprang the race of the Châlukyas. But this is simply one of various inventions—(others in the present passage are the persons Hâriti and Châlukya)— devised, in a later period, to account for appellations the origin of which had been forgotten in the lapse of time.

[2] Banawâsi, in lat. 14° 33', long. 75° 5' (Indian Atlas, sheet No. 42, where it is entered as 'Bannawassi'), is a place of very considerable antiquity. It is the Vanivâsi to which, as recorded in the *Mahâvaṁsa*, the Buddhist teacher Rakshita was deputed, in the third century B. C., shortly after the great council held at Pâṭaliputra in the eighteenth year of Aśôka (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. III. p. 273). And it was also mentioned, in the second century A. D., by the geographer Ptolemy, in whose map of India (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 329), under the name of Banauasi, it is entered (quite wrongly) to the east by south from Barygaza, *i. e.* Broach in Gujarât. In inscriptions, the earliest mention of it, under the name of Vanavâsî, is in the Aihoḷe inscription of A. D. 634-35 (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 244). In later records, the name is usually written as Banavâsî in Sanskṛit passages, and as Banavase and Banavâse in Kanarese passages; the latter two forms being specially used, and generally so, when mention is made of the province, which was held to consist of twelve thousand cities, towns, and villages. The form Vanavâsa also occurs (*e. g., P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 178, l. 33, and *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, v. 23, and xiv. 4). Mr. Kittel has expressed the opinion that the etymology is *bana*, = *vana*, 'a forest, a wood,' + the Kanarese *basi* or *base*, 'a spring,' and that Vanavâsî is only a Sanskṛitised form (*Nâgavarma's Kanarese Prosody*, Introd. p. xxxi. note 2). But the occurrence of the form Banavâse, with the long *â* in the penultimate syllable, seems to be opposed to this, and to point to the Sanskrit *vanavâsa*, 'the residence or settlement in the forest,' being the original name. And there are traditions to the effect that the province of Vanavâsî is the part of the country in which the Pâṇḍavas spent the twelve years of their banishment to the forests, as related

year, on the first day in the seventh fortnight of the cold season.[1] No reference seems to be made to the 'Saka or any other era; nor is this king at present capable of identification. But the record is undoubtedly of very early date: Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, who first dealt with it, allotted it to the second century A. D.; and Dr. Bühler, who re-edited it, to a slightly earlier time. And the title of Sâtakarṇi, being associated particularly with the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty, suggests that this Hâritiputra may possibly be a member of that line of kings.[2]

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in the *Vana-Parvan* or third book of the *Mahâbhârata*. Thus, an inscription of A. D. 1035 at Baḷagâṁve, eighteen miles to the south-east of Banawâsi, says that, after the celebration of the *râjasûya*-sacrifice, "the five Pâṇḍavas came to Baḷḷigâve and established there five *liṅgas*" (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 155, and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 146). And the town of Hângal, sixteen miles to the north-east of Banawâsi, is called in inscriptions by names which represent it as the city or fort of Virâṭa (see more fully in chapter VIII. below); and Virâṭa was the king at whose court the Pâṇḍavas spent the thirteenth year of their exile, as related in the *Virâṭa-Parvan* or fourth book of the *Mahâbhârata*.— As regards the identification of Vaijayantî with Banawâsi, there is perhaps no absolute proof; but it is sufficiently established by two points. In the first place, one of the names of Banawâsi was the very similar one of Jayantî: it occurs in many records, and notably in an inscription at Banawâsi itself, at the temple of Madhukêśvara, which records that the stone cot of the god Madhukêśvara was presented "at the town of Jayantî" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 207, No. 8); and this same god, which was the family-deity of the Kâdambas of Hângal, is always called in their records "Madhukêśvara of Jayantî" (see chapter VIII. below). And secondly, a Western Chalukya record of A. D. 692, mentions "the district named Edevoḷal, in the north-east quarter in the vicinity of the famous town of Vaijayantî" *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 152): other records state that the district in question was in the Banavâsi province (*e. g., id.* Vol. VII. p. 300), and shew that it included Âlûr, Araḷêshwar, Bâlûr, Gejjihaḷḷi, Kyâsanûr, and Yeḷawaṭṭi, all within a seven-mile radius of Hângal; and it is obvious that Banawâsi, the capital of the province, is the town with reference to which, under the name of Vaijayantî, the position of the district is defined in the record of A. D. 692. And thus it can hardly be questioned that Vaijayantî, as well as Jayantî,— the latter of which names seems to be simply an abbreviation of the former,— was a name of Banawâsi.— Dr. Bühler, indeed, has quoted the St. Petersburg Dictionary to the effect that Vaijayantî occurs, in both Brâhmaṇical and Jain books, as the name of a town on the coast of the Koṅkaṇ, and has suggested that it is the sea-port Byzanteion of the Greeks (*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 28, note 2). And, of course, the similarity of the names is very tempting. But, if this identification is to be accepted, then there must have occurred some mistake similar to that which led Albêrûnî to speak of Banawâsi, by this name itself, as being on the sea-coast (*Albêrûnî's India, Translation*, Vol. II. p. 202).

[1] The original seasons, each including eight fortnights, were, *grîshma*, 'the hot weather,' *varshâḥ*, 'the rains,' and *hêmanta*, 'the cold season.' Other instances, of the use of this primitive division of the year in the records with which we are now concerned, are furnished by the grants of the early Kadamba kings (pages 288, 289, below) and by the grant of the Pallava king 'Sivaskandavarman (page 320 below). In other records, the system is found in the inscriptions in the Nâsik caves (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 107), and those in the Kaṇheri caves (*id.* Vol. V. pp. 75, 79), and in the Dudia grant of the Vâkâṭaka *Mahârâja* Pravarasêna II. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 258).— The present seasons, each of four fortnights, are, *vasanta*, 'the spring,' *grîshma*, *varshâḥ*, *śarad*, 'the autumn,' *hêmanta*, and *śiśira*, 'the dewy season.'— A significant trace of the primitive division of the year into three seasons only, is to be found in the *châturmâsya* or four-monthly sacrifices, performed, at the beginning of each season, on the full-moon days of the months Phâlguna (Feb.-March), Âshâḍha (June-July), and Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.).

[2] For an account of the Andhrabhṛitya, 'Sâtavâhana, or 'Sâlivâhana kings, see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884), pp. 11 to 34. Some detailed notice of them might suitably have been included in the present work, as their sway embraced some of the more northern parts of the Bombay Presidency; but I have never had leisure to study their records.

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The first record, however, which gives us any broad insight into the condition of Southern India, is the Gupta inscription on the Allahâbâd pillar, which asserts that, about the middle of the fourth century A. D., the Early Gupta king Samudragupta captured, and then released again all the kings of the *dakshiṇâpatha* or region of the south, *i.e.* of the Dekkan, including Mahêndra of Kôsala, Vyâghrarâja of Mahâkântâra, Manṭarâja of Kêraḷa, Mahêndra of Pishṭapura, Svâmidatta of Koṭṭûra on the hill, Damana of Êraṇḍapalla, Vishṇugôpa of Kâñchî, Nîlarâja of Avamukta or Âvamukta, Hastivarman of Veṅgî, Ugrasêna of Palakka or Pâlakka, Kubêra of Dêvarâshṭra, and Dhanaṁjaya of Kusthalapura.[1] The statement that Samudragupta conquered the above-mentioned kings, need not be accepted literally; especially, as it seems almost certain that the Gupta dominions were bounded on the south by the Narmadâ. Nor need we even take it as a fact that he invaded their dominions. But the list has its value, in shewing the principal and best known political divisions and reigning kings of Southern India at the time to which it belongs. Some of the above-mentioned territories and places have not yet been identified. But Kôsala was the country lying round Râypur and Sambalpur in the Central Provinces and Cuttack in Orissa. Mahâkântâra, the name of which means literally "the great forest," was perhaps the wooded hilly territory lying along the south of the Narmadâ. Kêraḷa was the country now known as the Malabâr District of the Madras Presidency, on the west coast. Pishṭapura was the modern Piṭṭâpuram, the chief town of a zamîndârî or estate of the same name, twelve miles north by east of Coconâda in the Gôdâvarî District, Madras Presidency. Kâñchî was the modern Conjeeveram, in the Chingleput District, Madras. And Veṅgî[2] was a country on the east coast; of which the original boundaries appear to have been, towards the west, the Eastern Ghauts, and, on the north and south, the rivers Gôdâvarî and Krishṇa; an indication of the position of its original capital is probably preserved in the name of Vêgi or Pedda-Vêgi, a village in the Ellore tâluka of the Gôdâvarî District.

Records from the eastern coast will probably enable us hereafter to piece together the history of Southern India for the next two centuries after the date of the Gupta record. For the present, such consecutive knowledge as we have, commences from about A. D. 550, and is derived primarily from the records of the first really great dynasty of Western India, that of the Western Chalukyas of Vâtâpi, which is the modern Bâdâmi, the chief town of the Bâdâmi tâluka in the Bijâpur District.[3] And the first of their records to throw any further general light on the subject of the tribal and dynastic divisions of the country, is the pillar-inscription of king Maṅgalêśa, from Mahâkûṭa near Bâdâmi,[4] which asserts that his elder brother

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[1] *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 12, 13.
[2] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 93.
[3] Lat. 15° 55′, long. 75° 45′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 41,—'Badamee.'— For the identification of Vâtâpi with Bâdâmi, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 238, 239. The Sanskrit name appears sometimes with the short *i*, and sometimes with the long *î*, in the last syllable. The intermediate Prâkrit form was Bâdâvi.
[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 7. The pillar now stands in the compound of the Government Museum at Bijâpur.

Kîrtivarman I., who reigned from A. D. 567-68 to 597-98, conquered the hostile kings of Vanga, Anga, Kalinga, Vattûra, Magadha, Madraka, Kêrala, Ganga, Mûshaka, Pândya, Dramila, Chôliya (*i. e.* Chôla), Âluka and Vaijayantî. Most of these names denote countries, and are well known; and some of the territories will be recognised as lying far away to the north and east: thus, Vanga and Anga were eastern and western Bengal; Magadha was Behâr; and Madraka appears to have been somewhere in the north-west of the Pañjâb. The other names, however, all seem to belong to Southern India. Kalinga was a country on the east coast, between the rivers Gôdâvarî and Mahânadî. The Kêrala, Pândya, and Chôla countries have already been defined. The Ganga country was probably the Gangavâdi province, in Mysore, which will be dealt with further on. Dramila was the Dravida or Drâvida country of the Pallavas, on the east coast, with Kâñchî, *i. e.* Conjeeveram, as its capital, with which, again, we shall deal further on. And, as we have already seen, Vaijayanti was Banawâsi in North Kanara.[1] The Mûshaka country seems, if the name may be identified with the Mûshika which occurs elsewhere, to be part of the Malabâr Coast, between Quilon and Cape Comorin.[2] Âluka is a new name; but, as it occurs as an epithet of Sêsha, the chief of the serpent race, it may possibly denote a branch of the Nâgas, who in early times were powerful in the more western parts of the country that became included in the Chalukya dominions.[3] Vattûra,

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[1] See page 278 above, note 2.

[2] See Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. *mûshika.*

[3] In the part of the country with which we are dealing, there are many place-names which, in my opinion, give reminiscences,— especially when the first component of the name is, not *nâga*, but *nâgara*,—of the Nâga race. Among them, is particularly noteworthy the Nâgarakhanda or '(territorial) section of the Nâgas,' which was a division of the Banavâsi province (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 144), and in inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. is mentioned as a *kampana*, or small district, containing seventy villages: it was situated just to the south of Âdûr in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr District, on the other side of the river Wardâ, and included Tilawalli in the Hângal tâluka, and Yammiganûr in the Kôd tâluka (*Carn.-Dêsa Insers.* Vol. I. p. 818; and *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 112); and in the Balagâmve inscription of Vinayâditya (A.D. 680 to 696) it is mentioned by the Prâkrit name of Nâyarkhanda, and as forming part of the government of the Sêndraka chieftain Pogilli. The Nâgarakhanda is spoken of by Bilhana (*Vikramânkadêvacharita*, i. 68); and, telling us that, when they left Ayôdhyâ, the conquests of the Chalukyas "in the southern region, where the betel-tree grows," extended as far as Nâgarakhanda, he seems to wish to connect the name with the word *nâga* in the sense of 'the betel-plant.' Also, an indication in the same direction is given in a Harihar inscription (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.*, No. 120), which says that the Nâgarakhanda "was ever bright with groves of *punnâga*-trees, of *nâga*- and *champaka*-trees, and of *nâga*-creepers." But the first component of the name, *nâgara*, being the Kanarese genitive plural masculine, points distinctly to its denoting the territory of the Nâga people.— The Nâgas evidently had, as their crest or token, the *nâga* or cobra capella, which, it may be mentioned, is called in Kanarese, not *nâga-hâvu*, 'the cobra-snake,' but *nâgara-hâvu*, 'the snake of the Nâgas.' With the exception of the present instance, they do not seem to appear in the local inscriptions, under the name of Nâgas, till we come to the time of the Sindas of Yelburga (chapter VIII. below), some of whose records allot them to the Nâga race. But the Sêndrakas and the Âlupas may possibly have been Nâgas.— The Nâgas figure prominently in the early history of Kashmir, as given in the *Râjataranginî*. In the Early Gupta period, we have the *Mahârâja* Mahêśvaranâga, son of Nâgabhatta, who is presumably to be allotted to a Nâga family or tribe (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 283); other chiefs of the race are probably found in the Ganapatinâga, Nâgadatta, and Nâgasêna, who were conquered by Samudragupta (*id.* pp. 12, 13); and an allusion to a defeat of the Nâgas by Skandagupta is possibly given in the Junâgadh inscription (*id.* p. 62). Also,

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also, is a new name, and is plainly a Drâviḍian word: it has not yet been identified; but, like Vaijayantî, it denotes a town or city, not a country.

The record, however, which really starts us on our present inquiry, is an inscription on a stone-tablet at the Mêguṭi temple at Aihoḷe,—the ancient Ayyâvoḷe in Kanarese, and Âryapura in Sanskṛit,—in the Bijâpur District.[1] It is of the time of Maṅgalêśa's successor, Pulikêśin II., and is dated in A. D. 634-35. And from it we learn that the dominant families in this part of the country, whom the Chalukyas first overthrew and dispossessed, were the Naḷas, the Mauryas, the Kadambas, and the Kaṭachchuris or Kalachuris, and that in the neighbourhood of the kingdom which they thus established, they shortly afterwards came more or less in hostile contact with the Gaṅgas, the Âlupas, the Lâṭas, the Mâḷavas, the Gurjaras, the Kôsalas, the Kaliṅgas, the Pallavas, the Chôlas, the Kêralas, and the Pâṇḍyas. The territories of some of these tribes have already been defined. As much as is known about the remainder of them will be put together in the following pages of this chapter, though some of it is connected more directly with somewhat later times.

The Nalas.

The Naḷas are mentioned in connection with Kîrtivarman I., who was the father of Pulikêśin II. and reigned from A. D. 566 or 567 to 597 or 598. He is described as "the night of destruction to the Naḷas, the Mauryas, and the Kadambas." And again, in the Kauthêm grant of Vikramâditya V., dated in A. D. 1009,[2] and in some similar records which also purport to give the history of the Chalukyas from the very commencement,[3] he is spoken of as "destroying the habitations of the Naḷas." Not much else is known about Naḷas. But we have evidently the name of their territory, with probably an indication that it lay in the direction of Bellâry and Karnûl, in the Naḷavâḍi *vishaya* which is mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Vikramâditya I. of about A. D. 657.[4]

The Mauryas.

The Mauryas, as we have just seen, are first mentioned in connection with Kîrtivarman I.; and they, also, are spoken of again in the Kauthêm grant, and the other records of that class, as having been conquered by him. All the further information that we have about them, for the same early period, is a statement, in the Aihoḷe inscription, that they were overwhelmed, in the Koṅkaṇ,[5] by the armies that were sent

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Tîvararâja perhaps conquered the Nâgas (*id.* p. 298). The Gurjara chieftain Dadda I. claims to have uprooted them (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII: pp. 84, 90). And they are possibly mentioned as being defeated by the Eastern Chalukya king Narêndramṛigarâja-Vijayâditya II. (*id.* Vol. XX. p. 101). They thus seem to have been spread, in early times, over more or less the whole of India. And they were probably an aboriginal tribe of more than usual importance and power.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 237.

[2] *id.* Vol. XVI. p. 15.

[3] *e. g.*, the Miraj grant of Jayasiṁha III., dated in A.D. 1024, and the Yêûr and Âlûr inscriptions of Vikramâditya VI., dated in A.D. 1077 and 1091 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 10, 21).

[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 225.

[5] The original text (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 242, line 10) has *Koṅkaṇêshu*, ' in the

against them by Pulikêśin II. It is not improbable that their capital is named as "Purî, the goddess of fortune of the western ocean," in the verse immediately following that in which their subjugation is recorded, and that this town is the Purî which, in the ninth and following centuries A. D., was the capital of the feudatory princes of the northern Koṅkaṇ branch of the Śilâhâra family, and was the chief town of

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Koṅkaṇas.'— The term Koṅkaṇ, though used in the Bombay Presidency in a more restricted sense, denotes properly the whole strip of land lying between the Western Ghauts and the Arabian Sea. The Western Ghauts commence at the valley of the Taptî in Gujarât. From one point of view, they end at Pâlghâṭ, at the south of the Malabâr District, Madras Presidency. But, from another point of view, they include also another range which commences on the south side of the Pâlghâṭ valley; and so they would run on to Cape Comorin, at the southern point of the peninsula.—In ancient times, there were seven divisions of the Koṅkaṇ, called the Seven Koṅkaṇs; (see, for instance, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 18, and *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 123, lines 25, 26, and No. 180, line 23 (*Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 32, 98). They were explained to Prof. H. H. Wilson (see *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 47, note) as being Kêraḷa, Tuḷuva, Gôvarâshṭra (which he identified with the modern Goa), the Koṅkaṇ proper (meaning, I suppose, Ratnâgiri and Ṭhâṇa), 'Kerâtaha,' 'Varalatta,' and 'Berbera.' And a verse in Dr. Gundert's Malayâlam Dictionary, *s. v. Koṅgaṇam*,— for which I am indebted to Dr. Hultzsch,—enumerates them thus; *Kârâṭaṁ cha Virâṭaṁ cha Mârâṭaṁ Koṅkaṇaṁ tathâ Havyagaṁ Tauḷavaṁ ch=aiva Kêraḷaṁ ch=êti saptakam.* The list given to Prof. Wilson, and the verse, may probably be accepted, as shewing that Kêraḷa and Tuḷu, *i.e.* the Malabâr and South Kanara Districts in the Madras Presidency, really were reckoned among the Seven Koṅkaṇs. And the verse appears to preserve a reminiscence of another of them, in the name Havyaga. But, otherwise, these two enumerations seem very imaginative. Epigraphic records shew that the Payve, Hayve, or Haive five-hundred,—corresponding probably to the North Kanara District, in Bombay, was one of the seven divisions; thus, a record of A. D. 1112 at Baḷagâṁve in Mysore, giving the myth about the formation of the Koṅkaṇ (which seems to embody the reminiscence of an actual upheaval that occurred within the memory of the present race of mankind), and aiming at also giving the etymology of the word, tells us that Paraśurâma, the son of Jamadagni and Rêṇukâ, having twenty-one times slain all the kings of the earth, *i.e.* the Kshatriyas, gave the whole earth to the Brâhmaṇs, up to the shores of the ocean; that then, considering that he himself should not dwell in the possessions of the Brâhmaṇs, he pushed back the ocean with the tip of his bow, and, when the western ocean would not give him even such a trifle as a drop (*kaṇa*) of water for his support, he took it by force, and, at the place where he took it, acquired, by a boon of the god Śiva (*Phaṇipa-kaṅkaṇa-varade*; the reference is to Śiva as wearing a hooded serpent as a bracelet), the Seven Koṅkaṇs as his place of abode; and that Haive was, as it were, the bracelet (*kaṅkaṇa*) of the lady, the Koṅkaṇ, which was thus considered to be "the creation of Paraśurâma" (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 172, lines 15, 17; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 83). Next to the Haive country, we may place the Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred, which was a portion of the possessions of the Kâdamba princes of Goa (chapter VIII. below), and seems to have corresponded pretty closely with the present territory of Goa; this may, perhaps, be identified with the Rêvatîdvîpa of the Aihoḷe inscription of A.D. 634-35 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 243). Next to the north must have come the Iridige country, mentioned in records of A.D. 700 and 705-706 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. pp. 129, 132), which is plainly marked as one of the Seven Koṅkaṇs, by being called a *mahâsaptama* or 'great seventh:' this must have included the Sâwantwâḍi State and the Ratnâgiri District. Next there must be placed the Koṅkaṇa fourteen-hundred of the northern Śilâhâra princes of the Koṅkaṇ (chapter VIII. below), which began somewhere about Chaul or Cheṁwal, in the Kolâba District, thirty miles south of Bombay, and appears to have extended over the whole of Kolâba, and Ṭhâṇa; this was also known as the Kâpardikadvîpa or Kavadidvîpa lâkh-and-a-quarter country (chapter VIII. below). And on the north of this there was the Lâṭa country, which (see page 310 below) probably coincided exactly with the modern Surat District, including such portions of the Barôda territory as are mixed up in it. We should thus have exactly seven acceptable divisions of the Koṅkaṇ. But the subject is capable of further elucidation; especially if the Koṅkaṇ is held to extend beyond the Malabâr District, and so to include the Cochin and Travancore States: in the latter case, the seven divisions would probably correspond pretty closely with (1) Travancore and Cochin; (2) Malabâr; (3) South Kanara; (4) North Kanara; (5) Goa; (6) Ratnâgiri; and (7) Kolâba, Ṭhâṇa, and Surat.

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a territorial division known as the Konkaṇa fourteen-hundred:[1] opinions have been expressed, identifying it with Ṭhâṇa, the chief town of the Ṭhâṇa District, close to Bombay,— with Ghârâpurî or Elephanta, an island, noted for its cave-temples, on the east side of the Bombay harbour, and about four miles distant from the mainland,— and with either Râjpurî in the Kolâba Agency, or Râjâpur in the Ratnâgiri District; but no conclusive identification has as yet been established. And they were perhaps descendants of some branch of the Maurya dynasty of Pâṭaliputra, which was founded by Chandragupta in the fourth century B. C. Other traces, also, of the ancient Mauryas, or of persons who claimed descent from them, are forthcoming from Western India.[2] A prince named Dhavala, of the Maurya lineage, is mentioned in the Kaṇaswa inscription, of A. D. 738-39, in the Kôtah State, Râjputâṇa.[3] And an inscription at Wâghlî, in Khândêsh, mentions a Maurya chief named Gôvindarâja, with the date of A. D. 1069, as a subordinate of the Yâdava *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* or feudatory prince Sêuṇachandra II. of the Sêuṇa country, and states that the original town of the Mauryas, or rather of his branch of the Maurya stock, was Valabhî,— the modern Walâ,— in Surâshṭra or Kâṭhiâwâḍ.[4]

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 277, 280; Vol. IX. pp. 38, 44; and Vol. XIII. pp. 134, 137.

2 A reminiscence of them is contained in an inscription of A. D. 1203-1204, at 'Bandalike' in Mysore,— (I owe an inspection of ink-impressions of this, and of the record mentioned just after it, to the kindness of Mr. Rice),— which, aiming at a succinct account of successive dynasties, says that the Nine Nandas, the Gupta family, and the Maurya kings, ruled over the land of Kuntala; then the Raṭṭas (*i. e.* Râshṭrakûṭas); then the Châlukyas; then Bijjala, of the Kaḷachurya family; and then the Hoysaḷa king Vîra-Ballâḷa II. And an inscription of about the twelfth century, at Kuppaṭûr in Mysore, speaks of the district that bore the name of Nâgakhaṇḍaka, *i.e.* the Nâgarakhaṇḍa country, as protected by "the wise Chandragupta, who was an abode of the excellent observances of the warrior caste,"—referring possibly to the Maurya king Chandragupta.— A legend about an imaginary king of Pâṭaliputra named Chandragupta (twisted by Mr. Rice from its real purport, so as to make it refer to Chandragupta, the grandfather of Aśôka) has been created— (how long ago, or how recently, is not clear)— among the Jains of 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa. But, as shewn by me elsewhere (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 156), there is no basis at all for it in the 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa inscription, of about the seventh century A. D., which contains the epitaph of the Jain teacher Prabhâchandra (for the full text and translation of this record, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV. p. 22); other inscriptions, of the ninth and following centuries, which mention a person named Chandragupta, give no hint whatever in the direction of his being a king, but, on the contrary, distinctly shew that he was simply a Jain teacher, and refer in reality to a pontiff named Guptigupta; and, as far as present information goes, the legend in question,— claiming to connect with 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa, not the great Chandragupta himself, but an otherwise quite unknown grandson of his grandson Aśôka, bearing the same name,— appears first in a Jain compendium, entitled *Râjâvali-kathe*, put together in the present century!

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 56.

4 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 221.— Valabhî is a very well known place, being the capital of a dynasty of kings who succeeded the Early Guptas in Kâṭhiâwâḍ.— There is a reference to Valabhî, as a *tîrtha*, in an inscription of approximately the ninth century A. D., at Araḷêshwar in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr District; the words are— "he who destroys this, becomes (like) one who commits the five great sins by destroying Baḷabhi (*i.e.* Valabhî), Vâraṇâsi, and 'Srîparvata." — Another reference to it, in a southern record, is contained in the Âtakûr inscription of A. D. 949-50, which mentions a feudatory of the Western Gaṅga prince Permânaḍi-Bûtuga, named Maṇalârata, of the lineage of Sagara, to whom it gives the hereditary title of "lord of Vaḷabhi, the best of towns." (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 173). And the same title occurs again in a fragmentary inscription at Muttatti in the Tirumakûḍlu-Narasîpur tâluka in Mysore (*Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I. No. TN. 12).

The Kadambas.

The Kadambas, again, are first mentioned in connection with the same king Kîrtivarman I., who is spoken of as breaking up their confederacy; and his conquest of Banawâsi, which was their chief city, is referred to in all the copper-plate records that include his name, and also in the Mahâkûta pillar inscription, where the name used for the city is Vaijayantî.[1] Two later families,— called, with a slight difference in the first syllable of the name, Kâdambas,— will be noticed further on, in chapter VIII. And we are concerned here with only an early family, which is known chiefly from ten copper-plate grants, of which seven were obtained at Halsî in the Khânâpur tâluka, Belgaum District,[2] and three at Dêvagere in the Karajgi tâluka, Dhârwâr District.[3] Their principal capital was undoubtedly Banawâsi, which is mentioned in their records by the name of Vaijayantî: but Palâśikâ, *i.e.* Halsî,[4] also was one of the important seats of their power, and Uchchaśriṅgî was another;[5] and still another is mentioned, Triparvata, which has not yet been identified.[6]

The Halsî grants, which were the first to come to light, disclosed the names of Kâkusthavarman and his descendants. But, though the earliest of them, speaking of Kâkusthavarman as a *Yuvarâja*,[7] shewed that he was not the founder of the family, yet none of them gave

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[1] See page 278 above, note 2.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 22 ff.

[3] *id.* VII. p. 33 ff.

[4] Lat. 15° 31′, long. 74° 30′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 41,—'Hulsee.'

[5] This place was identified by Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxxix.) with the well-known Uchchaṅgîdurg in the Bellâry District, Madras Presidency, in lat. 14° 34′, long. 76° 7′, about eleven miles to the north-east from Dâvaṇgere in Mysore. About fifty miles to the east by north from this place, however, in lat. 14° 45′, long. 76° 51′, there is another Uchchaṅgîdurg, three miles to the east of Moḷkâlmuru, in the Doḍḍêri tâluka of the Chitaldurg District, Mysore. A Kadamba inscription or legend is connected with this place. And Mr. Rice (see his note on "the Edicts of Aśôka in Mysore") seems now more inclined to think that this may be the ancient Uchchaśriṅgî.—A record of A. D. 1170 at Harihar (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 118; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 51) gives to the later Kâdamba Kêtarasa the hereditary title of "lord of Uchchaṅgigiri."

[6] The suggestion has been made to me,— by Mr. K. B. Pathak, I think,— that Triparvata is the modern Murgôḍ, the chief town of the Murgôḍ mahâl in the Parasgaḍ tâluka, Belgaum District. There is some similarity in the names: for, the Sanskṛit Triparvata means 'three hills or mountains;' while, in Murgôḍ, *gôḍu* is evidently the Kanarese *kôḍu*, 'the peak or summit of a mountain,' and, though Mr. Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary gives no specific authority for saying so, *mur* may perhaps stand for *mûṛu*, 'three,' the long *û* of which is shortened in *munnûṛu*, 'three hundred,' *mukkâlu*, 'three feet,' and a few other words. But *mur* stands more probably for *mura* = *muraka*, *muṛaka*, 'bent, broken, fragmentary.' And I am told that the name of Murgôḍ is, as a fact, Sanskṛitised both as Triśriṅgapura, 'the town of the three peaks,' and as Bhinnaśriṅgapura, 'the town of the broken peak.' Murgôḍ lies below the western face of a long range of low hills, in which there are plenty of projecting bluffs. I have not, however, been able to see, anywhere near it, any features suggesting the idea of three particular hills or peaks, to be singled out from the rest. And my own opinion is, that Triparvata must be looked for much further to the south, and somewhere towards the ghauts.—For some general remarks by Dr. Burnell on the Sanskritising of vernacular names, see his *South-Indian Palæography* second edition, p. x. note 2.

[7] *lit.* 'young king.' The title seems to have been always used to denote a person who, having been selected by the reigning king as his successor, was admitted meanwhile to a share in the administration,— probably with a view to really securing the succession.

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any clue as to how he came to be holding that rank, or indicated in any way how the family had risen to power. This information has now been supplied by an interesting record, of the time of 'Sântivarman, obtained by Mr. Rice from Tâḷgund in Mysore, which gives the following account:[1]— There was a family of Brâhmaṇs, Hâritîputras, and born in the Mâṇavya *gôtra*, who always planted the *kadamba*-tree (Nauclea Cadamba) in the neighbourhood of their houses, and carefully tended it. From this, the family came to be known as the Kadamba family. And in it there was born a certain Mayûraśarman,[2] who went, with his preceptor Vîraśarman, to the city (or a city) of the Pallavas,[3]— having a desire to master, in a very brief time, the whole of the sacred writings that are designated by the term *pravachana*. He was interrupted, in his studies, by a great commotion in the stables of the Pallavas. And, enraged at this, he set himself to shew that, even in the Kali age, Brâhmaṇs could be as powerful as the members of the warrior and regal caste. He applied himself to war,— conquered the guardians of the frontier of the Pallava kings, — established himself in a forest, difficult of access, in front of the 'Srîparvata mountain,[4]— and levied taxes from the Bâṇas and other kings. The kings of Kâñchî, *i.e.* the Pallavas, sought to overthrow him, and attacked him in many battles when he was marching through difficult country, and by surprises at night when he was encamped. But, with the "very ocean of an army" that he had got together, he destroyed their forces, and brought them low. And, at last, the Pallava kings, recognising his prowess and ancestry, thought it better to make friends with him; and they conferred on him the *paṭṭabandha* or binding on of the fillet of sovereignty, and gave him a territory on the shore of the western ocean, with a promise that it should be free from invasion. His son was Kaṅguvarman. His son was Bhagîratha. His son was Raghu, who "made the (whole) earth subject to his family;"— of which the meaning seems to be, that he first placed the power of the family on a really firm and wide footing. And his brother was Bhâgîrathi who established his reputation under the name of Kâkusthavarman.

[1] This inscription has not been published yet. Mr. Rice, however, was kind enough to bring it to my notice, and to send an ink-impression of it for my perusal. — One point of interest in this record is, that the characters are of the "box-headed" type, like those used in the Êraṇ inscription of Samudragupta and in the Nachnê-kî-talâî and Siwanî Vâkâṭaka records (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 18, 233, 243). The Koṇṇûr inscription of Dâmôdara, noticed a little further on, is in the same characters. The only other record in "box-headed" characters in this part of the country, known to me, is a fragmentary inscription on a sculptured stone at a temple at Saṅgsî near Bâwaḍa, in the Kôlhâpur State. The sculpture represents a woman on a funeral pyre. And the inscription records that the stone was set up by a prince, whose name is broken away, in affectionate memory of his wife Pâlidêvî.

[2] This is, doubtless, the origin of the name of the three-eyed and four-armed Mayûravarman, the Mukkaṇṇa-Kadamba of one inscription, whom the tradition of the later Kâdambas of Banawâsi and Hângal placed at the head of their genealogy (chapter VIII. below).— The tradition of the Kâdambas of Goa derived their origin from the three-eyed and four-armed Jayanta, otherwise called Trilôchana-Kâdamba, who sprang from a drop of sweat that fell to earth near the roots of a *kadamba*-tree from the forehead of the god 'Siva after the conquest of Tripura (chapter VIII. below).— Mr. Rice says that the *kadamba*-tree appears to be one of the palms from which toddy is extracted (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxxiii.)

[3] The record does not mention any names of individual Pallavas.

[4] *i. e.*, I suppose, the 'Srîśaila hill.

The inscription finally records that Kâkusthavarman caused a large tank to be built at Sthânakundûra (*i.e.* Tâlgund), or at a temple there, "which had been reverenced in faith by Sâtakarṇi, or by the Sâtakarṇis, and others," and that the record itself was composed and engraved by a person named Kubja, at the command of Kâkusthavarman's son Śântivarman. From this record and the Halsî and Dêvagere grants, we obtain the genealogy shewn on page 289 below.

Their records describe the Kadambas as meditating, and as anointed (to sovereignty) after meditating, on the god Svâmi-Mahâsêna, *i. e.* Kârttikêya, the god of war, and on the assemblage of his mothers;[1] as belonging to the Mânavya *gôtra* or clan;[2] and as being Hâritîputras, or descendants of an original ancestress of the Hârita *gôtra*.[3] And one passage appears to speak of them as descendants of the ancient sage Aṅgiras.[4] The seals of some of their grants bear an emblem which appears to be a dog.[5]

Of Kâkusthavarman,[6] we have one grant, from Halsî,[7] dated, without further details, in the eightieth victorious year, and issued from Palâśikâ. In it, he has the title of *Yuvarâja*;[8] but no indication is given as to the name of the reigning king,— who would be his father or elder brother. It records that, as a reward for saving himself, he granted a field, at a village named Khêṭagrâma, to the *Sênâpati* or General Śrutakîrti.

Of Mṛigêśavarman,[9] we have three grants, all issued at Vaijayantî. One, from Dêvagere,[10] is dated in the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.) in the

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[1] So, also, the Tâḷgund inscription says that Shaḍânana (Kârttikêya, as being 'six-faced') anointed Mayûraśarman (to sovereignty) after he had meditated on Sênâpati (Kârttikêya, as 'the general') and the Mothers.— The mothers of Kârttikêya are the Pleiades (Kṛittikâḥ), who reared him from the seed of Śiva, which was first thrown into the fire, and then was received by the Ganges. From this he derived the epithet of *shaṇmâtura*, 'having six mothers,' as well as his name of Kârttikêya.— The Chalukyas also are described, in somewhat similar terms, as meditating on the feet of Svâmi-Mahâsêna. But the reference to the Pleiades in connection with them is different, and will be commented in its proper place.

[2] See page 278 above, note I.

[3] In the grant of the third year of Mṛigêśavarman, the first component of the word is *Hâriti*, with the short *i* in the third syllable; and, grammatically, *Hâritiputra* is perhaps more correct than *Hâritîputra*; but in the other Kadamba records the word is *Hâritîputra*, with the long *î* in the third syllable; and this form was also used preferentially by the Western Chalukyas.— As regards the *gôtra*-name, see page 277 above, note 5.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35, text, line 4.— Whether this indicates a subdivision of the Mânavya *gôtra*, or what may be the meaning of the expression, I am not able to say.— Various texts speak of Aṅgirasa-Hâritas, who were descended, through Ikshvâku, from Manu, the son of the Sun (see Wilson's *Translation of the Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Hall's edition, Vol. III. pp. 230, 231, 259, 280, and Muir's *Original Sanskṛit Texts*, Vol. I. p. 225).

[5] *id.* Vol. VI. pp. 23, 25, 29.

[6] His name occurs both as Kâkusthavarman, and as simply Kâkustha.— The correct Sanskṛit spelling is Kâkutstha.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 23.

[8] See page 285 above, note 7.

[9] His name also occurs as simply Mṛigêśa and Mṛigêśvara; and in one instance, in prose, as Mṛigêśavaravarman. His father's name occurs also as Śântivaravarman; once in a metrical passage, and once in prose.

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third year of his reign, in the Pausha *saṁvatsara*;[1] and it records a grant of land, at a village named Bṛihat-Paralûr, to "the gods, the supreme *Arhats*."[2] Another, also from Dêvagere,[3] is dated in the eighth fortnight of the rainy season in the fourth year of his reign, without any reference to the cycle of Jupiter; and records that a village named Kâlavaṅgâ was divided into three portions, which were given, one to "the gods,—the divine *Arhat* or *Arhats*, and the great Jinêndra," one to the community of the ascetics of the Śvêtapaṭa sect, and one to the community of the ascetics of the Nirgrantha sect. And the third, from Halsî,[4] is dated in the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.) in the eighth year of his reign, in the Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara*; and records that Mṛigêśavarman caused a temple of Jina to be built, and gave some land to the divine *Arhats*, for the Yâpanîyas, Nirgranthas, and Kûrchakas, at Palâśikâ. In the grants of his third and fourth years, Mṛigêśavarman has the paramount title of *Mahârâja*, which in Southern India, at this time, still retained its original paramount meaning.[5] In the latter, his name occurs twice as Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigêśavarman; on account of which it has been suggested that he is the *Mahârâja* Śivakumâra, who is mentioned by Bâlachandra, in his introductory remarks on the *Prâbhṛitasâra*, as having for his preceptor the well-known *Âchârya* Padmanandi-Kuṇḍakunda.[6] In the grant of his eighth year, it is said that he overturned the lofty Gaṅga family, and was a fire of destruction to the Pallavas.

Of Ravivarman,[7] we have two grants; one, from Halsî,[8] not dated, records various Jain ordinances that were established by him

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[1] This is one of the *saṁvatsaras* or years of the twelve-year cycle of the planet Jupiter. —For an exposition of the cycle by Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, see my *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 161, Appendix III., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. pp. 1, 312.—In the dates in the Gupta inscriptions, the years are determined by the heliacal risings of the planet and the *nakshatra* in which he is at each such rising: and the names of them always have the prefix *mahâ* (= *mahat*), 'great;' thus, Mahâ-Âśvayuja, Mahâ-Chaitra, Mahâ-Mâgha, and Mahâ-Vaiśâkha. From the absence of this prefix in the grants of Mṛigêśavarman, I am inclined to consider that the reference here is to another system of the cycle, for which the years are determined by the passage of Jupiter among the signs of the zodiac, and the month-name is taken, according to his position, as the name of the year. If so, the present records give the earliest epigraphic instances, as yet obtained, of the use of the twelve-year cycle according to either the mean-sign or the apparent-sign system.—It would appear (see an article by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 83) that the grammarian Hêmachandra would interpret such terms as Pausha *saṁvatsara*, Vaiśâkha *saṁvatsara*, &c., as denoting ordinary luni-solar years in which Jupiter happens to rise in the *nakshatras* Pushyâ, Viśâkhâ, &c. But this does not seem appropriate and admissible, in the face of the unquestionable use of Jovian years not coinciding with the luni-solar years.

[2] The word *Arhat* denotes, among the Jains, 'a superior divinity.'

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37.

[4] *id.* Vol. VI. p. 24.

[5] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 305, 307. The title means literally 'great king.' —The actual expressions are, *Mahârâja* in the earlier grant, and *dharma-Mahârâja* in the other. The latter means "a *Mahârâja* by, or in respect of, religion," and may be rendered by "a pious, or righteous, *Mahârâja*." But what it actually denotes is, "a *Mahârâja* who, at the particular time of the record, was engaged in an act of religion (*dharma*)."

[6] By Mr. K. B. Pathak; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 15.—But, according to the *paṭṭâvalî* of the Sarasvatî-Gachchha, Kuṇḍakunda became pontiff in B. C. 8 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 351). And this is altogether too ancient a period for the Early Kadambas.

[7] His name occurs also as simply Ravi.

[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 25.

A Kadamba Pedigree.

- Mayûraśarman.
  - Kaṅguvarman.
    - Bhagîratha.
      - Raghu.
      - Bhâgîrathi-Kâkusthavarman.
        - Śântivarman.
          - Mṛigêśavarman.
            - Ravivarman.
              - Harivarman.
            - Bhânuvarman.
            - Śivaratha.
          - (Another son.)
        - (Another son.)

at Palâśikâ, including provision for the celebration, every year, on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), of the eight days' festival of the god Jinêndra; and the other, also from Halsî,[1] and not dated, records a grant of land to the god Jinêndra. The latter states that he conquered Vishṇuvarman and other kings, and overturned Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, lord of Kâñchi; and thus settled himself firmly at Palâśikâ. In addition, the Halsî grant[2] issued by Bhânuvarman, recording a gift of some land at Palâśikâ to the Jains, is dated in the sixth fortnight of the cold season in the eleventh year of the reign of Ravivarman. Like his predecessors, he had the paramount title of *Mahârâja*.[3]

Of Harivarman, we have two grants. One, from Halsî,[4] dated in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March), in his fourth year, records that, at Uchchaśṛiṅgî, at the advice of his paternal uncle Śivaratha, he gave a village into the possession of the sect of Vârishêṇâchârya of the Kûrchakas, for the purposes of a shrine of the *Arhat* which had been built at Palâśikâ by a certain Mṛigêśa, son of the *Sênâpati* Simha of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*. The other, also from Halsî,[5] dated, without further details, in his fifth year, records that,

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30.

[2] *ibid.* p. 27.

[3] The exact expressions are, *Mahârâja* in one of the grants of his son Harivarman, and *dharma-Mahârâja* (see page 288 above, note 5) in the charter issued by Bhânuvarman.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30.

at Palâśikâ, and by the request of Bhânuśakti of the Sêndraka family, he allotted a village for the purposes of a Jain temple which belonged to the community of ascetics called Aharishṭi. In both of his grants, he uses the paramount title *Mahârâja*.

One of the Dêvagere grants[1] gives us the names of a Kadamba *Mahârâja* Kṛishṇavarman,[2] and of his son, the *Yuvarâja* Dêvavarman. As the other grants do in the case of Kâkusthavarman and his successors, it describes Kṛishṇavarman as anointed (to sovereignty) after meditating on the god Swâmi-Mahâsêna and on the assemblage of his mothers, and as belonging to the Mânavya *gôtra*. It asserts that he celebrated the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice.[3] And it says that he enjoyed his heritage after attacking some chieftains of Nâga descent.[4] The charter was issued by Dêvavarman, at Triparvata. And it records the gift of some land to the Yâpanîya communities, or to the members of the Yâpanîya community, for the purposes of a temple of the divine *Arhat*.

Closely connected with the preceding, must be another copper-plate grant, which was obtained by Mr. Rice from Banahaḷḷi in the Kaḍûr District, Mysore.[5] It gives us the names of a Kadamba *Mahârâja* Vishṇuvarman,— his son, the *Mahârâja* Kṛishṇavarman I.,— his son, the *Mahârâja* Simhavarman,— and his son, the *Mahârâja* Kṛishṇavarman II., who may very possibly be identical with the father of Dêvavarman mentioned above. And it records that, in the seventh year of his reign, Kṛishṇavarman II. granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Koḷanallûra, in the Vaḷḷâvi *vishaya*.

Another copper-plate grant, obtained by Mr. Rice from Kûḍgere in the Shimogga District, Mysore, gives us the name of a Kadamba *Mahârâja* Vijaya-Śiva-Mândhâtṛivarman, who, at Vaijayantî, in the second year of his reign, granted to a Brâhmaṇ some land at a village named Kodâla.

And finally, an inscription at the falls of the Ghaṭparbhâ near Koṇṇûr in the Gôkâk tâluka, Belgaum District,[6] has brought to notice

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 33.

[2] His name appears also as simply Kṛishṇa.

[3] A ceremony which centred in a horse, and was concluded after the selected steed had been turned loose for a year, to roam about at will, guarded by armed men. The ceremony appears to have ended sometimes in the actual immolation of the horse, but sometimes only in keeping it bound during the celebration of the final rites. The successful celebration of a hundred *aśvamêdhas* was supposed to raise the sacrificer to a level with the god Indra.— The Early Gupta inscriptions say that Samudragupta (about the middle of the fourth century A.D.) restored the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, after it had been for a long time in abeyance.— Mr. K. B. Pathak (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 13) has taken Kṛishṇavarman and his son to be Jains by religion; and has expressed the opinion that the reference to the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice shews that Kṛishṇavarman was originally a follower of Brâhmaṇism, and embraced Jainism in the latter part of his life. But, such was the religious toleration in these early times, that the mere fact that the grant was made to Jains does not necessarily prove that Kṛishṇavarman and Dêvavarman were themselves of that religion. I do not find anything conclusive in the record, in support of that view. And the reference to Swâmi-Mahâsêna and the Mothers of mankind, and, still more, the claim to belong to the Mânavya *gôtra*, seem opposed to it.

[4] See page 281 above and note 3.

[5] See *Inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Introd. p. 15.— Mr. Rice having kindly sent me the original plates for inspection, I quote from my own reading.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 96. A point of interest about this ... [illegible]

another Kadamba name, that of Dâmôdara, and may perhaps indicate the point to the north-east, to which the Kadamba territory extended.

The precise date of any of the Kadambas is not yet known. Their records contain no reference to the 'Saka or any other era, and are, with one exception, dated only in regnal years; and neither from them, nor from any other genuine early records, can any names or facts be obtained, tending to establish definite synchronisms with other kings whose dates are known.[1] The exception to the dating in regnal years, is in the grant of Kâkusthavarman, which is dated in the eightieth victorious year. The year purports, by strict translation, to be his own eightieth year. But it cannot be the eightieth year of his *Yuvarâja*-ship; and, even if such a style of dating were usual, it can hardly be even the eightieth year of his life. It must, therefore, be the eightieth year from the *paṭṭabandha* of his ancestor Mayûravarman, which is mentioned in the Tâḷgund inscription.[2] This, however, helps us no more towards arriving at any definite date. As regards the more general question,— that all these records are of decidedly early date is proved, partly by the palæographic standard of them, partly by the mention of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter in two of Mrigêśavarman's grants, and partly by the references to the eighth fortnight of the rainy season in the grant of his third year, and to the sixth fortnight of the cold season in Bhânuvarman's grant, which shew that, in the period of these records, the primitive division of the year into three seasons only,— not into six, as now,— was still followed.[3] On the other hand, the reference to a Sâtakarṇi, or the Sâtakarṇis, in the Tâḷguṇḍ inscription, may eventually be used to fix the earliest period to which the Kadambas may be referred. But here, again, it still remains to determine which of the Sâtakarṇis is meant, and to fix his date. At present, all that can be safely said, is, that the Kadambas are to be referred approximately to the sixth century A. D.

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[1] There might be a temptation to arrive at some very definite fixtures, by identifying the Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, lord of Kâñchî, who was overthrown by Ravivarman, with the Pallava king Ugradaṇḍa-Lôkâditya-Paramêśvaravarman who was a contemporary of the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya I. in the period A. D. 655 to 680 (see further on in this chapter). But this would place the Kadambas too late.— Mr. Rice has allotted the specific dates of A. D. 420 or 438 to Kṛishṇavarman (father of Dêvavarman), A. D. 538 to Kâkusthavarman, A. D. 570 to Mṛigêśavarman, and A. D. 600 to Bhânuvarman (*e.g.*, *Mysore Inscriptions,* Introd. pp. xxxvii., xxxix, and *Coorg Inscriptions*, Introd. p. 2, note 5). But these dates depend simply on the statement, in the Western Gaṅga grants, that the sister of a Kadamba king named Kṛishṇavarman was given in marriage to the Gaṅga king Mâdhava II., whose reign is accepted by Mr. Rice, on the authority of the same records, as having ended in A.D. 425. And, as the Gaṅga records in question are spurious and worthless for any historical purposes (see further on in this chapter), no dates can be fixed by means of them.— The date of A.D. 438 for Kṛishṇavarman was, in fact, arrived at by myself,— from the spurious Gaṅga records (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 23); but this was before I had advanced in epigraphy sufficiently far to recognise their true nature.

[2] It has been suggested (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 13) that it is the eightieth year from the conquest of the Nâgas by Kṛishṇavarman; from which it would follow that Kâkusthavarman and his descendants were subsequent to Kṛishṇavarman and Dêvavarman. But this is quite disposed of by the Tâḷgund record.— While, on the one hand, Kṛishṇavarman cannot now be placed before Kâkusthavarman's line, so also there is no reason for placing him after it. The statement, in the Aihoḷe inscription, that Kîrtivarman I. broke up the "assemblage or collection," *i.e.* the "confederacy," of the Kadambas, indicates that there were two or three synchr...

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The Sendrakas.

An incidental reference in one of the Kadamba records has introduced us to the Sêndraka family, of which the representative in Harivarman's time was Bhânuśakti. We have also the following information about this family :—The Chiplûn grant, from the Ratnâgiri District,[1] of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II. (A. D. 609 to 642), mentions the Sêndraka prince Śrîvallabha-Sênânandarâja as his maternal uncle. A grant from Bagumrâ in the Nausârî District of the Gaikwâr's territory,[2] giving a short genealogy of Sêndraka princes, furnishes the names of Bhânuśakti ;[3] his son, Âdityaśakti ; and his son, Pṛithivîvallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti, with a date in the year 406, which, referred to the Kalachuri or Chêdî era,[4] fell in A. D. 655. The grant of the tenth year of the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya I., obtained from the Karṇûl District in Madras, and belonging to about A. D. 664, records that he bestowed the village of Raṭṭagiri at the request of the *Râja* Dêvaśakti of the Sêndraka family.[5] And an inscription at Baḷagâmve, in Mysore,[6] shews that the Sêndraka *Mahârâja* Pogilli was a feudatory[7] of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya (A.D. 680 to 697),— that his government comprised the Nâyarkhaṇḍa district, *i. e.* the Nâgarakhaṇḍa division of the Banavâsi province,[8] and the village of Jedugûr or Jeḍugûr,[9] which may perhaps be identified with Jeḍḍa in the Sorab tâluka, Shimoggâ District, Mysore,— and, probably, that the crest of the Sêndrakas was an elephant. Further, in connection with a Satyâśraya who is probably intended to be Pulikêśin II., one of the Lakshmêshwar inscriptions gives the name of Durgaśakti, son of Kundaśakti, son of Vijayaśakti, in the race of the Sêndra kings, who are allotted by this record to the lineage of the Bhujagêndras or serpent kings.[10]

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 50.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 265.

[3] Not to be identified with the Bhânuśakti who is mentioned just above.

[4] For the epoch of this era, see Prof. Kielhorn's paper, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 215.

[5] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 228.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 142.

[7] By this time, the title *Mahârâja* had lost its paramount application.

[8] See page 281 above, note 3.

[9] During this period of the alphabet, and for a long time afterwards, it is often impossible, in Kanarese names of persons and places, to distinguish between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*, and to decide whether the vowels *e* and *o*, and sometimes *i*, are long or short, unless some idea can be formed as to the etymology or identification of them. In such cases, it is my practice, with names that remain doubtful, to use the dental *d* and the short vowels, because the distinguishing marks can be subsequently added so easily, if required.— This should be taken as a general note, which will avoid constant annotation and repetition. It applies also to a few ordinary words, not names, which cannot be found in dictionaries, or cannot be connected with words that are to be found in them.— The same difficulty occurs in another detail also. There is never any confusion between the simple *ṭ* and *ḍ* (whether represented by its own sign, or by *ḍ*). But, when they occur in composition with the *ṇ*, it is often impossible to decide whether the compound means *ṇṭ* or *ṇḍ* ; except, of course, in well-known words, such as the Sanskṛit *maṇḍala*, and the Kanarese *gâmuṇḍa*.

[10] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 110, the second part of the inscription, lines 51 to 61.— This statement certainly suggests (see Mr. K. B. Pathak's remarks, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 14, note 10) that the Sêndrakas were of the Nâga race, as regards which see remarks at page 281 above, note 3. But, if so, then why does Pogilli's inscription at Baḷagâmve bear the emblem of an elephant, and not of a cobra capella? It must be remembered that, however authentic may be the contents of it, this Lakshmêshwar inscription was not engraved till after A. D. 967.— It has been thought (see *Ind. Ant.*

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The Katachchuris or Kalachuris.

The Kaṭachchuris are mentioned in connection with Maṅgalêśa, who was the younger brother of Kîrtivarman I., and reigned from A.D. 597-98 to 608; he is described as "obtaining as his wife, in a bridal pavilion that was the battle-field, the lovely woman who was the goddess of the fortunes of the Kaṭachchuris,"— *i. e.* as conquering them.[1] Whether this form of the name is due only to a mistake of the writer or engraver of the record, in forming *ṭa* instead of *ḷa* in the second syllable, or whether it is an authentic variant, the Kaṭachchuris are, undoubtedly, a branch of the same stock with the Kalachuris of the Ḍâhala or Chêdî country in Central India, whose power, as shewn by the epoch of their own special era, dated back to A. D. 249.[2] A closer approach to the customary form of the name is to be found in the Kauṭhêm grant of A. D. 1009, in which Maṅgalêśa is described as "the lord, by force, of the royal fortunes of the Kâlachchuris."[3] And a Sanskṛitised form of the name, Kalatsûri, occurs in Maṅgalêśa's pillar inscription at Mahâkûṭa.[4] As, in their later records, the Kalachuris of Central India represent themselves as descended from Sahasra-Arjuna or Sahasrabâhu-Arjuna,[5] there is possibly an early reference to them, as the Ârjunâyanas, in the list of frontier kings who, according to the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, did obeisance to Samudragupta.[6] Traces of them have been obtained through the copper-plate grants, from the neighbourhood of Jabalpur in the Central Provinces, of the feudatory *Mahârâjas* Jayanâtha and 'Sarvanâtha of Uchchakalpa, which refer themselves to an unnamed era that must be the Kalachuri or Chêdî era, and the dates of which range from A. D. 423 to 462.[7] And further

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Vol. XVIII. p. 266) that a Sêndraka is named among the witnesses at the end of the spurious Merkara grant of Avinîta-Koṅgaṇi (*id.* Vol. I. p. 365). But the word there is Sêndrika; not Sêndraka. And whatever it may be,— whether a proper name, or part of the name of a district,— the reference is of no citable value; exactly the same passage occurs both in this spurious Merkara grant of the year 388, and in the equally spurious grant of Arivarman (*i. e.* Harivarman) of 'Saka-Saṁvat 169 expired (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 215).

1 Originally I thought that the passage containing these words (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 241, text line 6) included also a reference to a victory over a low-caste aboriginal tribe named Mâtaṅgas,— analogous to the Ḍommas or Gipsies, who figure so largely in the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, and whom we find with a recognised king, or similar leader of considerable power and importance, in Southern India in A. D. 1162-63 (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 10). But, examining the verse again, I consider that the components of it are connected in such a way that the word *mâtaṅga* must be taken to denote the "elephants" of the Kaṭachchuris. And a hint in the same direction is given in the Nerûr grant of Maṅgalêśa, which describes the Kalachuri king, the conquest of whom is there mentioned, as "possessed of the power of elephants and horses and foot-soldiers and treasure."

2 See Prof. Kielhorn's paper on the Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chêdî era (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 215), which proves that the epoch or year 0 of the era was A. D. 248-49, and the first current year was A.D. 249-50.

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22, text line 23. To suit the metre, the short *a* of the first syllable is here lengthened.

4 *id.* Vol. XIX. pp. 10, 16. This rendering of the name tends to shew that it was originally spelt with the double *ch*.

5 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 14; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 253.

6 *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14.— An early coin of the Ârjunâyanas is figured in *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. p. 223, Plate xliv., No. 22.

7 *id.* pp. 117 to 135.— The dates were originally referred by me to the Gupta era; as regards the proper reference of them to the Kalachuri era, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 227.

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early references to them are probably to be found in the grant, from the Khândêsh District, of the *Mahârâja* Rudradâsa, which is perhaps dated in the year 118 of an unspecified era;[1] in the grant, from the Surat District, issued from the victorious camp at a place named Âmrakâ, of the Traikûṭaka *Mahârâja* Dahrasêna, dated in the year 207 of an unspecified era;[2] and in the grant from Kaṇheri, near Bombay, which is dated in the year 245 of the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikûṭakas:[3] if these dates are to be referred to the Kalachuri era, the results, taking the years as expired, are A. D. 367-68, 456-57, and 494-95. Now, the name Traikûṭaka is obviously derived from a place called Trikûṭa. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji has told us that a place named Trikûṭa is mentioned, in the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Raghuvaṁśa*, as a town of importance in Aparânta or the country along the Western coast, *i. e.* the Koṅkaṇ.[4] And the theory propounded by him is as follows:[5] — In the early centuries A. D., there were certain kings in Western India, holding Gujarât and the adjacent provinces, whom he has called the Western Kshatrapas, and who, he considered, used the 'Saka era. Certain coins shew that their rule was once interrupted by an invader, who assumed the titles *Râja* and *Kshatrapa*, and established another era. This invader was a certain Îśvaradatta, whose coins are dated, not in an already existing era, but in the first and second years of his reign. He belonged to a dynasty of the Abhîra caste, of which records are found in the Nâsik caves, and which probably came by sea from Sindh, conquered the western coast, and made Trikûṭa its capital. He probably attacked, and gained a victory over, the Kshatrapas. When he had consolidated his power, he began to issue his own coins, copying the Kshatrapa coinage of the district. His coins particularly resemble those of the Kshatrapa Vîradâman and his brother Vijayasêna. The coins shew that the reign of the latter ended in the year 170 of the era used by the Kshatrapas, *i. e.* in 'Saka-Saṁvat 170 (expired), = A. D. 248-49. Îśvaradatta's conquest thus falls at just about the same time with the foundation of the Kalachuri era, of which the first current year was A. D. 249-50.[6] And we may thus conclude that Îśvaradatta was the founder of an era, which was first known as the Traikûṭaka era,[7] and only in later times came to be called the Kalachuri or Chêdî era. As regards subsequent events, the Pandit held that Vîradâman's son Rudrasêna restored the Western Kshatrapa power, and drove the invaders out of the country; that the Traikûṭakas then retired to Central India, and there assumed the names Haihaya and Kalachuri; that afterwards, when the Kshatrapa power was finally destroyed, at the end of the reign of Rudrasêna, son of Rudradâman, the Traikûṭakas regained possession of their former capital, Trikûṭa; and that it was just about this time that Dahrasêna,

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 98.
[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 346.
[3] *Cave-temple Inscriptions*, p. 57.
[4] It is also mentioned, but without any indication as to its position, in the Vâkâṭaka inscription at Ajaṇṭâ (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 127).
[5] See the *Proceedings* of the Aryan Section of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, p. 216 ff.
[6] See page 293 above, note 2.
[7] As which, it is indirectly quoted in the Kaṇheri grant.

for whom we have the date of the year 207 (expired), + A. D. 249-50, = A. D. 456-57, succeeded to the sovereignty.[1] All this appears extremely probable. It is built up, largely, on the fact that, though the Western Chalukya kings of the main line of Bâdâmi used the 'Saka era, the local era of the country extending from probably the Damaṇgaṅgâ on the south to the Mahî on the north was the Kalachuri era, which we meet with in records of the seventh and eighth centuries, not only in the Gurjara territory in the northern part of that stretch of country, but even in the Lâṭa province of the Chalukyas in the southern part of it. But this fact itself proves that, at some time or other, the early kings of the Kalachuri dynasty had the sovereignty over the stretch of country in question. And the Pandit's theory adapts itself so well to all the circumstances that have to be accounted for, that it may be accepted as furnishing in all probability the true explanation of them.

As has just been mentioned, the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalêśa speaks of the Kalachuris by the Sanskritised name of Kalatsûri. It further records that these people were conquered by him in the course of an expedition to the north, and that their reigning king at the time was named Buddha. And it shews that the event took place between A. D. 597-98 and 602. By this conquest,—judging from the localities in Western India in which the Kalachuri era was used,—Maṅgalêśa must have acquired a considerable amount of territory, extending, in the Koṅkaṇ, up to the river Kîm at least, which was the northern boundary of the Lâṭa country, and perhaps even up to the Mahî: the country between the Kîm and the Mahî, however, belonged to the Gurjara princes, of whom an account will be given further on; and there are grounds for thinking that, though he may have established rights of suzerainty over the Gurjara territory, that country was not actually made a part of his dominions as the Lâṭa province was. The victory over Buddha or Buddharâja is also referred to in Maṅgalêśa's copper-plate grant from Nerûr, which adds the information that Buddha's father was 'Saṁkaragaṇa.[2] And these early members of the family are doubtless carried back one step further by a grant from Sâṅkhêḍâ, in the Barôda State,— referable to the same period,— which mentions a king named 'Saṁkaragaṇa, son of Krishṇarâja, with fairly certain indications, through the names of the places that are mentioned, that his sovereignty included the territory in the actual neighbourhood of Sâṅkhêḍâ.[3] The existence, in the direction of Gujarât, of an early king named Krishṇarâja, who may be allotted to this period just as well as to a somewhat earlier date, has also been established by certain coins from Dêvalânâ in the Nâsik

[1] The Pandit has also brought to notice (*loc. cit.* p. 222) a Traikûṭaka coin, "belonging to the period after the final destruction of the Kshatrapa power," which gives the name of the *Mahârâja* Rudragaṇa, a *paramavaishṇava* or most devout worshipper of the god Vishṇu, son of the *Mahârâja* Indravarman, or Indradatta (or perhaps Indradâman, I think). This person he believed to be "the first king after the revival of the Traikûṭaka power."

[2] *Ind. Ant.*. Vol. VII. p. 162.

[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 22.— The actual name in the original is 'Saṁkaraṇa. But there seems no doubt that, as proposed by Mr. Dhruva and Dr. Bühler, it is simply a careless mistake for 'Saṁkaragaṇa.

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District;[1] and, though the tendency has been to refer these coins to an early Râshṭrakûṭa king, who was supposed to have been conquered, somewhere about A. D. 500, by the Western Chalukya Jayasiṁha I., still there is nothing that compels us to connect them with the Râshṭrakûṭa or any particular dynasty, and nothing to lead us to believe that any victory over the Râshṭrakûṭas, or, indeed, any historical achievement at all, was accomplished by Jayasiṁha I: the supposed existence of an early Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇarâja, contemporaneous with Jayasiṁha I., depends upon nothing but a statement which first appears in the eleventh century A. D., and is to be accounted for by events which occurred about A. D. 975;[2] and, in all probability, the Dêvalânâ coins are coins of Kṛishṇarâja, the father of 'Saṁkaragaṇa.

In their later records, the Kalachuris of Central India call themselves also Haihayas;[3] and this enables us to establish certain other connections. The Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya (A. D. 680 to 696) subjugated the Haihayas, *i. e.* the Kalachuris. Lôkamahâdêvî and her younger sister Trailôkyamahâdêvî, the wives of his grandson Vikramâditya II. (A. D. 733-34 to 746-47), being Haihayas, were Kalachuri princesses. An intermarriage between the Haihayas, *i. e.* the Kalachuris, and the Eastern Chalukyas, took place in the case of Vishṇuvardhana IV. (A. D. 764 to 799).[4] The Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa II. (A. D. 888 and 911-12) married a daughter of the Kalachuri king Kôkalla, Kokkalla, or Kokkala I. His son Jagattuṅga II. married two sisters, Lakshmî and Gôvindâmbâ, daughters of Raṇavigraha-'Saṁkaragaṇa, a son of Kokkalla I. One of Jagattuṅga's sons, Indra III., married Vijâmbâ, a great-granddaughter of the same Kokkalla. Another of his sons, Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga, married Kundakadêvî, a daughter of Yuvarâjadêva I., who was a grandson of the same Kokkalla. And, finally, the Western Châlukya Vikramaditya IV.,— father of Taila II. who reigned from A. D. 973-74 to 996-97,— married Bonthâdêvî, a daughter of Lakshmaṇa, who was a son of Yuvarâjadêva I.[5]

In Western India, a later offshoot of the Kalachuri stock is probably to be found in the Kaḷachuryas of Kalyâṇi, who, originally feudatories of the Western Châlukya kings, usurped the sovereignty, on the downfall of Taila III., about A.D. 1162.[6]

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 68.— The coins describe him as a *paramamâhêśvara* or most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara ('Siva). The reverse has a bull, which ought to represent his crest.

[2] See, more fully, at the commencement of chapter III. below.

[3] *e. g.*, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. pp. 37, 263, and Vol. II. p. 5; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 253, 268.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 101, 415.

[5] For a table of the Kalachuris of this period, see General Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 85. It is verified, and may be supplemented, by the statements made in the Râshṭrakûṭa records, and by the information given in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 253, and Vol. II. pp. 6, 9, and in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 215, 219.— Edited records of the Kalachuris are to be found in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 116, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 251, and Vol. II. pp. 1, 7, 17, 174, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 209, 211, 213, 214, 218; also, edited records of the Ratnapur branch of the family, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. pp. 32, 39, 45, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 135.

[6] See chapter V. below.

The Western Gangas.

A good deal is now known about certain Gaṅga or Gâṅga kings of Kaliṅganagara, which is the modern Kaliṅgapatam, on the east coast, in the Gañjâm District, Madras Presidency. Thus, we have the Achyutapuraṁ grant of the *Mahârâja* Indravarman, also called Râjasiṁha, dated in the eighty-seventh year of some unspecified era, and attributable approximately to the seventh century A. D.;[1] the Parlâ-Kimeḍi grant of the same person, dated in the ninety-first year;[2] the Chicacole grants of a *Mahârâja* of the same name, Indravarman, dated in the years 128 and 146, and connected closely with the preceding;[3] the Chicacole grant of the *Mahârâja* Dêvêndravarman, son of Guṇârṇava, dated in the hundred and eighty-third year of an unspecified era which is doubtless identical with that in which the preceding four grants are dated;[4] the Vizagapatam grant of Dêvêndravarman, son of the *Mahârâja* Anantavarman, dated in the two hundred and fifty-fourth year of an unspecified era which may fairly be taken to be identical with the era used in the preceding five grants;[5] the Chicacole grant of another Dêvêndravarman, son of the *Mahârâja* Anantavarman, dated in the fifty-first year of the Gâṅgêya race;[6] the Alamanda grant of Anantavarman, son of the *Mahârâja* Râjêndravarman, dated in the three hundred and fourth year of the Gâṅgêya race;[7] the Chicacole grant of Satyavarman, son of the *Mahârâja* Dêvêndravarman, dated in the three hundred and fifty-first year of the Gâṅgêya race;[8] the Parlâ-Kimeḍi grant, not dated, of a king named Vajrahasta;[9] and, finally, the Vizagapatam grants of king Anantavarma-Chôḍagaṅgadêva,[10] which record the date of his coronation in A. D. 1078, and give a long genealogy going back to about the beginning of the eighth century A. D., at which time, it is said, a certain Kôlâhala built the town of Kôlâhalapura in the Gaṅgavâḍi province: this place is, as remarked by Mr. Rice,[11] the modern Kôlâr,[12] the chief town of the Kôlâr District in the east of Mysore: in the numerous inscriptions at the temple of Kôlâramma at Kôlâr itself, the name occurs in the form of

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1 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 127.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 131.

3 *id.* Vol. XIII. pp. 119, 122.— The interval of fifty-nine years between the first and the last of the four grants renders it practically certain that the last two belong, not to Râjasiṁha-Indravarman, but to a son or grandson of the same name.— For a possible identification, locating one of the two Indravarmans in A.D. 663, see page 334 below.

4 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 130.

5 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 143.

6 *id.* Vol. XIII. p. 273.— This record, and the next two, I look on with some suspicion, as being possibly not genuine. At any rate, the grant of the year 51 is certainly not earlier than the grants of the years 183 and 254,— much less, than the grants of the two Indravarmans.

7 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 17.

8 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 10.— Instead of the published reading of the date, as deciphered by me, read *saṁvachhara-śata-tray-aika-pañchâsat*, for, probably, *saṁvachhara-śata-trayê êka-pañchâśad-adhikê.*— The hint for this correction reached me through Dr. Hultzsch.

9 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 220.

10 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 161, 165, 172.

11 *e. g., Mysore Inscriptions*, Introd. p. xxviii.

12 Lat. 13° 8′; long. 78° 10′.

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Kuvaḷâla;[1] and other epigraphic forms of the name are Kovaḷâl and Kôḷâla.

But we are concerned here with another dynasty,— doubtless a branch of the same original stock,— which, for the sake of convenience, may be called the dynasty of the Western Gaṅgas or the Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavâḍi, and the possessions of which, usually spoken of as the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six thousand,— meaning "the Gaṅgavâḍi country, consisting of ninety-six thousand cities, towns, and villages,"[2] — lay principally in what is now the territory of Mysore. In the Tamil inscriptions from the east coast, the name of this country appears as Gaṅgapâḍi.[3] And the boundaries of it seem to be defined in a record of A. D. 1117 at Bêlûr, in Mysore,[4] which says that the Hoysaḷa prince Vishṇuvardhana, — mentioned in the same record as having acquired Taḷakâḍ and the Gaṅga dominions, and elsewhere as ruling the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand,— was then ruling, at Vêlâpura, *i. e.* Bêlûr, all the territory included between the lower ghaut of Naṅgali on the east, Koṅgu, Chêra, and Anamale on the south, the Bârakanûr pass through the ghauts to the Koṅkaṇ on the west, and Sâvimale on the north: of

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[1] I owe this to Dr. Hultzsch.

[2] There has been a mistaken idea, which apparently originated with Dr. Burnell (see his *South-Indian Palæography*, second edition, p. 67, last paragraph but one), that the numerical components of this and similar appellations denote the amount of revenue. And some apparent reason for it might be found in the facts that there are not as many as twenty thousand villages in Mysore, and not quite forty-four thousand villages and hamlets in the whole of the Bombay Presidency (4,492 in the Beḷgaum, Bijâpur, and Dhârwâr Districts; 18,912 in Kanara, Ratnâgiri, Kolâba, and Ṭhâṇa; 6,042 in Gujarât; and 14,532 in the Dekkan districts of Ahmednagar, Khândêsh, Nâsik, Poona, Sâtâra, and Shôlâpur). But there are quite enough passages to shew clearly that the reference is to the numbers, real, exaggerated, or traditional, of the cities, towns, and villages: for instance, the Aihoḷe inscription of A. D. 634-35 mentions "the three Mahârâshṭras, containing ninety-nine thousand villages" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 244); the Śilâhâra records of A. D. 1026 and 1095 distinctly speak of a division of the Koṅkaṇ containing "fourteen hundred villages" (*id.* Vol. V. p. 280, and Vol. IX. p. 38); an inscription at Pâṭṇa in Khândêsh, of about A. D. 1222, speaks as distinctly of "the country of the sixteen hundred villages" (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 345); and the meaning of the name of a territorial division called the Vêḷugrâma or Vêṇugrâma seventy, is explained by a passage which describes Vêḷugrâma as "resplendent with seventy villages" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 252).— Other instances of very large numbers are, the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two thousand, in the direction of Bellâry; the Kavadidvîpa lâkh-and-a-quarter, which was the northern part of the Koṅkaṇ; and the seven-and-a-half-lâkh country, which is the expression that was used in later times to denote the territory that was held first by the Râshṭrakûṭas and then by the Western Châlukyas. These large numbers must be gross exaggerations, based possibly on some traditions or myths. But there appears no reason for objecting to accept the literal meaning of such more reasonable appellations as the Koṅkaṇa fourteen-hundred and nine-hundred, the Sântaḷige thousand, the Tardavâḍi thousand, the Pânuṁgal five-hundred, and the Beḷvola three-hundred; and possibly, when we know more as to how far the larger numbers include the smaller, of the Kûṇḍi three-thousand, the Karahâṭa four-thousand, the Toṛagale six-thousand, the Palasige twelve-thousand, and the Banavâsi twelve-thousand.— The system of administration by dividing the country into circles of tens, twenties, hundreds, and thousands of villages, is prescribed in the *Mânavadharmaśâstra*, vii. 113 to 117.

[3] *e.g.*, Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 63, 65, Vol. II. p. 8.— According to the Tamil dictionaries, *pâḍi* means (1) 'a village or town,' and (2), as in the present case, 'a district or country.' In Kanarese, it appears as *vâḍi*; *e.g.*, in Gaṅgavâḍi, in the text above, and in Gondavâḍi, Mâsavâḍi, Naḷavâḍi, Noḷambavâḍi, Ruddavâḍi, Sindavâḍi, and Tardavâḍi. And in Sanskrit records it is occasionally represented by *pâṭi*; *e.g.*, Raṭṭapâṭi (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 294, and Śilâbhañjapâṭi (*ibid.* p. 354).

[4] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 18; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 260.

these places, Nangali is in the Mulbâgal tâluka of the Kôlâr District, Mysore; Anamale is evidently Anamalai in the Coimbatore District, Madras Presidency; and Bârakanûr is doubtless the mediæval Barkalûr, now ruined, in the South Kanara District of the same Presidency.[1] The capital of the Western Gangas appears to have always been Taļekkâḍ or Taļakâḍ, — called in Sanskṛit Talavanapura, — which still exists, under the name of Taļakâḍ, on the left bank of the river Kâvêrî, about twenty-eight miles to the south-east of the city of Mysore.[2] Their crest was the *madagajêndra-lâñchhana*, or crest of a lordly elephant in rut; it stands at the top of two inscribed stones at Kiggaṭnâḍu in Coorg,[3] and on the seals of the spurious copper-plate charters referred to further on. Their banner was the *piñchha-dhvaja*, or banner of a bunch of feathers.[4] And they had the

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[1] Lat. 13° 50′; long. 74° 53′. In the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 42, it is shewn by the name of 'Colloor.' In the sixteenth century A.D., it was one of the most noted places of trade in Western India.— Sâvimale has been identified by Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. lxxxiv., map,) with Savanûr, the chief town of a small Musalmân State in the Dhârwâr District. But I know of no substantial grounds for the identification. And the place is of no importance, strategic or otherwise.

[2] Lat. 12° 11′; long. 77° 5′.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 101. And it is mentioned in line 7 of the spurious Harihar grant (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 173), and in an inscription of A.D. 1055-56 at Bankâpur in the Dhârwâr District (noticed, *id.* Vol. IV. p. 203).— On the other hand, judging by the seals of their grants, the crest of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara must have been a bull (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 273, Vol. XIV. p. 10, and Vol. XVIII. pp. 143, 161, 165, 172, and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. pp. 130, 220).— On the general question of crests and seals, see the next note.

[4] It is mentioned in the Udayêndiram grant of a Ganga prince named Hastimalla, a vassal of the Chôḷa king Parântaka I. (*Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. p. 369; see also *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 165), and in an inscription of about the eleventh century A.D. at Kalbhâvi in the Belgaum District (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 309), in which it is called "the banner of the divine *Arhat*."—There appears to have been an originally uniform practice of having one device for the *lâñchhana* or crest, used on the seals of copper-plate charters, at the tops, occasionally, of inscriptions on stone, and on coins, and another device for the *dhvaja* or banner; and, except in some metrical passages, the distinction is always marked by the use of the technical terms *lâñchhana* and *dhvaja*. The Pallavas had the bull-crest, and the banner bearing a representation of the club of the god Śiva. The Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi, and doubtless the later dynasty of Kalyâṇi, had the boar-crest, and the *pâlidhvaja* or banner of a particular arrangement of flags in rows. The Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ had the Garuḍa-crest, and the *pâlidhvaja*, and also the *ôka-kêtu* or (?) bird-ensign. The Raṭṭas of Saundatti had the elephant-crest, and the Garuḍa-banner. The Kâdambas of Hângal had the lion-crest and the monkey-banner. The Kâdambas of Goa also had the monkey-banner; and the lion appears on their seals and coins. One branch of the Sindas had the tiger-crest, and the hooded-serpent banner; and another branch had the crest of a tiger and a deer, and the *nîla-dhvaja* or blue banner. And the Guttas of Guttal had the lion-crest, and the fig-tree and Garuḍa banners.—Among the later families there are some exceptions to the rule of shewing the crest on the seals of charters. The Kaḷachuryas of Kalyâṇi had the bull-banner; and the bull appears on the seals of the two charters which have come to light. The Yâdavas of Dêvagiri had the Garuḍa-banner; and the Garuḍa was used on the seals of their charters, — sometimes in connection with a representation of the monkey-god Hanumat, which may have been their crest (especially as in one instance it appears alone). The Śilâhâras, with the Garuḍa-banner, used the same device on their seals. The seal of the only copper-plate charter of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti that has come to light, shews the Garuḍa,—the device on their banner,— in spite of the elephant-crest being distinctly attributed to them. And the seals of some of the later charters of even the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ, shew a representation of the god Śiva, instead of the Garuḍa-crest.—The Hoysaḷas of Dôrasamudra are represented as having both the tiger-crest and the tiger-banner. But the passages are in verse; and it is difficult to decide whether the device was that of the crest, or of the banner, or really of both.

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hereditary titles of *Kovaḷâla-*, *Kuvaḷâla-*, or *Kôḷâla-puravar-ėśvara* or "lord of Kovaḷâla, Kuvaḷâla, or Kôḷâla, the best of towns," with reference to Kôlâr, and of *Nandagiri-nâtha* or "lord of the mountain Nandagiri," with reference doubtless, as Mr. Rice has said,[1] to the modern Nandidurg, a hill-fort about thirty-six miles north of Kôlâr; these titles seem to appear first in connection with the first Nîtimârga-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi, in the early part of the ninth century A. D.

The fact has already been stated, that mention is made of some Gaṅgas, as being overthrown by the early Kadamba king Mṛigêśavarman.[2] In the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription, Gaṅgas are included among the hostile peoples whose kings were conquered by Kîrtivarman I. between A. D. 567-68 and 597-98.[3] They are referred to again, in the Aihole inscription, as being subjugated, with the Âḷupas, by Pulikêśin II., about A. D. 608.[4] And the Harihar grant of Vinayâditya, dated in A. D. 694, speaks of them, again in conjunction with the Âḷupas,— here called Âḷuvas,— as hereditary servants of the Western Chalukya kings,[5] to whose dynasty Kîrtivarman I., Pulikêśin II., and Vinayâditya belonged. These statements cannot all refer, if any of them do so, only to the Gaṅgas of the east coast. And they suffice to shew that, in early times, there really was a reigning Gaṅga family in Western India. For the period, however, with which we are at present more directly concerned, the references are all impersonal; and no individual names are forthcoming until about a century after the latest date mentioned just above. There have, indeed, been known for a long time past various copper-plate charters,[6] which purport to give an unbroken genealogical list going back to the first century A.D., and to furnish specific early dates in connection with certain names in it; thus, they would give the names of Harivarman with a date in A. D. 248,— of Vishṇugôpa, with a date in A.D. 351,— of Avinîta-Koṅgaṇi, with dates in A.D. 454-55 and 466,— of Durvinîta-Koṅgaṇi, with dates in A.D. 481-82 and 513-14,—and of 'Srîpurusha-Pṛithuvi-Koṅgaṇi, with the dates of A.D. 762 and 776-77. And such supposed information as is derivable from them, from some other epigraphic records which have not yet been fully made available, and from a Tamil chronicle called *Koṅgudêśa-Râjâkkaḷ*, has been compiled and published by Mr. Rice, with the result of a tolerably lengthy and circumstantial account, such as it is.[7] But the charters in question are all spurious; the information given in them is absolutely unreliable; any similar statements, based on them or on the sources from which they were concocted, and included in later charters that may be genuine, are equally inadmissible; and the chronicle is absolutely worthless for any historical

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[1] *e. g.*, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xlv.

[2] Page 288 above.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 19.

[4] *id.* Vol. VIII. p. 244.

[5] *id.* Vol. VII. p. 303.

[6] *id.* Vol. I. p. 363, Vol. II. p. 155, Vol. V. pp. 133, 138, and Vol. VII. pp. 168, 174, and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 284,— edited by Mr. Rice; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 212, and Vol. XIV. p. 229,— edited by myself.

[7] See *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xl. ff., *Coorg Inscriptions*, Introd. pp. 1-11, *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Introd. pp. 67-70, and, finally, *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., Introd. pp. 7, 8; also some remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 187 ff.

purposes.[1] Almost everything that has been written on the understanding that the records in question, and the chronicle, furnish authentic information, requires to be ignored and cancelled. And the general result is, that no individual Western Gaṅga names are as yet forthcoming for the early period with which this chapter specially deals; and we can treat here only of somewhat later times. Out of the names mentioned in the spurious charters, the first one which is

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[1] For the proof of this, see my remarks in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. pp. 159 to 176; the matter is too long to be repeated here.— Spurious records are by no means uncommon, and have been met with in all parts of India. But Mysore, with some neighbouring localities, has been especially productive of them, including some of the most bare-faced specimens, purporting to be even nearly five thousand years old. Out of twenty-six records of this nature enumerated by me on page 172 f., note 6, in my remarks referred to above, thirteen (including the nine Western Gaṅga grants which purport to belong to the earlier period of the family) are from Mysore. And Mr. Rice's *Inscriptions in Mysore*, Part I., supplies the following additional instances:— (1) No. Nj. 199, an inscription on stone at Gaṭṭavâḍi; this does not actually mention the Gaṅgas; but it purports to be dated, in the reign of a certain Ereha-Vemmaḍi, in the Aṅgiras *saṁvatsara*, coupled with 'Saka-Saṁvat 111 by mistake for 114 expired or 115 current, = A.D. 192-93: a lithograph is given, and the characters shew that the record belongs to the ninth or tenth century A. D. (2) No. Nj. 122, a copper-plate grant at Tagaḍûr; this purports to be dated in the time of the Western Gaṅga king Harivarman, in the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, coupled with 'S.-S. 188 expired by mistake for 170 expired, = A.D. 248-249 (or for any other year with which Vibhava may have coincided): a lithograph is given; and the characters, which are of much the same general style with those of the spurious Tanjore grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 212) which purports to give a date in A. D. 248 for the same person, suggest the tenth century A. D. as the earliest possible period for the concoction of the record. (3) No. Md. 113, a copper-plate grant at Haḷḷegere (noticed by me in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 174, note 4); this purports to be dated in the time of the Western Gaṅga king 'Sivamâra I., in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, 'S.-S. 635 expired, = A.D. 713-714: a lithograph is given; and, like some of the others, this record betrays itself by using the later and cursive form of the *kh* (in connection with the name of Viśvakarman, the alleged writer of this record, Mr. Rice again misrepresents what was said by Sir Walter Elliot; see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 164, note 1). To these we have to add, also from Mysore, (4) a Suradhênupura copper-plate grant (*Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., Introd. p. 3), which purports to be dated in the third year of the reign of 'Sivamâra II., in the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 729, expired, = A.D. 807-808: a lithograph of this grant is not available yet; but there is every reason to believe that the record will betray its spurious nature in the way in which the others do; and it may be noted that, unless it introduces any fresh names, the result of it, taken in connection with the Nâgamaṅgala grant, would be that 'Srîpurusha-Muttarasa reigned for seventy-eight years.— Another record in the same book, No. Nj. 110, an inscription on stone at Kûḍḷâpura, purports to connect a date in the 'Subhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 25 expired, = A D. 103-104, with Koṅgaṇivarman, the alleged founder of the Western Gaṅga dynasty, who is apparently mentioned in the record as *prathama-Gaṅga*, "the first Gaṅga;" but the passage occurs as part of a record of A. D. 1148, and is only based on some spurious grant or archive; it does not purport to be a synchronous record of the king to whom it refers. As regards this date, Mr. Rice, who has hitherto so implicitly accepted the spurious Gaṅga records, says (*loc. cit.* Introd. p. 1)—"Without corroboration from other sources, however, this can hardly be accepted as deciding the matter, especially as the only other document which professes to give his date, namely, the Tamil chronicle called *Koṅgudêśa-Râjâkkaḷ*, places his reign in 'Saka 111 (A.D. 189)." With regard to the Gaṭṭavâḍi inscription, No. 1 above, Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.* pp. 1, 2) "would be disposed to alter the 111, though it is given in words as well as in figures, to 711: the number of the hundreds may have been left out in the words, and a tail to the 1 would make 7 in the figures." And in connection with the Tagaḍûr grant, No. 2 above, he says (*loc. cit.* p. 2)—"The Gaṅga grant, therefore, now under consideration, belongs to a certain class, based it may be on a real substratum of facts, but impossible to accept on their own statements, though the motives for falsification are not apparent." It is satisfactory to find that Mr. Rice has begun to look at the Western Gaṅga records from a critical point of view, and has recognised that such liberties may be taken with them, as even to alter a given date by six centuries.

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certainly known to be authentic is that of the *Mahârâja* 'Srîpurusha-Prithuvî-Kongaṇi, or, as he was more fully styled, Muttarasa-'Srîpurusha-Prithuvî-Kongaṇi. His existence is proved, not by the spurious grants, but by undeniably genuine but undated, inscriptions on stone at Taḷakâḍ, Sivâra, and Sivarpaṭṇa, in Mysore.[1] On general palæographic grounds, these records may be referred roughly to the eighth or ninth century A. D.; and one particular tell-tale character proves that they cannot have been engraved much after A. D. 804. It is, therefore, quite possible that the spurious Hosûr and Nâgamangala grants have hit off true dates for him, in A. D. 762 and 776-77,[2] though the person who concocted the Hosûr grant failed to compute the details of the date correctly. But all that can as yet be said with certainty about this Muttarasa-'Srîpurusha-Prithuvî-Kongaṇi or more shortly 'Sripurusha-Muttarasa, is, that he was a reigning king, belonging, no doubt, to the Western Ganga lineage, and that, pending more precise discoveries, he may be placed in the period A. D. 750 to 850. There is, however, one name which may possibly be placed just before his. The spurious charters mention two persons named 'Sivamâra,— representing one of them as the father or grandfather, and the other as the son, of 'Srîpurusha-Muttarasa; and one of them, at Haḷḷegere, purports to give for the first 'Sivamâra a date in A. D. 713, while another, at Suradhênupura,[3] purports to give a date in A. D. 807-808 for the second 'Sivamâra. And, that there really was, just before or just after Muttarasa-'Srîpurusha, a reigning king named 'Sivamâra, referable to the same lineage, is proved by a genuine, but undated, stone inscription, of his time, at Dêbûr in Mysore,[4] engraved in well-formed characters of the same period. The record does not connect any title with his name; and it contains nothing that helps us to decide his identity: but it uses an expression which stamps him as a paramount sovereign. As far, therefore, as individual names go, the history of the Western Gangas starts with these two persons, 'Srîpurusha-Muttarasa and 'Sivamâra; and either of them may be the Ganga king who was conquered and imprisoned by the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dhruva (between A. D. 754 and 783-84), and was liberated, but afterwards had to be placed in confinement again, by that king's son Gôvinda III. (A. D. 783-84 to 814-815).[5] Shortly after this,

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[1] I base my remarks on photographs which Mr. Rice kindly sent me.— The Taḷakâḍ inscription has now been edited by Mr. Rice in his *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. TN. 1. Other records of the same person, the authenticity of which there are no apparent grounds for questioning, are Nos. My. 25, 55, Ml. 87, TN. 53, 113, and Nj. 23. The last of them appears to give him the higher title of *Mahârâjâdhiraja* (see page 320 below, note 1), and also that of *Paramêśvara*.

[2] Just as a possibly true date was hit off for Bûtuga in the spurious Sûḍi grant which refers itself to his time (see page 303 below, note 7).—The Hosûr grant has now been edited by Mr. Rice, in full, with a lithograph, somewhere in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. Like some of the others, it betrays itself by using the later and cursive forms of the *kh* and *b*.

[3] For these two records, see page 301 above, note 1.

[4] Here, and in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 174, I have written on the authority of an ink-impression, which Mr. Rice kindly sent for my inspection. He has now edited this record in his *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Nj. 26, where he allots it to the second 'Sivamâra. Other records which include the name 'Sivamâra, are Nos. Nj. 50, 126: there are no *primâ-facie* grounds for questioning the authenticity of them; but they do not make it clear whether they refer to the first or to the second 'Sivamâra.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 161.

if the Kadab grant may be relied on, there was a certain Châkirâja, who was governing or reigning over the entire Ganga province in A. D. 813.[1] This, however, seems very doubtful. And probably the next authentic names, after those of Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa and Śivamâra, are those of Nîtimârga-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi,[2] with the title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*,[3] and styled "supreme lord of the town of Kovaḷâla" and "lord of the mountain Nandagiri," and of his son Satyavâkya-Permanaḍi, whose existence is proved by a stone inscription from Doḍḍahundi in Mysore:[4] the record, which mentions the death of this Nîtimârga-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi, is not dated; but it was written at any rate not long after A. D. 804. Somewhere about this time, the Eastern Chalukya king Narêndramṛigarâja-Vijayâditya II. (A. D. 799 to 843), waged war for twelve years with the Gaṅgas and the Râshṭrakûṭas;[5] and, later on, his grandson Guṇaka-Vijayâditya III. (A. D. 844 to 888), being "challenged" by the Râshṭrakûṭas, conquered the Gaṅgas.[6] The passages, however, which mention this, give no particular names. And the next individual name is that of Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarma-Râjamalla-Permanaḍi, mentioned in an inscription at Husukûru in Mysore,[7] with the date of Śaka-Saṁvat 792 (expired), = A. D. 870-71; the record also mentions a certain Bûtarasa, who was governing the Koṅgalnâḍ and Pûnâḍ districts as *Yuvarâja*. With this person we have perhaps to identify the Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi, in respect of whom an inscription at Kiggaṭnâḍ, in Coorg,[8] cites Śaka-Saṁvat 809 (expired), with a date in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March), falling in A. D. 888, as his eighteenth year, and whose first year, therefore, was Ś.-S. 792 (expired), = A. D. 870-71. Next after this comes another Nîtimârga-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi, for whom an inscription at Kûlagere, in

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 18. As regards the authenticity of this record, see under the account of Gôvinda III., in chapter III. below.

[2] The last component of this name occurs sometimes with the short *a*, and sometimes with the long *â*, in the second syllable. As no intrinsic difference seems to be involved, I write it uniformly with the short *a*.

[3] The exact title in the original is *dharma-Mahârâjâdhirâja*, as regards which see page 320 above, note 1. — In the present case, the title very probably denotes paramount sovereignty. It appears to have been borne by all the subsequent leading members of the family. But, in their case, how far it denotes independent sovereignty, or how far it was simply a hereditary title,— they being, in reality, feudatories, though possibly often half-independent,— it is difficult to say.— The epithets "lord of the town of Kovaḷâla" and "lord of the mountain Nandagiri" also became hereditary titles.— I offer here only an outline of the history of the Western Gaṅgas, leaving details to be fully worked out on some other occasion. I deal now with mostly the dated records, putting aside those which simply mention a Satyavâkya, a Nîtimârga, &c., to be attributed to the proper persons hereafter, when all the subordinate items of information in them can be examined and arranged.

[4] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. TN. 91. The original stone is now in the Bangalore Museum.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 101.

[6] *ibid.* p. 102.

[7] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Nj. 75.— One component of the name, Râjamalla, is possibly a mislection for Râchamalla.—The Bûtarasa mentioned here seems to be the Guṇaduttaraṅga-Bûtuga who, according to the spurious Sûḍi grant (see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 177) married Abbalabbâ, daughter of (the Râshṭrakûṭa king) Amôghavarsha (I.) (A. D. 814-15 to 877-78).

[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102, No. II.; *Coorg Inscriptions*, p. 5.

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Mysore,[1] supplies the date of 'Saka-Saṁvat 831 (expired), = A. D. 909-910. We know that shortly after this time there was a king named Eṛeyappa. We may, therefore, place next an inscription at Iggali, in Mysore,[2] which mentions another Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi and Eṛeyappa, and records occurrences that took place in the twenty-second year of this Satyavâkya, *i. e.* not earlier than A. D. 930-31, as shewn by the recorded date of the preceding Nîtimarga. This Satyavâkya must have been immediately succeeded, and soon after that date, by Eṛeyappa, whom the Bêgûr inscription, from Mysore, mentions as reigning over the Gaṅgavâḍi province, and fighting with a certain Vîra-Mahêndra.[3] Eṛeyappa was succeeded by his son Râchamalla. From an inscription at Âtakûr, in Mysore,[4] we learn that Râchamalla was attacked and killed by Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi-Bûtuga or Bûtayya, who had the *birudas* or secondary names of Nanniya-Gaṅga, "the truthful Gaṅga," Jayaduttaraṁga, "the arch of victory," Gaṅga-Gâṅgêya, "a very Kârttikêya, Karṇa, or Bhîshma, among the Gaṅgas," and Gaṅga-Nârâyaṇa, "a very god Vishṇu among the Gaṅgas," and who thereby acquired the Gaṅgavâḍi province; this occurred in or shortly before A. D. 940. An inscription at Hebbâḷ, in the Dhârwâr District,[5] tells us that (between A. D. 911-12 and 940) Bûtuga married a daughter of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga, receiving, as her dowry, the districts known as the Puligeṛe or Purigeṛe three-hundred, which was the country that lay round, and was named after the ancient name of, Lakshmêshwar, in the Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâr District,[6]— the Beḷvola three-hundred, which lay in the same neighbourhood and included, as various records shew, Gadag, Aṇṇîgere, Kurtakôṭi, and Nargund, in Dhârwâr, Hûli in the Belgaum District, and Kukkanûr in the Nizâm's

[1] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Ml. 30.—Mr. Rice (*ibid.* Introd. p. 4) would identify this Nîtimârga-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi with the other person of the same name mentioned in the Doḍḍahundi inscription; but the date of the present record, and the use of the old form of the *kh* in the Doḍḍahundi record, are inconsistent with this view.—With this Nîtimarga-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi, he would also identify the Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi of the Iggali inscription (see further on); but it seems clear to me that a Nîtimârga is not, unless under very exceptional circumstances, to be identified with any Satyavâkya.—He would further identify the Satyavâkya of the Doḍḍahundi inscription with the Eṛeyappa who came just before A. D. 940 (see further on). And, in short, he has mixed up all these persons in the most complicated manner.

[2] *ibid.* No. Nj. 139; see the preceding note.

[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 348.

[4] *id.* Vol. II. p. 168; since then, it has been edited by Mr. Rice also, *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Md. 41.—The Râshṭrakûṭa Dêôlî grant of A. D. 940, which mentions him as Bhûtârya, implies that, in overthrowing Râchamalla, he received material assistance from the Râshṭrakûṭa king, Kṛishṇa III. And it is this record that fixes the event before A. D. 940.

[5] From ink-impressions. This record has been noticed by me, inaccurately, from imperfect materials, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 170. The facts stated above, from a better ink-impression, obtained more recently, are certain.

[6] The variants Puligeṛe and Purigeṛe both occur; and the first of them is still preserved in the name Huligere *bana*, which is the appellation of one of the divisions of the lands of Lakshmêshwar (see the map of the Dhârwâr Collectorate, four miles to the inch, 1874). A still older form of the name, Porigeṛe, is found in the Lakshmêshwar inscription of the *Yuvarâja* Vikramâditya II., son of the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya.— The Kanarese name was Sanskṛitised as Pulikara. And the town appears to have been also known as Raktapura.

Dominions,[1]— the Kisukâḍ seventy, which was a small district of which the chief town was Paṭṭadakal, the ancient Kisuvoḷal and Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal, in the Bâdâmi tâluka, Bijâpur District,[2]— and the Bâge, Bâgenâd, or Bâgaḍage seventy, which was another small district lying round Bâgalkôṭ, the ancient Bâgaḍage and Bâgaḍige, the chief town of the Bâgalkôṭ tâluka in the same district.[3] And the Âtakûr inscription further shews that, in or about the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 872 (current),= A.D. 949-50, the Râshṭrakûṭa king Krishṇa III. (A. D. 940 and 956) confirmed him in the possession of the above-mentioned four districts, and also gave him the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, as a reward for treacherously slaying, at a place named Takkôla, the Chôḷa king Râjâditya, with whom Krishṇa III. was then at war. Like his predecessors, Bûtuga used the title *Mahârâjâdhirâja*; but, while probably half-independent, he appears also to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Râshṭrakûṭas. The Hebbâḷ inscription tells us that the son of Bûtuga and the daughter of Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga was Maruḷadêva. To Maruḷadêva and Bijabbe, it says, there was born a son, whom it perhaps names as Rachcha-Gaṅga. And, it continues, immediately after this person had reigned, there came another son of Bûtuga, by his wife Kallabbarasi, who was named Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi-Mârasiṁha, with a variety of *birudas* such as Chalad-uttaraṅga, "the arch of firmness of character," Dharmâvatâra, "the incarnation of religion," Jagadêkavîra, "the sole hero of the world," Gaṅgara-siṁha, "the lion of the Gaṅgas," Saṅgavajra, "the Gaṅga diamond or thunderbolt," Gaṅga-Kandarpa, "the Gaṅga god of love," and Noḷamba-kul-Ântaka, "the Death of the family of the Noḷambas, *i.e.* the Pallavas," and was plainly a very great personage indeed. He is evidently the Satyavâkya-Permaṇadi, in connection with whom an inscription at Kârya, in Mysore,[4] cites the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 890 (current), = A. D. 967-68, as his fifth year,— shewing that he was crowned to the Gaṅga succession in S.-S. 886 current, = A. D. 963-64,— and the Mârasiṁha-Permâḍi, news of whose death, as we learn from an inscription at Mêlâgani,[5] reached the Pallava king Pallavâditya-Noḷambâdhirâja in or just before the month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A. D. 974, of the Bhâva *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 896 (expired). An inscription at Lakshmêshwar, within the Dhârwâr District,[6] mentioning him with the paramount title of *Paramêśvara* as well as *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and speaking of "Mârasiṁha" as his *prathama-nâmadhêya* or first

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[1] The name of this district was derived from the Kanarese *beḷe*, 'growing corn, a crop,' and *pola*, *hola*, 'a field,' and means 'the country of luxuriant crops,' with reference to the fertility of the rich black-soil which constitutes one of its chief features. It was sometimes written Beḷvala, and, in Nâgarî characters, Beluvala.—Aṇṇîgere appears to have been the chief town of the district in A. D. 866 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 220), and very possibly was always so.

[2] A record of A. D. 1163, at Paṭṭadakal itself (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 259), mentions that town, by the name of Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal, as the chief town of the Kisukâḍ district.

[3] For this identification, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 170.

[4] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Nj. 192.

[5] See *Inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Introd. p. 18, note 7.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 101.

name, connects him with the date of the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 890 (expired), = A. D. 968-69, and records a grant by him to a Jain shrine named, after himself, Gaṅgakandarpa-Jinêndramandira. An inscription at Nagarle, in Mysore,[1] dated 'S.-S. 892 (expired), = A. D. 970-71, gives one of his appellations in the form of Permâḍi. An inscription at Adaraguñchi, in the Dhârwâr District,[2] dated in the month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A. D. 971, of the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 893 (expired), mentions him as then governing the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand, the Purigere three-hundred, and the Beḷvola three-hundred, under the Râshṭrakûṭa king Khoṭṭiga. An inscription at Guṇḍûr, in the same district,[3] dated in the same month, falling in A. D. 973, of the 'Srîmukha *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 896 (current), mentions him as still governing the Puligere three-hundred and the Beḷvola three-hundred under Khoṭṭiga's successor, Kakka II. The Hebbâḷ inscription speaks of him as having had in his hands, at some time or other,[4] the government of a very large area, including, not only the Gaṅgavâḍi province, the Puligere three-hundred, and the Beḷvola three-hundred, but also the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two thousand (properly a province of the Pallavas, in the direction of Bellâry), and the Sântaḷige thousand (apparently somewhere in the west of Mysore).[5] And an elaborate account of his achievements, given in one of the 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa records,[6] shews that he was employed by Kṛishṇa III. to command an expedition into Gujarât; that he subjugated the Pallavas of Noḷambavâḍi; and that he fought and conquered in battles on the banks of the Taptî, at Mânyakhêṭa (the Râshṭrakûṭa capital), and at Gônûr, Uchchaṅgî, and Pâṛiseyakôṭe, and in the Banavâsi country; and, finally, that, after the overthrow of Kakka II. and his expulsion from Mânyakhêṭa by the Western Châlukyas under Taila II., he made an attempt to continue the Râshṭrakûṭa sovereignty by crowning Indra IV., the grandson of Kṛishṇa III.:[7] the attempt, which was not successful, must have been made soon after June, A. D. 973, which is the latest recorded date for

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[1] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Nj. 158.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 255.

[3] *ibid.* p. 271.

[4] This record (see page 304 above, note 5) is dated in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March) falling in A.D. 975, of the Bhâva *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 896 (expired),— about ten months after the time when, apparently, news of his death reached Pallavâditya-Noḷambâdhirâja (see the text above). The expression used, however, is *âḷuttam-iḷdu*, "had been governing." And the date, therefore, belongs to something done after his time.

[5] With a view to locating this province exactly, by identifying the town from which it took its appellation, it may be noted that later records mention a smaller district called the Sattaḷige *nâḍ* (an inscription at Ânawaṭṭi in Mysore; *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 200), the Sattaḷige *kampana*, including a village named Sidiyaṇṇûrudîvi (an inscription at Baḷagâṁve; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 184, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 96), and the Sattaḷige seventy (an inscription at Ablûr in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 121). These names seem to be those of the head-quarters division of the Sântaḷige thousand, and to present the name in a later form which may be still extant.

[6] *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 38.— This important record requires to be edited critically, before it can be fully appreciated.

[7] This is plainly the meaning of a passage near the beginning of the record, which has been rendered otherwise by Mr. Rice.

Kakka II.; and it is to be attributed to the close connection that existed between the two families.[1] Mârasiṁha must have been immediately succeeded by a certain Pañchaladêva, whom a fragment at Mulgund, in the Dhârwâr District,[2] describes as reigning, as paramount sovereign, in A. D. 974-75, over the whole country bounded by the eastern, western, and southern oceans. Pañchaladêva seems, then, to have taken advantage of the general confusion, that must have attended the downfall of the Râshṭrakûṭas and the death of Mârasiṁha, to set himself up as an independent king; but he was shortly afterwards killed in battle by the Western Châlukya Taila II. Earlier facts connected with him are to be found in the Adaraguñchi inscription,[3] which tells us that, in A. D. 971, when Mârasimha was governing the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand, the Puligere three-hundred, and the Belvola three-hundred, under the Râshṭrakûṭa king Khoṭṭiga, he himself was governing a small circle of villages which was known as the Sebbi thirty and probably took its appellation from the ancient name of Chabbi or Chebbi in the Hubḷi tâluka, Dhârwâr District; and in the Guṇḍûr inscription,[4] which mentions him as governing a ninety-six district in A. D. 973: this ninety-six district has not been identified; but possibly the expression is an abbreviation for the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six thousand, which Mârasiṁha,—mentioned in the same record in connection with only the Puligere three-hundred and the Belvola three-hundred, — may have entrusted to Pañchaladêva. Shortly after Pañchaladêva, there was a Satyavâkya-Kônguṇivarma-Râchamalla-Permanaḍi, for whom an inscription at Kiggaṭnâḍ, in Coorg,[5] furnishes a date in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March), falling in A. D. 978, of the Îśvara *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 899 (expired), and probably an inscription at Doḍḍa-Homma, in Mysore,[6] furnishes a date in the preceding year;[7] and he appears to have had a rather famous minister named Châmuṇḍarâya, who wrote the *Châmuṇḍarâya-Purâṇa* and set up the colossal image of Gommaṭêśvara at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa.[8] And this person was probably the last of the independent or semi-independent Western Gaṅga princes.

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1 As we have seen, Permanaḍi-Bûtuga was a brother-in-law of Kṛishṇa III. And Indra IV. was the son of a son of Kṛishṇa III. by a daughter of Bûtuga (see *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 57).

2 I quote from an ink-impression.

3 See page 306 above and note 2.

4 See page 306 above, and note 3. The reading in lines 8, 9, of the text should plainly be *Paṁchala*, not *Paṁjala*.

5 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 76, with a lithograph in Vol. VI. p. 102, No. I.; see also *Coorg Inscriptions*, p. 7.

6 *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Nj. 183.

7 We have perhaps another of his records,—in which his name is given as Râjamalla,—in an inscription at Kottatti (*Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Md. 107). But, unless there is some mistake in the published text, it is difficult to place this record properly. It purports to be dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 899, coupled with the Pramâdin *saṁvatsara*. Pramâdin, however, was either Ś.-S. 876 current, = A. D. 953-54, or Ś.-S. 936 current, = A. D. 1013-14. Ś.-S. 899 current, = A. D. 976-77, was the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*. And Ś.-S. 899 expired, = A. D. 977-78, was the Îśvara *saṁvatsara*. Perhaps Pramâdin has been read by mistake for Pramâthin, and Ś.-S. 899 is a mistake for 901 (expired) or 902 (current), = A. D. 979-80.

8 *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Introd. pp. 22, 25, 33, 34.

Chapter I.
The Early Dynasties.

An inscription, indeed, at Bêlûr, in Mysore,[1] gives the name of a Gaṅga-Permanaḍi, who was governing the Karṇâṭa in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March), falling in A. D. 1021, of 'Saka-Saṁvat 944 (current), coupled apparently with the Durmukhin *saṁvatsara* by mistake for Durmati.[2] But, before this time, the Chôḷas had invaded the Gaṅgavâḍi province and made it a part of their own kingdom, as is shewn by their records which from about this point are met with in Mysore. Thus,— taking at present only the dated records,— at Kaliyûr there is an inscription [3] of the Chôḷa king Râjarâjadêva, mentioning a minister of his named Aprâmêya and described as "lord of the Kotta *maṇḍala*," dated in the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A. D. 1006, of the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 929 (current). At Balmuri there is another of his records,[4] dated apparently at the *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti* or winter solstice, in December, A. D. 1012, of the Paridhâvin *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 934 (expired), cited as his twenty-eighth year: this record claims that Râjarâja had conquered the land of the Gaṅgas, Raṭṭavâḍi (the kingdom of the Râshtrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ), the Malenâḍ or hill-country along the Western Ghauts, the territories of the Noḷambas and the Andhras, and the rulers of Koṅgu, Kaliṅga, and Paṇḍya, and had absorbed all their lands into the Chôḷa kingdom; and it mentions a certain Pañchavamahârâya, whom he had appointed to the military command, as *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka*, of the Beṅgi *maṇḍala*, *i. e.* the land of Veṅgî, the territory of the Eastern Chalukyas,[5] and the Gaṅga *maṇḍala*, and who then, it says, entered on a series of conquests more to the west,— seizing the Tuḷuva country, the Koṅkaṇ, and the Male country, pursuing the Chêra, pushing aside Teḷuga and Raṭṭiga, and coveting even the little Beḷvola district. And at Taḍi-Mâliṅgi and Sindhuvaḷḷi there are records, [6]— dated, respectively, in his tenth year, and in the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, coupled with 'Saka-Saṁvat 1030 by mistake for 1028 expired or 1029 current, = A. D. 1106-1107, cited as his thirty-seventh year,— of the Eastern Chalukya king Râjêndra-Chôḷa-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva I., who,[7] anointed first, like his ancestors, to the sovereignty of Veṅgî, afterwards acquired also the Chôḷa kingdom and crown. At the end of the tenth century A. D., therefore, the Western Gaṅgas lost all semblance of independence, and, if they continued to be entrusted with any authority at all, sank into the position of mere local representatives of the Chôḷa and Eastern Chalukya kings, in whose possession their territory remained until about A. D. 1117, when a certain Gaṅgarâja or Gaṅgarasa attacked Adiyama or Iḍiyama and other feudatories of the

1 *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Md. 78.

2 The Durmukhin *saṁvatsara* would be 'Saka-Samvat 919 current, = A. D. 996-97, or 'S.-S. 979 current, = A. D. 1056-57.

3 *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. TN. 44.

4 *ibid.* No. Sr. 140.

5 At about this period, the sovereignty of the Eastern Chalukyas was interrupted for about thirty years (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 272). Their records represent Châlukya-chandra-'Saktivarman as restoring it in A. D. 1003, and place the period of interruption about A. D. 973 to 1003.

6 *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., Nos. TN. 34, and Nj. 51.

7 See the last of my papers on the Eastern Chalukya Chronology, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 277.

Chôla, encamped at Talakâḍ, who refused to quietly give up the territory which their sovereign had entrusted to them, defeated them and drove them out, recovered his hereditary province, and placed it in the hands of the Hoysala prince Vishṇuvardhana.[1]

The Alupas.

The Âlupas, as we have seen above, are mentioned in the Aihole inscription, in conjunction with the Gangas, as being subjugated by Pulikêśin II. about A. D. 608; under the same name, in the Sorab grant of Vinayâditya, dated in A. D. 692, which records that, while camped at the village of Chitrasedu in the Toramara *vishaya*, he granted the village of Sâlivoge, in the Edevolal *vishaya*, at the request of the *Mahârâja* Chitravâha, son of the Âlupa ruler Guṇasâgara;[2] under the name of Âluvas, in the Harihar grant of the same king, dated in A. D. 694, which speaks of them, with the Gangas, as hereditary servants of the Western Chalukyas, and records that Vinayâditya granted the village of Kiṇu-Kâgâmâsi, in the Edevolal *vishaya*, at the request of an unnamed Âluva chief;[3] and, under the name of Âlupas again, as foes of the Western Châlukyas in later times, in a record of the Kâdambas of Goa which says that they were conquered by Jayakêśin I. (about A. D. 1052-53),[4] and in the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* of Bilhaṇa.[5] Who the Âlupas precisely were, has still to be ascertained. But, if they are identical with the Âlukas, who are included among the hostile peoples whose kings, according to the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription, were conquered by Kîrtivarman I. between A. D. 567 and 597,[6] then, as *âluka* is an epithet of Śêsha, the chief of the serpent race, we may perhaps have in them a division of the Nâgas.[7] And the passages in the grants of Vinayâditya seem to indicate that they had the feudatory government of the Edevolal *vishaya*, which lay just on the north-east of Banawâsi, and may perhaps be identified with the Edenâḍ seventy of other records.[8]

The Latas.

The most direct evidence as to the position of the Lâṭa country, appears to be furnished by some of the Râshṭrakûṭa records of the ninth century A. D.[9] From them we learn that Gôvinda III. gave the Lâṭa province, or, as it was also then called, the province of the lords of Lâṭa, to his brother Indrarâja. Indrarâja's son Suvar-

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1 See an inscription at Tippûr (*Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Ml. 31); also, chapter VI. below.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 152.

3 *id.* Vol. VII. p. 303.

4 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 282.

5 Dr. Bühler's edition, v. 26; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 320.

6 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. pp. 14, 19.

7 See page 281 above, and note 3.

8 Dr. Bhandarkar has suggested (*Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, p. 39, note 3) that the name of the family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of 'Alupai' on the Malabar coast. Dr. Bühler, also, says (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 320, note ‡) that Âlupa is apparently a town on the coast. But I cannot trace any authority for this.

9 Chapter III. below.

Chapter I.
The Early Dynasties.

ṇavarsha-Karkarâja had the title of Lâṭêśvara or "lord of Lâṭa." We find him and his brother Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarâja granting villages of which the modern representatives still exist in the neighbourhood of Barôda and of Jambûsar in the Broach District. And this locates Lâṭa in Gujarât, and places the country along the south of the river Mahî in the Lâṭa country, as its boundaries then stood. This, however, was after the absorption of the Gurjara territory into Lâṭa. And from certain Western Chalukya records which will be noticed in the next chapter, and from the synchronous Gurjara records which will be dealt with just below, we can now recognise that Laṭa was originally a smaller territory, bounded on the north, and separated there from the Gurjara country, by the river Kîm, which, rising in the hills of the Râjpiplâ State in the Rêwâ-Kâṇṭhâ, flows into the gulf of Cambay, between the Narmadâ on the north and the Taptî on the south. The southern boundary is not quite so certain. But, at any rate, Nausârî in the Barôda territory, on the south of Surat, and Ashṭgâm or Astgâm, a few miles to the south-east of Nausârî, were in the Lâṭa country. And, if we bear in mind how many ancient divisions of India have been preserved more or less intact to even the present day, it seems very probable that the southern limit of Lâṭa was the river Damaṇgaṅgâ, which divides, where they touch each other, the present districts of Surat and Ṭhâṇa, just as, towards the coast, the Kîm separates the Surat District from Broach. On the east, the Lâṭa country was doubtless bounded by the Western Ghauts. As a record of A. D. 888 tells us that a territorial division known as the Variavi hundred and sixteen, which was the country round the modern Wâriâv just to the north of Surat and was in Lâṭa, was in the Koṅkaṇa *vishaya*,[1] it is evident that Lâṭa was one of the seven divisions of the Koṅkaṇ; and it was, in fact, the most northern of them. And, from the manner in which, in the grant of the Western Chalukya prince Avanijanâśraya-Pulikêśin, one of the feudatory rulers of Lâṭa, it is said that the army of the Tâjikas, or Arabs, wishing to enter the Dekkan with the desire of conquering all the kings of the south, came in the first instance to reduce "the Navasârikâ country,"[2] it seems tolerably certain that the capital of the original Lâṭa territory was Navasârikâ, *i.e.* the modern Nausârî.

There is an early epigraphic reference to Lâṭa in the Mandasôr inscription of A. D. 473, where it is described as a country which was pleasing with choice trees bowed down by the weight of their flowers, and with temples and assembly-halls of the gods and *vihâras* or Buddhist shrines, and the mountains of which were covered over with vegetation.[3] And there is also a mention of it in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ* of Varâhamihira.[4] But we know nothing as yet about its ancient history; except that the use of the Kalachuri or Chêdi era, in the

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, p. 69.
[2] *Proceedings* of the Âryan Section of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, p. 236.
[3] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 84.
[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 183.

Western Chalukya records from Lâṭa, shews that the province was at one time a part of the dominions of the Kalachuri kings. Maṅgalêśa must have acquired the sovereignty of it, when he overthrew the Kalachuri kings Śaṁkaragaṇa and Buddha, and deprived them of their possessions on the western coast. But, as it joined in the general revolt against Pulikêśin II., he must have left it in the administrative charge of some of its native rulers. It was one of the provinces resubjugated by Pulikêśin II., before he established his supremacy over the three Mahârâshtra countries. And he then placed the government of it in the hands of feudatory members of his own family. It is evidently one of the four provinces which in A.D. 610 or 611 were in the hands of Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman. Vijayavarmarâja held it in A.D. 643. A Sêndraka prince, Pṛithivîvallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti, was in charge of it in A.D. 654, — apparently because of the failure of that branch of the Western Chalukya family to which Vijayavarmarâja belonged. But from A. D. 670 onwards it was again in the hands of feudatory members of the Western Chalukya stock. The original boundaries of the province must have been preserved up to A. D. 736, when there was still a Gurjara prince in possession of the next territorial division on the north. Shortly after that, however, Avanijanâśraya-Pulikêśin overthrew the invading Tâjikas, who, in the course of their invasion, had destroyed the Gurjaras. And, as we have no later records of the Gurjaras, he doubtless then annexed their territory, and practically extended the province of Lâṭa, on the north, up to the Narmadâ, or even to the Mahî. Information about the subsequent history of the province will be found under the account of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ, in chapter III. below.

The Malavas.

The Mâlavas were, of course, the people of Mâlwa in Central India, and of south-eastern Râjputânâ, from whom[1] the Vikrama era derived its earlier appellation of the Mâlava era. And, lying north of the Narmadâ and well away from the coast, their country was one of the divisions of Northern India.

The earliest trace of the Mâlavas is probably to be found in certain coins, obtained in large numbers at Nâgar in the north of Mâlwa, about forty-five miles north of Koṭâ, which have on them the legend *Mâlavânâṁ jayaḥ*, "the victory of the Mâlavas:"[2] according to General Sir Alexander Cunningham, the characters range "from perhaps B. C. 250 to A. D. 250;" but we must now place these coins in some period not earlier than B. C. 58, the commencement of the Mâlava era. In epigraphic records, the Mâlavas are first mentioned, in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, among the tribes which were conquered by the Early Gupta king Samudragupta, about the middle of the fourth century A. D.[3] And possibly the Varika prince Vishṇuvardhana,— son of

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1 See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 404.

2 See *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. VI. pp. 165, 166, 174 ff.; Vol. XIV. p. 149 ff. and Plate xxxi, Nos. 19 to 25.

3 *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14.

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Yaśôvardhana, who was the son of Yaśôrâta, who, again, was the son of Vyâghrarâta,—of whom we have a record at Bijayagaḍh in the Bharatpur State,[1] with a date which, referred to the Mâlava era, falls in A. D. 372, was the leader of some northern branch of the tribe; he must have been a feudatory of Samudragupta. In the fifth century, we have the names of Viśvavarman, the son or younger brother of Naravarman, with the date of A. D. 423,[2] and of Bandhuvarman, son of Viśvavarman, who in A. D. 436, as a vassal of Kumâragupta I., was governing at Daśapura, which is the modern Mandasôr in western Mâlwa.[3] After the downfall of the Early Guptas, Mâlwa must have fallen, somewhere between A. D. 484 and 510, into the hands of the foreign invader Tôramâṇa. His son Mihirakula held it, after him, till somewhere about A. D. 530. And in A. D. 532-33 it was a part of the dominions of a king of Northern India named Vishṇuvardhana-Yaśôdharman, who overthrew Mihirakula, and of whom we have records at Mandasôr:[4] this king is described as ruling right across Northern India, to the shores of the western ocean; and he is perhaps the paramount sovereign by whom,[5] just before A. D. 526, the *Mahârâja* Drôṇasiṁha of Valabhî,—the modern Walâ,—was anointed to the rule of the then feudatory province of Kâṭhiâwâḍ. In A. D. 738-39, the northern parts of Mâlwa were in the possession of a prince named Dhavala, claiming to be of the Maurya race.[6] But the intermediate history of the country remains to be worked out. Though Pulikêśin II. claims to have subdued the Mâlavas, there are no indications that their territory ever became a part of his dominions; and the allusion must be to some successful resistance of an attempted invasion of his kingdom by them.

The Gurjaras.

The Gurjaras are known from five records which establish the genealogy shown in the table on the opposite page.[7] One of the records says that Dadda II. belonged to the lineage of a certain king Karṇa.[8]

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1 *Gupta Inscriptions* p 252.
2 *ibid.* pp. 74, 76, 77.
3 *ibid.* pp. 80, 86.
4 *ibid.* pp. 142, 149, 150; and, for Tôramâṇa and Mihirakula, see pp. 158, 161, and Introd. p. 10 ff.
5 See *ibid.* p. 168.
6 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 56.
7 There are also three spurious records, which purport to register grants made by Dadda II.; *viz.*, the Umêtâ grant, with the date of Saka-Saṁvat 400, = A.D. 477-78 or 478-79, according as the Saka year is taken as current or as expired (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 61); the Bagumrâ grant, with the date of S.-S. 415, = A.D. 492-93 or 493-94 (*id.* Vol. XVII. p. 183); and the Ilâô grant, with the date of S.-S. 417, = A. D. 494-95 or 495-96 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 115). And, accepting these as genuine, Dr. Bühler has deduced a longer genealogy (*id.* Vol. XVII. p. 191), in which, before Dadda I. of my list, whom he calls Dadda III., he places—Dadda I., about A. D. 450; his son, Vîtarâga-Jayabhaṭa I., about A. D. 455; and his son, Praśântarâga-Dadda II., with dates in A. D. 478 to 495. But, as was declared by Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 72) as well as by myself, these charters are unquestionably forgeries,—concocted, in all probability, by the person who fabricated the spurious grant of Dharasêna II. of Valabhî, of Saka-Saṁvat 400 (*id.* Vol. X. p. 277). And, thus, Dr. Bühler's paper includes a good deal of imaginary history, for which there is no basis in fact, and some geographical mistakes in connection with the supposed extent of the Broach kingdom.
8 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 79.

A Gurjara Pedigree.

Dadda I.
|
Vîtarâga-Jayabhaṭa I.
|
- Praśântarâga-Dadda II. (A. D. 629 and 641.)
  |
  Jayabhaṭa II.
  |
  Bâhusahâya-Dadda III.
  |
  Jayabhaṭa III. (A. D. 706 and 736.)
- Raṇagraha.

But, who that person may have been,— whether he was a real historical king, or whether the name is simply that of the epic hero Karṇa, the elder brother, on the mother's side, of the five Pâṇḍava princes,— is not apparent. And the other records simply say that Dadda I. was of the race of the Gurjara kings.[1] They also say that he overthrew some hostile Nâgas ;[2] from which it seems that he acquired the territory and established this branch of the family to which he belonged,[3] by ejecting some branch of the Nâga tribe.

The earliest records that can be unquestionably allotted to members of this family, are of the time of Dadda II.[4] Two of them are copper-plate charters which were obtained at Kaira, the chief town of the Kaira District, Bombay Presidency.[5] One of them is dated on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika of the (Kalachuri or Chêdî) year 380 (expired), corresponding, approximately, to the 9th October, A. D. 629 ; and the other, on the same *tithi* in the year 385 (expired),

1 In the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulikêśin II., and in various other records, the family or dynastic name is written Gûrjara,—with the long *û*. But, in the records of the family itself, it is written Gurjara,—with the short *u*. And this form, which was accepted by Dr. Bühler, is doubtless the correct one.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII: pp. 85, 90.

3 Dr. Bühler has suggested (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 192) that the Gurjara kingdom of Broach was an offshoot of a larger kingdom in the north, represented now by the Gujarât District in the Pañjâb ; and that the Gurjara princes may have belonged to the Châpa race.

4 In the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 19, there has been published the second half of a copper-plate grant from Sâṅkhêḍâ, in the Barôda State, which is dated in the (Kalachuri or Chêdî) year 346 (expired) = A. D. 595-96, and which is very possibly a record of Jayabhaṭa I. or of Dadda I. But the first plate, containing the donor's name and pedigree and the details of the grant, is not forthcoming. And so it is not certain that it is even a Gurjara record at all.—A peculiarity in this record is the fact that the date is expressed in numerical symbols for 3, 4, and 6, used as if they were decimal figures,—not in numerical symbols for 300, 40, and 6.

5 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. pp. 81, 88.

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corresponding, approximately, to the 14th October, A. D. 634.[1] And they both register the grant, to Brâhmans, of the village of 'Sirîshapadraka in the Akrûrêśvara *vishaya*.[2] Akrûrêśvara,—for which the form Akulêśvara occurs elsewhere,[3] — has been rightly identified by Dr. Bühler with the modern Aṅklêshwar, the chief town of the Aṅklêshwar tâluka in the Broach District;[4] and 'Sirîshapadraka is the modern Sîsôdrâ, about ten miles south of Aṅklêshwar,— between the rivers Kîm and Narmadâ. These two charters were issued from a place named Nândîpurî, which Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji would have identified with the modern Nândôd, the chief town of the Râjpiplâ State.[5] Dr. Bühler, however, has told us that Nândôd must represent an ancient Nandapadra; and he has identified Nândîpurî with an ancient fort, of the same name, which stood just outside the Jhadêśvara gate on the east of the town of Broach.[6] Of the time of Dadda II., we also have a copper-plate charter from Sâṅkhêḍâ, in the Barôda State,[7] registering a grant made by Raṇagraha. The first plate, containing the details of the place of issue and of the village that was granted, is not forthcoming. The date is the new-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha of the (Kalachuri) year 391 (expired), corresponding, approximately, by the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, to the 18th April, A. D. 641.[8]

Of Jayabhaṭa III., we have two records. One is a copper-plate charter obtained at Nausârî, in the Barôda State.[9] It was issued from the camp at Kâyâvatâra. It is dated on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of the month Mâgha of the (Kalachuri) year 456 (expired), corresponding[10] to the 2nd February, A. D. 706. And it registers the grant, to a Brâhmaṇ, of some land at the village of 'Samîpadraka in the Kôrillâ *pathaka*. As Dr. Bühler has shewn,[11] Kâyâvatâra is probably the modern Kârvân, about fifteen miles south of Barôda; and Kôrillâ is the modern Kôral, on the north bank of the Narmadâ, sixteen miles to the north-

1 The dates are expressed in numerical symbols, used properly as such.— That the years are years of the Kalachuri or Chêdî era, is established by the statement (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 79) that Dadda II. gave protection to a lord of Valabhî who had been defeated by "the *Paramêśvara*, the glorious Harshadêva." This last-mentioned person can only be the great Harshavardhana of Kanauj (A. D. 606-607 to about 648). And the epoch of the Kalachuri era, applied to the dates in the Gurjara grants, makes Dadda II. a contemporary of Harshavardhana.

2 Why the village was granted twice, within so short a time, is not apparent. But the later charter omits the names of eleven of the original grantees, and adds five new names.

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 118.

4 *id.* Vol. V. p 113; and see Vol. XVII. p. 193.

5 *id.* Vol. XVII. p. 193, note 35.

6 *id.* Vol. VII. p. 62, and Vol. XVII. pp. 192, 193, and note 35.—In corroboration of this identification, it may be mentioned that the three spurious charters (see page 312 above, note 7) purport to be issued "from the victorious camp situated before the gate of Bharukachhcha."

7 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 20.

8 The date is expressed in numerical symbols, used properly as such.

9 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 70.

10 See *id.* Vol. XVII. p. 220.— Here, again, the date is expressed in numerical symbols, used properly as such.

11 *id.* Vol. XVIII. p. 176; Vol. XVII. p. 193.

east of Broach. The other record is the second plate of a copper-plate charter which was obtained at Kâvî in the Broach District.[1] It registers a grant that was made at the time of the Karkataka-saṁkrânti or entrance of the sun into Cancer, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha of the (Kalachuri) year 386 (expired), corresponding[2] to the 22nd June, A. D. 736. And it conveys the grant, to a temple of the god Âśramadêva, of some land in the village of Kêmajju in the Bharukachchha *vishaya*. Dr. Bühler has identified Kêmajju with the modern Kimôj or Kîmaj, in the Jambûsar tâluka of the Broach District, about five miles south of the river Mahî.[3]

Through the places, mentioned in them, which have thus been identified, these records cover the country from the north bank of the river Kîm to the south bank of the Mahî, and so shew the extent of the Gurjara territory in the neighbourhood of the coast; inland, it doubtless extended to the Western Ghauts. On the south of it, separated by the Kîm, there lay the Lâṭa province of the kingdom of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi. And on the north, across the Mahî, there was the Khêṭakâhâra province, — the modern Kaira District, with the Cambay State and some outlying parts of the Gaikwâr's territory,— which, as grants of A. D. 590 and 766,[4] and intervening records shew, belonged to the rulers of Valabhî. On the east of the Mahî, the Gurjara boundary may have followed the course of that river as far north as Lûṇâwâḍâ; or there may have been, on the north of the Gurjara country in that direction, another Valabhî province of which the capital was Gôdhrâ, the head-quarters station of the present Pañch-Mahâls District,— in which case, the boundary line probably ran through the southern point of the Pañch-Mahâls straight to the Mahî on the west and to Chhôṭâ-Udêpur on the east: at any rate, Śîlâditya VI. of Valabhî was in possession of Gôdrahaka, *i. e.* Godhrâ, in A. D. 760; and, though he may have only acquired that territory when the Gurjara power came to an end, still it is equally possible that his predecessors had possessed it.

The records give to these Gurjara princes only feudatory titles: they style Dadda I. and Dadda II. *Sâmanta*;[5] and, though a somewhat higher title is connected with the name of Jayabhaṭa III., still he was only a *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*.[6] On the other hand, they mention no paramount sovereigns. And it would seem that, after the overthrow of the Kalachuri king Buddha, of whom Dadda I. and Jayabhaṭa I. must have been vassals, the Gurjara territory became a buffer state between the kingdoms of Bâdâmi and Valabhî. This would explain why the position of Dadda II. was such that he could give protection to the king of Valabhî,— probably Dharasêna IV., — when[7] the latter

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 109.
[2] See *id.* Vol. XVII. p. 221.—Here, again, the date is recorded in numerical symbols, used properly as such.
[3] *id.* Vol. V. p. 112.
[4] *id.* Vol. VII. p. 71, and *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 173.
[5] *id.* Vol. XIII. pp. 82, 85, 88, 90.
[6] *id.* Vol. V. p. 114, text line 8.
[7] See *id.* Vol. XIII. pp. 74, 79.

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had suffered some defeat at the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. Shortly afterwards, indeed, we find Dharasêna IV., in A. D. 648 or 649, issuing charters from his victorious camp at Bharukachchha, *i.e.* Broach;[1] from which it has been inferred that the Gurjara territory then belonged, for a time at least, to the kingdom of Valabhî. The villages that were granted, however, lay, not in the Gurjara country, but in the Khêṭakâhâra *vishaya*. And thus, the grants may well have been made while Dharasêna IV. was simply residing at Broach, enjoying the hospitality of Dadda II., after his defeat by Harshavardhana. Later on, it would seem that the relations between the Gurjaras and the rulers of the countries on each side of them, were not so easy: for, the Gurjara record of A. D. 706 speaks of Dadda III. as waging war with the kings of the east and the west,[2]— meaning certainly the king of Valabhî in the latter case, and either the Western Chalukyas, or some ruler of Mâlwa, in the former case; and the record of A. D. 736 seems to say that Jayabhaṭa III. quieted in battle the impetuosity of the king of Valabhî.[3] A. D. 736 is the latest date that has been obtained for the Gurjaras. And, evidently, their power came to an end very shortly after. For, the Nausârî grant of October, A. D. 738, tells us that there had then been an invasion by the Tâjikas, or Arabs, in which the Gurjaras had been destroyed.[4] The Western Chalukya prince Avanijanâśraya-Pulikêśin, however, was successful against the Tâjikas, when they attempted to carry the invasion on into his territory. And he doubtless then annexed the Gurjara country, and incorporated it with his own province of Lâṭa.

The Pallavas.

The Pallavas appear to have been by far the most powerful and aggressive foes that the Chalukyas encountered. From the time of Pulikêśin II. onwards, there were constant wars between the two dynasties, with varying results. And to such a pitch did the feeling of hostility rise, that, in the Vakkalêri record, the Pallava king is called the "natural enemy" and the "family foe" of Pulikêśin's descendant Vikramâditya II.[5]

In their records, the Pallavas claim to belong to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*.[6] Some of the records give them a regular Purâṇic genealogy which appears first in the seventh century A. D., commencing with

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 73; Vol. XV. p. 336.

[2] *id.* Vol. XIII. p. 80.

[3] *id.* Vol. V. pp. 114, 115.

[4] *Proceedings* of the Âryan Section of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, p. 230.

[5] *prakṛity-amitra*, and *sva-kula-vairi*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 26; Plate iii. *a*, last line, and Plate iv. *a*, line 7; and Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 146, text line 38. So also, the Kaśâkûḍi Pallava grant speaks evidently of the Western Chalukyas as the "chief enemies" (*dvishatâm viśêshâh*) of Mahêndravarman I. Compare the description of the Râshṭrakûṭas as the "natural enemies" of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma I. (*prakṛiti-sapatna*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 266, and note 1).

[6] As regards the meaning of this, see page 278 above, note 1.— Manu (chap. x., vv. 43, 44) says that the Pallavas were a degraded division of the Kshatriya caste.

the god Brahman, and taken through Aṅgiras, Bṛihaspati, 'Saṁyu, Bharadvâja, Drôṇa, and Aśvatthâman, to a certain Pallava, the mythical founder of the line of kings. And the name of this eponymous person is explained as having been taken from the fact that he lay on a couch covered with a heap of sprouts (*pallava*).[1] It seems likely, however, that, whatever may be the ancestral and racial origin of the kings with whom we have now to deal, their name simply represents, in a Sanskritised form, that of the Pahlavas, Pahnavas, or Palhavas, who are mentioned in the *Purâṇas*, and in other records, along with the 'Sakas and the Yavanas. If so, the original introducers of the name were of foreign descent, and made their way into India from the north-west. As regards the period when this may have occurred, Professor Weber tells us that, "as the name of a people, the "word Pahlav became early foreign to the Persians, learned reminis- "cences excepted: in the Pahlavi texts themselves, for instance, it does "not occur. The period when it passed over to the Indians, therefore, "would have to be fixed for about the second to the fourth century, "A. D.; and we should have to understand by it, not directly the "Persians, who are called Pârasikas, rather, but specially the Arsa- "cidan Parthians."[2] And the epigraphic records fully corroborate this view. The Junâgaḍh inscription, and one of the Nâsik records, tell us, — according to Dr. Bhandarkar's chronology of the Andhrabhṛityas,[3] — that in A. D. 150 the Palhava Suviśâkha, son of Kulaipa, was settled in Kâṭhiâwâḍ as a minister of Rudradâman,[4] and that, about twenty years earlier, Gôtamiputra had destroyed the Palhavas with the 'Sakas and Yavanas,— *i. e.* had driven them out of his territories more to the east and south.[5] And the mention, in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta,[6] of Vishṇugôpa, king of Kâñchî, who cannot well be any but a Pahlava or Pallava king,— *i. e.* either a descendant of the original intruders, with a Sanskṛit name, or a native ruler belonging to a dynasty which had taken, as its name, the nearest Sanskṛit approach to the appellation of the foreign race,— indicates pretty clearly that a dynasty of Pahlavas or Pallavas was firmly established on the eastern coast of Southern India by the middle of the fourth century A. D. The Junâgaḍh and Nâsik records shew some of the steps by which the Pahlavas, or their name and reputation, could manage to reach so far to the south-east. And, if Dr. Oldhausen's actual derivation of the name Pallava, through

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1 For this Purâṇic genealogy, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 277, and *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 9, 25, 144. There are some differences in it. I give it in the form in which it appears in the majority of the records.— The popular etymology of the name is given in No. 32 of Dr. Hultzsch's inscriptions (*loc. cit.* p. 28). The same play on the word occurs in some of the western inscriptions; *e. g.*, Perma-Jagadêkamalla II. is described as causing the Pallava to hold the sprout in token of submission (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 183; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 153).

2 *History of Indian Literature*, p. 187, note 201*a*.

3 *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884), pp. 18, 27. Dr. Bhandarkar holds that the Palhavas, or the 'Sakas, made their appearance in the Andhrabhṛitya country at any time between A. D. 16 and his earliest date for Gôtamiputra, which is A. D. 133.

4 See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 263.

5 See *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV. p. 109.

6 See page 280 above.

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the form Pahlava, from Parthava, *i. e.* Parthian,[1] can be upheld we may find another early reference to Pahlavas or Pallavas in Northern India, and another indication of a route by which they could penetrate to the eastern coast, in the Pahlâdpur pillar inscription[2] of a king whose name seems to be 'Sisupâla, and who appears to be described as a "protector of the army of the Pârthivas."

The capital of the Pallavas was Kâñchî or Kâñchîpura, which is the modern Conjeeveram in the Chingleput District, Madras Presidency.[3] The surrounding territory was known as the Drâviḍa country,[4] and also as the Kâñchî *maṇḍala* or province of Kâñchî,[5] and as the Toṇḍa,[6] Toṇḍai,[7] Toṇḍîra,[8] Tuṇḍîra,[9] and Tuṇḍâka[10] *maṇḍala*, *râshṭra*, *vishaya*, or *nâḍ*. And Kâñchî itself was sometimes called Tuṇḍîrapurai,[11] as the capital of the territory under the latter name. But the records mention two other towns of importance, from which charters were issued,— Palakkada or Palakkaḍa, and Daśanapura,— which have not yet been identified.[12] And the Pallavas had also a province in Western India, known as the Noḷambavâḍi, Noḷambavâḍi, Noṇambavâḍi, or Nuḷambapâḍi thirty-two-thousand,[13] which appears to have included the greater part of the Bellâry District of the Madras Presidency, and the northern and north-eastern parts of Mysore:[14] this was doubtless acquired by them about the middle of the seventh century A.D., when they invaded Bâdâmi and for the time being overthrew

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1 See Prof. Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 188, note 201 *a*.

2 *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 249.

3 Lat. 12° 49'; long. 79° 45'.— The name Kâñchî appears to be simply a Sanskṛitised appellation. Dr. Hultzsch tells me that the Tamil name is Kachchi,— in literature and inscriptions, and on coins. He says that the Tamil dictionaries give also Kañji, but that he has not yet met with it anywhere else.— The form Kachchi occurs in inscriptions at Tirukkaḷukkunṛam (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. pp. 284, 285); and a fuller form, Kachchippeḍu, is met with in inscriptions at Conjeeveram itself (*South-Indian Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 113, 114, 117, 139, 141, 143).— Dr. Burnell has quoted the form Kañji in his *South-Indian Palæography*, second edition, p. x. note 2.

4 Hiuen Tsiang (Mr. Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 228).

5 *e. g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 19.

6 *e.g.*, *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 53.

7 *e. g.*, *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 110.

8 *e. g.*, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 119.

9 *e. g.*, *ibid.* p. 225; *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 106.

10 *e. g.*, *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 146.

11 I owe this to Dr. Hultzsch.

12 Dr. Burnell (*South-Indian Palæography*, second edition, p. 36, note 2) proposed to identify the first of these two places with the modern 'Pulicat' in the Chingleput District, Madras. But Dr. Hultzsch (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 398, note 4), has pointed out that this identification is untenable, because 'Pulicat' is simply an Anglo-Indian corruption of Paḷavêṛkâḍu, 'the old forest of *vêl*-trees.' — The name of the second place seems to be a Sanskrit translation of some such Drâviḍian name as Pallûr or Hallûr, 'the village of the tooth.' Dr. Burnell (*loc. cit.*) was inclined to take it as simply a Sanskṛit name of Palakkaḍa, which latter word, he suggested, was derived from *pallu*, 'tooth,' and *kada*, 'place.' This, however, does not appear sound.

13 The last form of the name appears in the Tamil inscriptions of the east coast (*e. g.*, *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 63, 65, 95).— The other three forms are presented in the Kanarese inscriptions of Western India. They occur almost indifferently. And, as no intrinsic difference seems to be involved, I shall use the form Noḷambavâḍi throughout, for uniformity.

14 Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. liii.) has mentioned several places in the Kôlâr District, at which there are Pallava records. And another is Nandi or Bhôga-Nandi (see page 332 below). His *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Md. 13, discloses the existence of a Pallava inscription at Tâyalûr; but this seems to be rather an intrusive Pallava record in the Western Gaṅga territory.

the Western Chalukya sovereignty; and it passed out of their possession, and into the hands of the Pâṇḍyas, somewhere about the beginning of the eleventh century A. D.: under the Pâṇḍyas, and probably under the Pallavas before them, the capital of this province was Uchchaṅgî.[1] The crest of the Pallavas was a bull,— doubtless intended for Nandi, the servant and carrier of the god 'Siva; it appears, in a more or less easily recognisable form, sometimes recumbent and sometimes standing, on the seals of their copper-plate charters.[2] Their banner was the *khaṭvâṅga-dhvaja*, or banner bearing a representation of a club or staff with a skull at the top of it,— another property of 'Siva.[3] And, from these two insignia, it may be inferred that 'Siva was their family-god.

As has been remarked above, we have undoubtedly the mention of a Pahlava or Pallava king, on the eastern coast of Southern India, about the middle of the fourth century A. D., in the person of the Vishṇugôpa of Kâñchî, whom the Early Gupta king Samudragupta is said to have captured and liberated again.[4]

Next after this, may be placed the information furnished by two Prâkṛit copper-plate grants from the Madras Presidency. One of them, obtained from the Guṇṭûr District, records a grant made by the queen of the *Yuvamahârâja* Vijayabuddhavarman, in the reign of the *Mahârâja* Vijayaskandavarman.[5] The other, obtained from the Bellâry

[1] See, *e. g.*, an inscription at Dâvangere, of A. D. 1123 (*P. S. and O-C. Inscrs.* No. 146; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 8), which mentions the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vijaya-Pâṇḍyadêva, a vassal of the Western Châlukya king Perma-Jagadêkamalla II., as ruling over the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand at the capital of Uchchaṅgî; also a record at Bêlûr (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 18; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 266), which says that the Hoysaḷa Ballâḷa II. took Uchchaṅgî, and then, when the Pâṇḍya cast himself on his mercy, restored him his kingdom.—As regards the identity of the place, see page 285 above, note 5; it may apparently be either of the two Uchchaṅgîs mentioned there.

[2] The seals (see further on) of the Kûram grant, and of the grant of Vishṇugôpavarman, present the recumbent bull; so, also, the seal which properly belongs to the Udayêndiram grant of Nandivarman, son of Hiraṇyavarman. The seals of the grants of Vijayabuddhavarman and 'Sivaskandavarman, present the standing bull; so also, the seal of the grant, of doubtful authenticity, of Nandivarman, the alleged son of Skandavarman (page 320 below, note 6).

[3] In the Kaśâkûḍi grant (see page 323 below), the crest is mentioned as *śâkvara-kêtana*, 'the bull-sign,' and *vṛish-âṅka*, 'the bull-mark;' and the banner, as *khaṭvâṅga-kêtu*, 'the club-sign.' And, in an inscription at the Kailâsanâtha temple at Conjeeveram (*South.-Ind.-Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 23, No. 29), the bull-crest is actually called *vṛisha-dhvaja*. These, however, are metrical passages, in which, as I have already said (see page 299 above, note 4), the proper distinction is not always maintained. In prose, and by the correct technical words, the bull-crest is mentioned as *ṛishabha-lâñchhana* in the fifth niche of the Conjeeveram inscription No. 25 (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 14), and the club-banner is mentioned as *khaṭvâṅga-dhvaja* in one of the Western Chalukya records (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 26, plate iii *b*, line 3; *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 146).— The *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi*, of the twelfth century A. D., seems also, like two of the above passages, to speak of the bull as the device on the banner of the Pallavas (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. pp. 334, 337); and it appears to explain its origin by saying (*ibid.* p. 329) that the bull-banner was the banner of one of "the seven goddesses,"— the Pleiades, or the Mothers of mankind. Perhaps, by that time, the device may really have been transferred from the crest to the banner.

[4] See page 280 above.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 100. For some useful corrections in my reading of the text, see Dr. Bühler's paper referred to in the next note but one. The emblem on the seals of this grant and the next one, has been supposed to be a standing deer or horse. But it must be, in reality, a partially obliterated bull.

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District, gives us the name of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*[1] Sivaskandavarman; the charter was issued from Kâñchîpura; and it is dated in the eighth (regnal) year on the fifth day in the sixth fortnight of the rainy season.[2]

The Sanskrit charters are certainly all somewhat later than the preceding. And first among them we may place two copper-plate grants which give the genealogy shewn on the opposite page. The earlier of the two grants[3] was issued by Vishṇugôpavarman, from a place named Palakkada or Palakkada.[4] The genealogy commences with Skandavarman I.: the title of *Mahârâja* is attached to his name, and to those of his son and grandson; and Vishṇugôpavarman uses the title of *Yuvamahârâja*.[5] The charter, which was addressed to the villagers of Uruvupalli in the Muṇḍarâshṭra country, is dated in the eleventh year of a *Mahârâja* Siṁhavarman (I.), whose position in the family is not stated, but who was probably an elder brother of Vishṇugôpavarman.[6] The grantor was Vishṇugôpavarman himself.

[1] The exact expression in the original is *dharma-Mahârâjâdhirâja*, 'the pious or righteous *Mahârâjâdhirâja*' (compare page 303 above, note 3).— *Mahârâjâdhirâja* is a paramount title, which superseded the earlier *Mahârâja* (see page 288 above, note 5). I have hitherto treated it as meaning 'supreme king of great kings' (*mahârâja* + *adhirâja*): but it may possibly more correctly mean 'great supreme king of kings' (*mahâ* + *râjâdhirâja*): for, *râjâdhirâja* itself was a paramount title; and there are many cases in which higher grades are designated by the use of the word *mahâ* (= *mahat*); thus, *sênâpati* and *mahâsênâpati*, *sâmanta* and *mahâsâmânta*, *sâṁdhivigrahika* and *mahâsâṁdhivigrahika*.— In Northern India, the primitive title of *Mahârâja* had been superseded by that of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, at any rate by the time of Samudragupta (about A. D. 450). In Southern India, on the contrary, *Mahârâja* was retained as a paramount title until the generation after Pulikêśin II.: it was used by him; and it was his son Vikramâditya I. who first introduced the higher title.— I am not to be understood as meaning that the use of the higher title stamps the present Pallava grant as belonging to a period later than that of Pulikêśin II. It is undoubtedly considerably earlier. And it would seem that, through their contact with Samudragupta, the Pallavas of Kâñchî came to learn the existence of the title, and brought it into occasional use, long before the time when it penetrated to the western parts of Southern India.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 2.— As regards the details of the date, compare page 279 above, and note 1. They furnish an indication of antiquity; and Dr. Bühler (*loc. cit.* p. 5) has endorsed my opinion that the kings of Prâkrit grants belong to an earlier time than those who issued their charters in Sanskrit.— The record represents Sivaskandavarman as having performed the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice (see page 290 above, note 3). And, partly on account of this, Mr. Foulkes (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XXI. p. 118) has allotted it to the second century A.D., before the revival of that rite by Samudragupta. But my own opinion is that the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice of this record must be placed after the revival of the rite.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 50.—From the lithograph, it would appear that the device on the seal of this charter is a recumbent dog. But it must be, in reality, a bull, turned into a dog in drawing by hand from a much damaged original.

[4] See page 292 above, and note 9.

[5] The exact expression used in the original is *dharma-Yuvamahârâja*.

[6] My conjecture seemed subsequently to be supported by another grant, from Udayêndiram in the North Arcot District, Madras Presidency, originally published by Mr. Foulkes (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 167), and recently re-edited by Prof. Kielhorn (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 142) which gives the names of the *Râja* Skandavarman (II.); his son, the *Mahârâja* Siṅghavarman (= Siṁhavarman I.); his son, the *Mahârâja* Skandavarman (III.); and his son, the *dharma-Mahârâja* Nandivarman, who issued the charter from Kâñchîpura, in the first year of his reign, and granted the village of Kâñchivâyil, in the Adeyâra *râshṭra*, to some Brâhmaṇs. The genealogy appears to be intended to fit in with that given by me above; and the names in it may possibly be all quite authentic. But the language and orthography are so corrupt, and the characters are so suspicious, that

A Pallava Pedigree.

- Skandavarman I.
  - Vîravarman.
    - Skandavarman II.
      - Siṁhavarman I.
      - Vishṇugôpa, or Vishṇugôpavarman.
        - Siṁhavarman II.

He is described as a *paramabhâgavata*, or "most devout worshipper of the Divine One (Vishṇu)." And the grant was made to a temple of the god Vishṇuhâra, established by the *Sênâpati* Vishṇuvarman at the village of Kaṇḍukûra. In the second grant,[1] the genealogy commences with Vîravarman, and is carried through Skandavarman II. and Vishṇugôpavarman,[2] without any mention of Siṁhavarman I., to Siṁhavarman II.: to the names of Vîravarman and Skandavarman II., there is attached the title of *Mahârâja*; Vishṇugôpavarman is styled *Yuvarâja*, as if he never actually succeeded to the sovereignty; and Siṁhavarman II. uses the title of *Mahârâja*.[3] In this grant, the Pallavas are described as *śrîvallabha*, "favourites of fortune." The charter was issued from Daśanapura.[4] It is addressed to the villagers of Mâṅgaḷûr in the Veṅgorâshṭra country. And it is dated in the eighth regnal year of Siṁhavarman II. himself. The grant was made to Brâhmaṇs, without any sectarian allotment. But, like his father, Siṁhavarman II. is styled a *paramabhâgavata*.

To about the same period must be allotted another grant,[5] the style and characters of which, as well as the town of issue, connect it closely with both of the preceding. The order contained in it was issued from

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the record itself cannot be accepted as genuine, and as proving anything that is mentioned in it. — At the end of the record, there is a Tamil endorsement, dated in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Madiraikoṇḍa-Kô-Parakêsarivarman, *i.e.* the Chôḷa king Parânṭaka I., identical in its wording with the endorsement at the end of the Udayêndiram grant of Nandivarman, son of Hiraṇyavarman, which will be noticed further on. This endorsement appears to be a genuine one, made actually in the time of Parânṭaka I., somewhere about A. D. 935. And I strongly suspect that the record was fabricated then, with the intention of passing it off as a charter issued by that same Nandivarman, son of Hiraṇyavarman, and that, his true descent being not available to the person who concocted it, that person simply put in the first names that came handy to him.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 154.

[2] It is in this grant that his name appears as Vishṇugôpa, without *varman* at the end of it.

[3] In the original, *dharma-Mahârâja*.

[4] See page 318 above, note 12.

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 397.

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Daśanapura. But only the first plate of the grant has been obtained; and it supplies nothing more, except the name of the *Mahârâja* Vîra-Kôrchavarman or Vîra-Kûrchavarman, the grandfather of the donor. The dynastic name does not occur in the extant portion; but the deed is undoubtedly a Pallava record.

And to much the same period must belong the references to Pallavas, without details of names, in the Kadamba inscription at Tâlgund,[1] and in one of the charters of Mrigêśavarman,[2] and the statement that his son Ravivarman conquered Vishṇuvarman and other kings, and overthrew Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, lord of Kâñchî.[3] In fact, this Vishṇuvarman may quite possibly be identified either with the Vishṇugôpavarman of the table on page 321 above, or with the *Sênâpati* Vishṇuvarman who is mentioned in the charter issued by him.

We come now, chiefly through work done recently by Dr. Hultzsch, to some far more definite facts and dates. And first, from Pallava records obtained at Kûram, Kaśâkûḍi, and Udayêndiram, and from the Western Chalukya record from Vakkalêri,[4] we obtain the genealogy and synchronisms shewn in the table on the opposite page.[5]

Of the records brought to notice by Dr. Hultzsch, first in order of importance stands the copper-plate grant from Kûram, in the neighbourhood of Conjeeveram.[6] The historical genealogy commences with Narasiṁhavarman I., who is described as repeatedly defeating the Chôḷas, Kêraḷas, Kaḷabhras, and Pâṇḍyas, — as writing the word "victory," as on a plate, on Pulakêśin's back, which was caused to be visible (*i.e.*, he caused him to turn his back in flight) in the battles of Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala, Sûramâra, and other places, — and as destroying the city of Vâtâpi, just as the saint Agastya destroyed the demon Vâtâpi, in consequence of which, another record shews, he assumed the epithet of Vâtâpikoṇḍa, "taker of Vâtâpi."[7] His son was Mahêndravarman II. And his son, again, was Paramêśvaravarman I., who, "unaided, made Vikramâditya, whose army consisted of several "hundreds of thousands, take to flight, covered only by a rag."[8] The record registers the fact that, at the request of a Pallava prince named

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[1] Page 286 above. [2] Page 288 above. [3] Page 289 above.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 23; and see *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 146.

[5] It does not seem necessary to complicate the table by including the variants of names which are produced by the insertion of *pôta* or *pôtta* (see page 324 below, note 3), and by the substitution of *râja* or *raiya* for *varman.*

[6] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 144.

[7] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 277. This record, an inscription of the Chôḷa king Râjakêsarivarman at Tirukkaḷukkunṛam, gives the name of the Pallava king as Naraśiṅgapôttaraiya, *i.e.* Narasiṁhapôtarâja, and records the renewal by Râjakêsarivarman of a grant which had been made by a king or other person named Skandaśishya and confirmed by Narasiṁhavarman I.

[8] The record mentions Paramêśvaravarman's elephant named Arivâraṇa, "warding off enemies", and horse named Atiśaya, "eminence." Other instances of the naming of favourite animals are afforded by the Chalukya records, which give to the charger of Vikramâditya I. the name of Chitrakaṇṭha, "speckle-throat" (*e. g., Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 78); by the Gôdâvarî grant of Pṛithivîmûla, which mentions the elephants Kumuda, "water-lily," and Supratîka "the handsome one" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 119); and by the Âtakûr inscription, which gives to Râjâditya's elephant the name of Chôḷana-kôṭe, "the fortress of the Chôḷa" (*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. II. p. 173).

A Pallava Pedigree.

(Unnamed Ancestor)

Simhavishnu.
Mahêndravarman I.
Narasimhavishnu-Narasimhavarman I. (A contemporary of Pulikêśin II, about A. D. 642).
Mahêndravarman II.
Ugradanda-Lôkâditya-Îśvarapôtarâja-Paramêśvaravarman I. (A contemporary of Vikramâditya I, in the period A. D. 655 to 680).
Râjasimha-Kâlakâla-Narasimhavishnu-Narasimhavarman II.; married Rangapatâkâ.
Paramêśvaravarman II. Mahêndravarman III.

Bhîmavarman.
Buddhavarman.
Âdityavarman.
Gôvindavarman.
Hiranyavarman.
Nandivarman. (A contemporary of Vikramâditya II, in the period A. D. 733-34 to 746-47).

Vidyâvinîta, Paramêśvaravarman I. granted a village to the god Śiva, who, under the form of Pinâkapâni, had been installed in the temple of Vidyâvinîta-Pallava-Paramêśvara at the village of Kûra. The period of this record is fixed by the mention of Vikramâditya; he being defeated by the grandson of a king who had inflicted disaster upon a city named Vâtâpi and a king named Pulakêśin, it is impossible to accept any conclusions, except that he is the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya I. (A. D. 655 to 680), and,—if only on the consideration that at least sixty-seven years intervened between him and his great-grandfather Pulikêśin I.,—that the Pulakêśin of this record is his father Pulikêśin II., who reconstructed the Chalukya power at Bâdâmi (Vâtâpi) in A. D. 608-609 and reigned till about A. D. 642.

The information given by the Kûram grant has now been amplified by a copper-plate grant from Kaśâkûdi, near Karikal, in the Tanjore District, Madras Presidency.[1] This record repeats the Purânic genealogy

[1] I quote from proofs, which Dr. Hultzsch has been kind enough to send me, of a paper that is in hand by him for his *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. Part III.

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which has been mentioned on page 317 above; and, after the eponymous Pallava, it places an Aśôkavarman, who, as Dr. Hultzsch remarks, "can scarcely be considered a historical person, but appears to be a "modification of the Buddhist king Aśôka." After him, it says, there ruled and passed away a number of other Pallava kings, of whom it names Skandavarman, Kalindavarman, Kâṇagôpa, Vishṇugôpa, Vîra-Kûrcha, Vîrasimha, Simhavarman, and Vishṇusimha: some of these names have already occurred in the preceding pages; but the present mention of them does not help to settle the relative order of the charters from which they have come to light: it would appear that, when the present record was drawn up, the names of these previous kings were remembered, but nothing definite was known about them, and that the order of their succession, and their relation to each other and to the subsequent line of kings mentioned in the record, had been forgotten. In the connected line of kings, the record first mentions Simhavishṇu, apparently known also as Avanisimha, who, it says, defeated the Malaya, Kalabhra, Mâlava, Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, Simhala, and Kêraḷa kings. His successor[1] was Mahêndravarman I., who annihilated his "chief enemies"[2] at Puḷḷalûra: we may safely take these words as denoting the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi; and, since Puḷḷalûra is the name of a village in the Conjeeveram tâluka, the Chalukya army had evidently penetrated very far into the Pallava dominions, and the asserted repulse of it is probably to be placed in the campaign in which Pulikêśin II. claims to have made the leader of the Pallavas take refuge behind the ramparts of Kâñchî, about A. D. 609. His son was Narasimhavarman I., who conquered Lankâ, *i.e.* Ceylon, and Vâtâpi. The Kûram grant has already mentioned the "destruction" of Vâtâpi by Narasimhavarman I., and has supplied the name of the Western Chalukya king in whose time (at the end of his reign) the invasion took place,—*viz.* Pulikêśin II. And Dr. Hultzsch tells us that the statement about the conquest of Ceylon is confirmed by the *Mahâvamsa*, from which we learn that the Singhalese prince Mânavarman lived at the court of Narasimhavarman I., and helped him to crush his enemy king Vallabha, *i.e.* Pulikêśin II.,—that the grateful Narasimhavarman twice supplied Mânavarman with an army to invade Ceylon,—and that Mânavarman was successful on the second occasion, and then occupied and reigned over Ceylon. Narasimhavarman's son was Mahêndravarman II. Then there came Paramêśvarapôtavarman I., *i.e.* Paramêśvaravarman I. of the Kûram grant.[3] His son was Narasimhavarman II. His son was Paramêś-

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[1] In the Udayêndiram grant, also, the relationship is not stated. But, as Bhîmavarman, younger brother of Simhavishṇu, is distinctly specified (see further on) as belonging to the sixth generation before Paramêśvaravarman II., Mahêndravarman I. must have been a son of Simhavishṇu.

[2] *Dvishatâm viśêshâh*; compare page 316 above, and note 5.

[3] Here, again, the relationship is not specified in this record; but the Kûram grant tells us distinctly that Paramêśvaravarman I. was the son of Mahêndravarman II.—Dr. Hultzsch explains (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 277, note 2) that the Sanskrit *pôta* and the Tamil *pôttu* mean 'the sprout (of a plant),' and are thus synonymous with *pallava*, 'a sprout,' from which (see page 317 above) the name of the eponymous Pallava was supposed to be derived.

varapôtavarman II., *i.e.* Paramêśvaravarman II. of the Kûram grant; further on in this record, he is called Paramêśvarapôtarâja. The record then tells us that, at the time when it was drawn up, the kingdom of Paramêśvaravarman II. was ruled by a certain Nandin, Nandivarman, or Nandipôtarâja, who had been "chosen by the subjects." And it exhibits this king's descent, and his relationship with Paramêśvaravarman II., as follows. The younger brother of the Simhavishṇu mentioned above, was Bhîmavarman. Then came[1] Buddhavarman. Then, Âdityavarman. Then, Gôvindavarman. Then, Hiraṇya, whose full name may safely be taken to have been Hiraṇyavarman, and whose wife was Rôhiṇî.[2] And their son was Nandivarman, to whom the record gives the birudas or secondary names of Kshatriyamalla, Pallavamalla, and Śrîdhara, and the paramount titles of *Mahârâja*, *Râjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*,[3] and whom it further describes as a devotee of the god Vishṇu. The record finally registers the fact that, at the request of his *Mukhyamantrin* or prime minister Brahmaśrîrâja or Brahmayuvarâja, Nandivarman, in the twenty-second year of his reign,[4] granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Koḍukolḷi, which, on thus becoming a *brahmadêya*, received the new name of Êkadhîramaṅgala, situated in Ûṟṟukkâṭṭukkôṭṭa or, in Sanskrit, Undivanakôshṭhaka, which was a subdivision of the Toṇḍâka *râshṭra*, and, by its modern name Ûṟṟukkâḍu, is to be placed closely in the neighbourhood of Conjeeveram.

The names subsequent to that of Paramêśvaravarman I. were, indeed, previously known from another copper-plate grant, from Udayêndiram in the North Arcot District, Madras, which was originally published by the Rev. T. Foulkes,[5] and is now being dealt with more fully by Dr. Hultzsch.[6] This record, however, lay open to some suspicion: for, at the end of it, there is a Tamil endorsement dated in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Madiraikoṇḍa-Kô-Parakêsarivarman, *i. e.* of the Chôḷa king Parântaka I. (somewhere

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[1] Here, again, the relationships are not stated, until we come to Nandivarman, who is called *Hairaṇya*, 'son of Hiraṇya.' But he is also called *Bhîmavargya*, 'belonging to the branch of Bhîma(varman).' And Bhîmavarman and the others are specified as his sixth, fifth, fourth, third, and second ancestors. And so, whether the succession was exactly from father to son throughout, or not, we have at any rate six generations.

[2] Dr. Hultzsch tells us that Hiraṇya is probably spoken of as the *Mahârâja* Hiraṇyavarman in an inscription at Conjeeveram, which further mentions Paramêśvaravarman II. as then deceased, and probably recorded the accession, after his death, of Hiraṇyavarman, or of Nandivarman.

[3] This title must have been adopted by the Pallavas in imitation of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II., who acquired it, and introduced it into Southern India, by his defeat of Harshavardhana of Kanauj (see chapter II. below).

[4] The year is specified as a current year by the word *vartamâna*; so also in the Udayêndiram grant (see further on), by the use of the word *pûrayati*.—I draw attention to this, because it tends to support my view that, whatever may have been the Hindû custom in respect of the years of eras, regnal years would naturally be used as current years.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 273; see, also, his *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. p. 355.

[6] Here, again, through Dr. Hultzsch's kindness, I quote from proofs of a paper by him that is in hand for his *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. Part III.

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about A. D. 935); and the characters of the whole record,—both of the original portion, and of the endorsement,—are considerably more modern, not only than those of other Pallava records, but also than those of two other copper-plate grants of Parântaka I. himself. This fact created a suspicion of forgery. But the final conclusion appears to be,[1] that, in this instance, there is nothing of a spurious nature, and that the grant and its endorsement were copied from a now lost, but genuine, original. And, this view of the case being taken, there is no objection to endorse, as authentic, certain further items of information which this record supplies, in addition to repeating, in slightly different terms, some of the statements made in the Kûram and Kaśâkûḍi records. Narasiṁhavarman I., it says, in addition to destroying Vâtâpi, repeatedly defeated the *vallabha*-king, or king Vallabha, *i. e.* Pulikêśin II., at Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala, 'Sûramâra, and other places. Paramêśvaravarman I. defeated the *vallabha*-army, or the army of Vallabha, *i. e.* of Pulikêśin's son Vikramâditya I., in the battle of Peruvaḷanallûr. And Narasiṁhavarman II. was a *paramamâhêśvara* or most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara ('Siva). This record represents Pallavamalla-Nandivarman as the son of Paramêśvaravarman II., which appears, at first sight, calculated to induce us to stamp the record as a forgery: the Kaśâkûḍi grant, however, describes Nandivarman as "chosen by the subjects;" and Dr. Hultzsch has suggested two possible explanations of the statement in the present record,—either that Nandivarman may have thought it politic to give himself out as the adopted son of his predecessor; or that, through sheer carelessness, the scribe, who drafted the inscription, used the word *putra*, 'son,' while he wanted to represent Nandivarman only as a successor, and not as the son, of Paramêśvaravarman II. The record then mentions a military officer of Nandivarman named Udayachandra, belonging to the family of Pûchân, the members of which were hereditary servants of the Pallavas, and mentioned as lord of the city of Vilvalanagara, on the river Vêgavatî, which Dr. Hultzsch has identified with the modern Villivalam, in the neighbourhood of Conjeeveram, and near the confluence of the Vêgavatî and the Pâlâṛu. And it then describes various services which Udayachandra rendered to the king. The Dramiḷa princes,—meaning probably some relations and followers of Paramêśvaravarman II. who were opposed to Nandivarman establishing himself on the throne,—had besieged Nandivarman in Nandipura; and Udayachandra came to the rescue, and killed, with his own hand, the Pallava prince Chitramâya and others. He defeated the hostile army on the battle fields of Nimbavana, Chûtavana, 'Saṁkaragrâma, Nellûr, Nelvêli, 'Sûrâvaḷundûr, and other places, and thus many times bestowed the kingdom on Nandivarman. At Nelvêli, he also slew in battle the 'Sabara king Udayana, and seized his mirror-banner embellished with a peacock's tail. In the northern region, he also pursued and defeated the Nishâda chief Prithivîvyâghra, who was performing an *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, and drove him out of the territory of Vishṇurâja,—*i. e.* out of the land of Veṅgî, the kingdom of the

[1] See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 145.

Eastern Chalukya king Vishṇuvardhana III. (A. D. 709 to 746),[1]—which he made subject to Nandivarman. And, finally, he breached a fortress named Kâḷidurga, and defeated the army of the Pâṇḍyas at Maṇṇaikuḍi. The record then registers the fact that, in the twenty-first year of his reign,[2] at the request of Udayachandra, Nandivarman granted, to a hundred and eight Brâhmaṇs, a village named Kumâra-maṅgala-Veḷḷaṭṭûr, the appellation of which was then changed to Udayachandramaṅgala, and which, through that new name, is to be identified with the modern Udayêndiram itself. At the end of the record, there is a Tamil endorsement, identical with the endorsement at the end of the spurious grant of Nandivarman, the alleged son of a supposed Skandavarman III.,[3] to the effect that, in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Madiraikoṇḍa-Kô-Parakêsarivarman, *i.e.* the Chôḷa king Parântaka I., the villagers of Udayachandramaṅgala agreed with those of the neighbouring village of Kâñchivâyil, also called Iganmaṟaimaṅgala, to make the two villages into one.

Some extraneous items of information regarding this line of kings, are furnished by two of the Western Chalukya records. Îśvara-pôtavarman, as a variant of the name of Paramêśvaravarman I., is taken from the Haidarâbâd grant,[4] which claims that Vikramâditya I. "rubbed out the fame of Narasiṁha (Narasiṁhavarman I.), destroyed the power of Mahêndra (Mahêndravarman II.), and surpassed Îśvara (Paramêśvaravarman I.) in statesmanship, and thus bruised the Pallavas;" and that, "conquering Îśvarapôtarâja, he took Kâñchî, whose huge walls were insurmountable and hard to be broken, which was surrounded by a large moat that was unfathomable and hard to be crossed, and which resembled the girdle (*kâñchî*) of the southern region." And the Vakkalêri grant[5] tells us that Vikramâditya II. (A. D. 733-34 to 746-47), having resolved to uproot completely his "natural enemy,"[6] the Pallava, reached, with great speed, the Tuṇḍâka *vishaya,* attacked and put to flight the Pallava Nandipôtavarman (*i. e.* Nandivarman, son of Hiranyavarman), who had come to withstand him, took possession of his club-banner and his musical instruments called *kaṭumukha* or "harsh-sounding" and *samudraghôsha* or "roar of the sea,"[7] and then entered,[8] without destroying it,

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 283.

[2] Here, again, the year is specified as current (see page 325 above, note 4),—by the use of the word *pûrayati,* "which was completing (the number twenty-one)," line 38.

[3] See page 320 above, note 6.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 75; and see *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 145.— In consequence of the type of the characters and the partial corruptness of the language, this record is not altogether free from suspicion. But, even if it is not genuine, the statements made in it are in agreement with history.— The passages in it, mentioning the Pallavas, occur also in the Kurtakôṭi grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 217), which is unquestionably spurious.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 28; and see *South-Ind.-Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 146.

[6] See page 316 above, and note 5.

[7] The following special musical instruments of other families are mentioned in epigraphic records: the *tiviḷi* of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ (chapter III. below), which re-appears as the *trivaḷe, trivaḷi,* or *trivaḷî* of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, (chapter VIII.); the *ḍamaruka* or *ḍâmaruga,* a double drum, of the Kaḷachuryas of Kalyâṇi (chapter V.); the *permaṭṭi* of the Kâdambas of Hâṅgal and of Goa (chapter VIII.); and the *Śâsanadêvî-vijaya-bhêrî,* or victorious drum of a *Śâsanadêvî,* of some of the Western Gaṅgas (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 312, 313).

[8] The truth of this statement is proved by the existence of remains of a Kanarese

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the city of Kâñchî, where he acquired great merit by granting heaps of gold to the Râjasiṁhêśvara and other stone temples which Narasiṁhapôtavarman had caused to be built.

And other records of these kings themselves are forthcoming. Of Mahêndravarman I., we appear to have a record in an inscription in a rock-cut 'Saiva shrine at Vallam, near Chingleput, in the Madras Presidency,[1] which gives his name in the form of Mayêndirapôttaresaru, *i. e.* Mahêndrapôtarâja, and allots to him the *birudas* of Lalitâṅkura, 'Satrumalla, and Guṇabhara, and records that the shrine was made by Skandasêna, son of Vasantapriyarâja, who was a vassal of Mahêndrapôtarâja.

Of Narasiṁhavarman I., we have a record in a fragmentary rock-inscription at Bâdâmi itself,[2] which furnishes evidence that, so far at least as a victorious occupation of the town goes, the boast of the Pallavas, that they "destroyed" Vâtâpi, is no empty one. The characters alone, especially as contrasted with those of the almost entirely obliterated inscription which lay just below it on the same rock, are sufficient to shew that it is a Pallava record, written, or traced for engraving, by the hand of someone who was a foreigner to Bâdâmi. But the contents make the point absolutely certain. In line 2, it mentions Vâtâpi and someone whose *biruda* was Mahâmalla; and the passage was evidently to the effect that "Vâtâpi, [a city] of enemies, a superhuman or divine [city], [was conquered] by Mahâmalla."[3] In line 3, where the metrical portion begins, it speaks of someone adorning a family which, we can now recognise, is plainly specified as the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*.[4] And in line 4 it describes him as "the Pallava, the foremost of kings;" while in line 5 it gave his name, which either was Siṁhavishṇu or else ended with those syllables. Now, we have the name of a Siṁhavishṇu at the head of the genealogy given in the table on page 323 above. But there is no mention of Vâtâpi in connection with him. Nor is there any mention of the Pallavas in connection with his contemporary Pulikêśin I., who first among the Chalukyas settled at Vâtâpi, or in connection with Kîrtivarman I. and Maṅgalêśa, the sons of Pulikêśin I., except that the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription would vaguely include the king of Dramiḷa, *i.e.* the Drâviḍa country, among the rulers against whom, it says, Kîrtivarman I. was victorious. It is plain, therefore, that this record must be placed not earlier than, and as a matter of fact in, the time of Pulikêśin II.,[5] *i. e.* at the end of his

inscription of Vikramâditya II., brought to notice by Dr. Hultzsch (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 147), at the Kailâsanâtha temple at Conjeeveram. The record mentions the temple of Râjasiṁhêśvara: from which it follows that it is subsequent to the time of Narasiṁhavarman II. who founded that temple (see further on), and, consequently, that it is a record of Vikramâditya II.,— not of his ancestor of the same name.

[1] Here, again, I quote from proofs of a paper by Dr. Hultzsch, which is in hand for his *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. Part III.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 99.

[3] Mahâmalla is, I believe, fully recognised as a Pallava *biruda*. It occurs, with Râjamalla, in the Haidarâbâd grant of Vikramâditya I. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 78; where I unnecessarily translated the words by "mighty wrestler" and "royal wrestler").

[4] *[Bhâ]rad[v]âja[m = alaṁka]rishṇur = atulaṁ gôtraṁ.*

[5] Originally, I inferred from this record that Bâdâmi was at first a city of the Pallavas; and that it was from them that Pulikêśin I. acquired it. That opinion, however, must be given up.

reign. The name Narasiṁhavishṇu suits the metre exactly. This name actually occurs, as a variant, in the case of Narasiṁhavarman II.[1] And there can be no doubt that the name which stood in the Bâdâmi record was Narasiṁhavishṇu; and that this was another form of the name of Narasiṁhavarman I.

Of Narasiṁhavarman II., we have a record in the Conjeeveram inscription No. 24, at the Kailâsanâtha temple.[2] This is a record of a Pallava king named Râjasiṁha, with the *birudas* of Atyantakâma, Raṇajaya, and Śrîbhara. It mentions his father by the *biruda* of Ugradaṇḍa, describing him as "the destroyer of the city of Raṇârasika," and also by the proper name of Paramêśvara.[3] And it thus enables us to determine the identity of the persons named in it.[4] The hostilities between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas began in the early years of Pulikêśin II., when, in the course of quieting the general disturbances that arose on the death of Maṅgalêśa and of consolidating his own power at Bâdâmi, he attacked the Pallavas and drove their leader, probably Mahêndravarman I., back behind the walls of Kâñchî. Accordingly, Ugradaṇḍa-Paramêśvara cannot be placed, as regards the Chalukyas, before the time of Pulikêśin II., and, as regards the Pallavas, before the time of Mahêndravarman I., or of Narasiṁhavarman I. And, as Raṇarasika was a *biruda* of Vikramâditya I., son of Pulikêśin II.,[5] it is plain that Ugradaṇḍa-Paramêśvara was a contemporary of Vikramâditya I., and is to be identified with Paramêśvaravarman I., who is expressly mentioned in the Kûram grant as putting Vikramâditya I. to flight, and that his son Râjasiṁha is to be identified with Narasiṁhavarman II. Further, the shrine, round the outside of which this inscription is engraved, is, in the record itself, called

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[1] See page 330 below.

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 12.

[3] I analyse and translate, in verse 5,—not *Ugradaṇḍât . . . . . . paramâd-îśvarât*, "from the supreme lord Ugradaṇḍa,"—but *Ugradaṇḍât . . . . . . param-âd-îśvarât*, "from Ugradaṇḍa, who was (*called by the name of*) *îśvara* with *parama* at the beginning (*of it*)." The word *ugradaṇḍa* might be translated as a simple epithet, without being taken as a recognised *biruda*. But, as pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch (*loc. cit.* p. 13, note 7) it occurs also among the epithets and *birudas* of Râjasiṁha.

[4] I differ here from Dr. Hultzsch. While correctly identifying the city of Raṇarasika with Vâtâpi, he not unnaturally,— as matters then stood,— identified Raṇarasika himself with Raṇarâga, the father of Pulikêśin I.; and he proposed to identify Râjasiṁha with Siṁhavishṇu, with the result that Ugradaṇḍa-Paramêśvara would be the father of Siṁhavishṇu (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 30; and *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 10, 11). But, the Chalukya records put forward no historical details of any kind in respect of Raṇarâga, and state nothing to lead us to suppose that he ever enjoyed any regal power, or ever had a royal city, at all; they first mention Vâtâpi in connection with Pulikêśin I; they do not shew any distinct hostility between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas until the time of Pulikêśin II.; the Pallava records do not mention the name of Vâtâpi until in connection with Narasiṁhavarman I.; and finally, it is now known (see the text above) exactly who Raṇarasika was.

[5] It occurs in his Haidarâbâd grant, among the passages which mention Narasiṁha, Mahêndra, Îśvara, and Îśvarapôtarâja. The text, as it stands, has *ranarasika-śrîmad-uru-bala-skandham* (for *skandhô*), which I translated (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 78) by "having shoulders that delighted in war and were glorious and of great strength." But the compound is an awkward one. And it is plain now that a *visarga* was omitted, and that the intended reading was *Raṇarasikaḥ śrîmad-uru-bala-skandhaḥ*, "Raṇarasika, possessed of fine strong shoulders."— The word occurs in the same passage in the spurious Kurtakôṭi grant.

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Râjasiṁhêśvara and Râjasiṁha-Pallavêśvara, shewing its original name, derived from Râjasiṁha himself, by whom, moreover, the record says it was built. It is evidently the Râjasiṁhêśvara temple which, with others, Narasiṁhapôtavarman caused to be built, as mentioned in the Vakkalêri grant. This identifies Râjasiṁha with Narasiṁhapôtavarman, and thus gives another form of the name of Narasiṁhavarman II. And the fact that some Tamil inscriptions at the same place, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D., speak of the god of this temple as Râjasiṁhavarmêśvara,[1] suggests that the full appellation of the founder was Râjasiṁhavarman, and, so, that Râjasiṁha, or Râjasiṁhavarman, was another name, and not a mere *biruda*, of Narasiṁhavarman II. Another record of Narasiṁhavarman II. is No. 31 in Dr. Hultzsch's book,[2] an inscription in a cave-temple at Panamalai in the South Arcot District, which speaks of him by his name of Râjasiṁha and his *birudas* of Raṇajaya and 'Srîbhara; it is otherwise of interest through indicating that the cave was founded by him, and thus through shewing a point to the south to which the rule of his family extended. Another of his records is the Conjeeveram inscription No. 25, round the inside of the enclosure of the Râjasiṁhêśvara shrine:[3] in addition to giving his name of Râjasiṁha, it enumerates a great number of his *birudas*: and among the latter, we may note the following,—"he who has the bull-crest;[4] the great jewel of Kâñchî; and the sun of the Pallavas;" and,—as emphasising the fact disclosed by his record on the Râjasiṁhêśvara shrine, *viz.* that he was of the 'Saiva religion,—"he whose refuge is Îśâna; the devotee of Dêvadêva; the devotee of 'Saṁkara; and the devotee of Îśvara."[5] And finally, to him plainly belongs also the Conjeeveram inscription No. 29, again at the Kailâsanâtha temple,[6] which records that Raṅgapatâkâ, the wife of Kâlakâla-Narasiṁhavishṇu "whose bow had become manifest at the destruction of cities," built a shrine there, and which thus supplies Narasiṁhavishṇu as a variant of his name, just as the Bâdâmi rock-inscription has supplied it as a variant of the name of his ancestor Narasiṁhavarman I.

Of Mahêndravarman III. we have a record in the Conjeeveram inscription No. 27, also at the Kailâsanâtha temple,[7] which mentions Lôkâditya "whose valour dried up the army of Raṇarasika," and thus supplies another *biruda* of Ugradaṇḍa-Paramêśvaravarman I.; his son Râjasiṁha, *i. e.* Narasiṁhavarman II.; and his son Mahêndra (Mahêndravarman III.), who erected a 'Saiva shrine called Mahêndrêśvara near the Râjasiṁhêśvara temple. In the same inscription, the shrine is also called the temple of Mahêndravarmêśvara, from which it is to be inferred that the full name of this Mahêndra was, as usual, Mahêndravarman.

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[1] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 118, 120, 123, 143.
[2] *id*, p. 24.
[3] *id.* p. 14.—No. 26, *id.* p. 21, at the same place, is of the same purport, with a few unimportant additions.
[4] *Rishabha-lâñchhana*; fifth niche.
[5] Îśâna, Dêvadêva, 'Saṁkara, and Îśvara, are names of 'Siva.
[6] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 23.—No. 30, *ibid.* p. 24, was evidently a record of the same lady; but the legible portion does not include the names.
[7] *id.* p. 22.

And lastly, of Nandivarman, we have another record in an inscription on a stone built into a verandah at the Ulahalandaperumâl temple at Conjeeveram:[1] it is dated in the eighteenth year of his reign; and it gives his name as Nandipôttaraiya.

Dr. Hultzsch's researches have brought to notice various other early Pallava records, which, however, cannot yet be allotted to any particular kings and referred to their exact places in the history of the family. The Mâmallapuram inscriptions Nos. 1 to 16,[2] engraved in a very archaic alphabet on the Dharmarâja-Ratha, give the name of a Pallava king named Narasiṁha, with the *birudas* of Atyantakâma, 'Srîbhara, and 'Srînidhi. Nos. 17 to 20, also at Mâmallapuram,[3] belong to a successor of the above-mentioned Narasiṁha, named Atyantakâma, with the *birudas* of Raṇajaya, 'Srîbhara, and 'Srînidhi, who is allotted by Dr. Hultzsch to probably the sixth century A. D.; from No. 17, it appears that he appropriated to himself the Dharmarâja-Ratha, which had been excavated by Narasiṁha, and named it the temple of Atyantakâma-Pallavêśvara. Nos. 21 to 23, at the Atiraṇachaṇḍêśvara temple at 'Sâḷuvaṅkuppam,[4] and belonging perhaps to a slightly later period, shew that the temple was built by a king named Atiraṇachaṇḍa, who had the *birudas* of Atyantakâma, Raṇajaya, 'Srîbhara, and 'Srînidhi. No. 28, in a niche at the Kailâsanâtha temple at Conjeeveram,[5] simply speaks of the temple of the holy Nityavinîtêśvara, but seems thus to indicate the existence of a Pallava king or prince named Nityavinîta. Nos. 33 and 34,— cave inscriptions from the Triśirâpaḷḷi or Trichinopoly rock,[6]— mention a king named Guṇabhara, with the *birudas* of Purushôttama, 'Satrumalla, and Satyasaṁdha, who seems to be indicated as a Pallava king, by a certain reference to the Kâvêrî river. And finally, No. 32, a pillar inscription at Amarâvatî,[7] gives us the names of Mahêndravarman; his son, Siṁhavarman I; his son, Arkavarman; his successor, Ugravarman; his successor, Nandivarman, son of Siṁhavishnu; and his successor, Siṁhavarman II.: it states that the last-mentioned, on his return from an expedition to the north, came to a place which was sacred to Buddha, named Dhânyaghaṭa or Dhânyaghaṭaka, *i. e.* to Amarâvatî: and the chief interest of it is, that it is a Buddhist record: Siṁhavarman II. is described as an *Upâsaka* or lay-worshipper; and, though part of it is lost, it must have referred to a donation made by him to Buddha.

The next notices of the Pallavas belong to the period of the Râshṭrakûṭa supremacy. King Dhruva, of that dynasty, defeated the Pallavas, and took elephants from them.[8] In or just before A. D. 804, his son, Gôvinda III., conquered, and levied tribute from,

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1 Edited by Mr. V. Venkayya in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, August 1890.

2 *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 1 to 4.

3 *ibid.* pp. 4 to 6.

4 *ibid.* pp. 6 to 8.

5 *ibid.* p. 23.

6 *ibid.* pp. 29, 30.

7 *ibid.* p. 25.

8 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 69.

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Dantiga, lord of Kâñchî.[1] An inscription at Tâyalûr, in Mysore,[2] mentions a king named Noḷambâdhirâja, with the date of 'Saka-Saṁvat 817 (expired), = A. D. 895-96 : and we perhaps have another record of him in an inscription at Nandi or Bhôga-Nandi, also in Mysore,[3] which mentions a king Noḷambâdhirâja, with the epithet of *śrîprithivîvallabha*, of the Pallava lineage; and we appear to learn from an inscription at Kendaṭṭi-Maḍivâḷa[4] that he was the son of Pallavâdhirâja, and that he married Jâyabbe, younger sister of the contemporaneous Nîtimârga of the Western Gaṅga family, by whom he had a son named Mahêndrâdhirâja. With this son, we may probably identify the Vîra-Mahêndra, with whom the Western Gaṅga king Ereyappa was at war between A. D. 930 and 940.[5] The Râshṭrakûṭa king Krishṇa III. overcame, in or just before A. D. 940, a Pallava king whose name is read as Anthiga;[6] and the inscription of his twenty-sixth year, near Vellore in the North Arcot District, mentions a member of the Pallava race named Tribhuvanadhîra-Nuḷamba, with the *biruda* of Pallava-Murâri.[7] The Western Gaṅga prince Mârasiṁha is described, in and about A. D. 973, as "a very Death to the family of the Noḷambas," and as destroying Noḷambâdhirâja in war;[8] and an inscription at Mêlâgâni[9] mentions the king, with whom he was chiefly in conflict, as Pallavâditya Noḷambâdhirâja, with a date in the month Ashâḍha (June-July), falling in A. D. 974, of the Bhâva *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 896 (expired), when news of Mârasiṁha's death reached the Pallava king. And an inscription at Kandavâra, in Mysore,[10] gives us the name of a Pallava king Immadi- or Irmaḍi-Noḷambâdhirâja, *i. e.* "the second Noḷambâdhirâja," with a date in the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A. D. 977, of the Îśvara *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 899 (expired). After this, however, the available references to the Pallavas cease to mention them as paramount kings, and mostly cease to have any individuality; from which, it is probably to be inferred that about this time they lost their sovereign power, and sank into the position of mere feudatories and officials. The Western Gaṅga minister Châmuṇḍarâya, whose period was about A. D. 980, is described as "a very Death to the family of the Noṇambas."[11] A daughter of the Western Châlukya king Irivabeḍaṅga-Satyâśraya (about A. D. 1000) was married to a Pallava prince named Iriva-Noḷambâdhirâja, also called Ghaṭeya-Aṅkakâra, who in A. D. 1010-11

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 126, 127.

2 *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Md. 13.

3 *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 226; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 212.—Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. lvi.) has suggested that the Pallava king of this record is the one who was defeated by the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dhruva. But the characters of the record, which include the later cursive form of the *b*, are not early enough for this identification.

4 See *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., Introd. p. 4.

5 See page 304 above.

6 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 251.

7 *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 77.

8 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 271; and *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Introd. pp. 18, 19.

9 See *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Introd. p. 18, note 7.

10 Not yet published; I quote from an inked estampage, which I owe to Dr. Hultszch's Kanarese Assistant, Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

11 *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Introd. pp. 22, 25, 33, 34.

was governing the Nolambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand, the Keṅgaḷi thousand, the Ballakunde three-hundred, the Kukkanûr thirty, and five towns in the Mâsavâḍi country, under Vikramâditya V. Records of the time of Jayasiṁha II., the successor of Vikramâditya V., mention a Pallava named Noḷamba-Pallava-Bommaṇayya, who in A. D. 1040-41 and 1042-43 was governing the five towns in the Mâsavâḍi country. Sômêśvara I., the son and successor of Jayasiṁha II., perhaps married a Pallava princess; this would explain why his son Jayasiṁha III. not only had the title of "lord of Kâñchî, the best of cities," and bore the designations of Trailôkyamalla-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permâḍi-Jayasiṁhadêva, but also is described as being of the Pallava lineage.[1] The eldest son of Sômêśvara I., Bhuvanaikamalla-Sômêśvara II., claims to have subdued, and levied tribute from, the Chêra, Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, and Pallava kings.[2] His younger brother, Vikramâditya VI., humbled the Pallavas.[3] And a successor of the latter, Perma-Jagadêkamalla II., claims to have destroyed the Pallava king, and to have ruled over the Pallava kingdom.[4] The Hoysaḷa prince Vishṇuvardhana is spoken of as "a forest fire to the country of the chief of the Toṇḍa *maṇḍala*," and as capturing the Noḷambavâḍi territory.[5] His grandson, Ballâḷa II., is described as terrifying the kings of Lâḷa (*i.e.* Lâṭa), Gurjara, Gauḷa, Chôḷa, and Pallava.[6] And finally, the Pallava king is mentioned among the contemporaries of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa.[7] These references, however, are all very vague, and simply shew that the Pallavas continued to exist, and to exercise some kind of power, till as late as the thirteenth century A. D. And the latest individual mention that has been traced, is that of the Pallava prince Karuṇâkara-Toṇḍaimân, who in the period A. D. 1063 to 1112 was a general of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I.;[8] his descendants appear to have survived till nearly the end of the seventeenth century.[9]

Some detached names.

Before leaving the subject of the early dynasties, we may conveniently notice three other copper-plate records which may, at any time, prove to be of importance in connection with the Western Chalukyas or the Pallavas.

Vijayanandivarman.

One[10] is the grant of a *Mahârâja* named Vijayanandivarman, the eldest son of the *Mahârâja* Chaṇḍavarman, of the Śâlaṅkâyana *gôtra*. The charter was issued from Veṅgîpura; it is dated in the seventh year of the reign of Vijayanandivarman; and the order contained in it is addressed to the villagers of Videnûrapallikâ in the Kuduhâra or Kuḷuhâra *vishaya*. Vijayanandivarman is described as meditating on the feet of Chitrarathasvâmin, and as being a *paramabhâgavata* or most devout worshipper of the Divine One (Vishṇu). Mr. Foulkes has said that this has always been regarded as a Pallava record, and that there are circumstances which warrant its classification as such.[11]

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[1] See under the account of Sômêśvara I., in chapter IV. below.
[2] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 143. [3] *ibid.* p. 176. [4] *ibid.* p. 58.
[5] *Inscriptions at Sravana-Belgoḷa*, Introd. p. 48. [6] *ibid.* p. 57.
[7] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 19.
[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. pp. 329-340, Vol. XX. p. 279.
[9] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 113. [10] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 175.
[11] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 170.

Chapter I.
The Early Dynasties.

But the distinct specification of a different *gôtra* seems conclusively opposed to such an attribution.

Attivarman.

Another is the grant of the *Râja* Attivarman, from the Guṇṭûr District, Madras Presidency.[1] It records a grant of some land at the village of Tânthikontha on the south bank of the river Krishṇabeṇṇâ, *i.e.* the Krishṇa,[2] and also of a village named Antukkûra. This grant has been treated as a Pallava record. But Attivarman is described as born in the family of king Kandara, which was descended from the lineage of the great saint Ânanda, and was purified by worshipping the god 'Sambhu, *i.e.* 'Siva, at Vakêśvara or Vaṅkêśvara. And, now that we know more about the early history and Purâṇic genealogy of the Pallavas, it is difficult to adapt these details to their accounts, though Attivarman does, like the Pallavas, claim to belong to the posterity of the god Hiraṇyagarbha, *i.e.* Brahman.[3] On the other hand, the name Kandhara,— and, doubtless Kandara also,— is a variant of Krishna; and this suggests that we may possibly have here an early Râshṭrakûṭa record.

Prithivimula.

And the third is the grant, from the Gôdâvârî District, Madras, of the *Râja* Pṛithivimûla, son of the *Mahârâja* Prabhâkara.[4] It was issued from a town named Kâṇḍâḷi; it is dated in the twenty-fifth year of some unspecified reign; and it records a grant, to Brâhmaṇs, of the village of Chûyipâka in the Tâḷupâka *vishaya*. Pṛithivimûla is described as a *paramamâhêśvara* or most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara ('Siva). And the record recites that the grant was made at the request of a certain *Adhirâja* named Indra, who was a son of Mitavarman and belonged to a family that dwelt at a town named Maṇalkudi, and who overthrew the elephant Kumuda that came against the elephant Supratîka[5] which was ridden by himself in the tumultuous combat waged by all the kings who had assembled together to uproot Indra-Bhaṭṭâraka. The reference here seems to be to Indra-Bhaṭṭâraka of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, who reigned for seven days in A. D. 663.[6] And the *Adhirâja* Indra is possibly either the first or the second *Mahârâja* Indravarman of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara.[7]

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 102.

2 Kṛishṇabeṇṇâ, or more usually Kṛishṇaveṇṇâ or Kṛishṇaverṇâ, was the ancient epigraphic name of the Kṛishṇa, evidently taken from its confluence, at Saṅgam-Mâhulî, three miles east of Sâtâra, with the Yeṇṇâ or Vêṇâ, one of its most important feeders. The name perhaps also appears as Kṛishṇavêṇî (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 10); but there may be a misreading there, for Kṛishṇavêṇâ.

3 It may also be mentioned that the seal of the grant appears to bear the device of a god, instead of the bull-crest of the Pallavas.— As regards descent from the god Brahman, this was also claimed by the Chalukyas (see chapter II. below); and practically by the Râshṭrakûṭas (chapter III.), though their Purâṇic genealogy is not actually carried beyond Sôma, the Moon.

4 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 114. — The record is dated in numerical symbols, used properly as such, as well as in words; but without reference to any era.

5 Compare page 322 above, note 8.

6 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 97.

7 See page 297 above.

CHAPTER II

THE WESTERN CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI.

Chapter II. The Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi.

With the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi,[1] whose records, mostly dated in the well-known 'Saka era,[2] cover a period of nearly two centuries, from A. D. 578 to 757, we enter upon a far more definite chapter in the history of Western and Southern India.

The career of the great Chalukya family of Western India was spread over two periods, separated by a considerable interval. The first king, Pulikêśin I., established his power about A. D. 550; and his rule was apparently confined to the territory surrounding Bâdâmi. The possessions acquired by him, however, were extended in various directions by his sons, Kîrtivarman I. and Maṅgalêśa. The former attacked and dispossessed the Kadambas of Banawâsi, the Mauryas of the Koṅkaṇ, and the Naḷas somewhere in, apparently, the direction

[1] I have hitherto written of the earlier members of this family, from Jayasiṁha I. to Maṅgalêśa, as the "Early Chalukyas;" applying the term "Western Chalukyas" to Pulikêśin II. and his descendants, in connection with the distinct separation that took place in his time between the Chalukyas of Bâdâmi and their relatives who became kings of the Veṅgî country on the east coast. There was, however, no break in the hereditary succession. And it will henceforth be more convenient to abolish an unnecessary term, and to speak of all the kings of Bâdâmi as the "Western Chalukyas." We have only to bear in mind that the eastern branch of the family did not come into existence till soon after A.D. 616 or 617, in the time of Pulikêśin II.— It is not an uncommon thing to find the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi called "the Chalukyas of Kalyâṇa." But this is a pure mistake. Kalyâṇa or Kalyâṇapura, which is the modern Kalyâṇi in the Nizâm's Dominions (the 'Kulliannee' of the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 57; lat. 17° 51′, long. 77°), is nowhere mentioned in the records of the earlier Chalukya period, nor even in those of the Râshṭrakûṭa period. The earliest mention of it that I have been able to trace, is in an inscription of A.D. 1053, which speaks of it as the *nelevîḍu*,—='fixed place of abode,' or 'capital,' — of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I. (A.D. 1044 and 1068). And the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, ii. 1, distinctly says that that king made the place. Dr. Bühler, indeed (*Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, Introd. p. 28; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 318) rendered the verse otherwise; and added the note— "The word "*chakâra*, 'he made,' might be also taken to indicate that he founded Kalyâṇa. But "this is not the case, as the town existed long before his time." This remark, however, is simply based on what is, as I say, a pure mistake.— See also a note near the beginning of chapter IV. below.

[2] The epoch or year 0 of the 'Saka era is A.D. 77-78; the first current year, as a luni-solar year, began on the 3rd March, A.D. 78, and ended on the 20th February, A.D. 79; and, to convert 'Saka years into the equivalent current Christian years, the additive quantities are, 77-78 for a current 'Saka year, and 78-79 for an expired 'Saka year (see my Note on the Epoch and Reckoning of the 'Saka Era; *Gupta Inscriptions*, Appendix I., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 205).— For purposes of accuracy, it is usual, and it is desirable, to quote the two Christian years, in parts of each of which a 'Saka year falls; thus, "'Saka-Saṁvat 500 expired, = A.D. 578-79." When, however, an original date contains full details which shew precisely where it falls, it may often be convenient, for extreme exactness, to quote only one of the two Christian years; thus, "'Saka-Saṁvat 500 expired (Kârttika full-moon), in A.D. 578," and "'Saka-Saṁvat 500 expired (Phâlguna full-moon), in A.D. 579."—On the general question of the use of current and expired years of the two most commonly used Hindû eras, see Professor Kielhorn's papers on the 'Saka and Vikrama eras in *Ind. Ant.* Vols. XIX., XX., XXIII., XXIV.

of Bellâry and Karṇûl. And the latter, in addition to some further successes in the Koṅkaṇ, conquered, towards the north, the Kalachuri king Buddha, and, by doing so, acquired the northern parts of the Bombay Presidency, certainly up to the river Kîm, and perhaps as far as the Mahî. At that point, the progress of Maṅgalêśa was stopped by the rulers of Valabhî, who held Kâṭhiâwâḍ and the northernmost parts of Gujarât,— the then representative of the family, whether as a paramount sovereign, or as the local governor for some king of Northern India, being evidently Śîlâditya I., for whom we have the date of Gupta-Saṁvat 286 (current),=A. D. 605-606.[1] But there was thus constituted a kingdom which embraced the whole of the Bombay Presidency, excepting Kâṭhiâwâḍ and northern Gujarât,— where the kings of Valabhî continued to reign till about A. D. 766,— and, with additions made to it by Pulikêśin II., included also much of the neighbouring territory to the east and south. And, except for a serious reverse, coupled with a suspension of their sovereignty for some thirteen years, which they suffered at the hands of the Pallavas at the end of the reign of Pulikêśin II., the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi held this kingdom until a little more than half-way through the eighth century. They were then completely overwhelmed by the Râshṭrakûṭas; and the family remained in obscurity for over two hundred years. The dynasty was then restored, or, more probably, a side-branch of the same stock was brought into power, by Taila II., in A. D. 973. His successors held the sovereignty for over two centuries more. And then the power of the family finally sank and disappeared. We are dealing now with the earlier of the two periods indicated above.

The accompanying table[2] gives the genealogy of the Western Chalukyas, from the founder of the family to the last king, Kîrtivarman II. In the records, the dynastic or family name appears as Chalkya, Chalikya, and Chalukya.[3] Like the Kadambas, the

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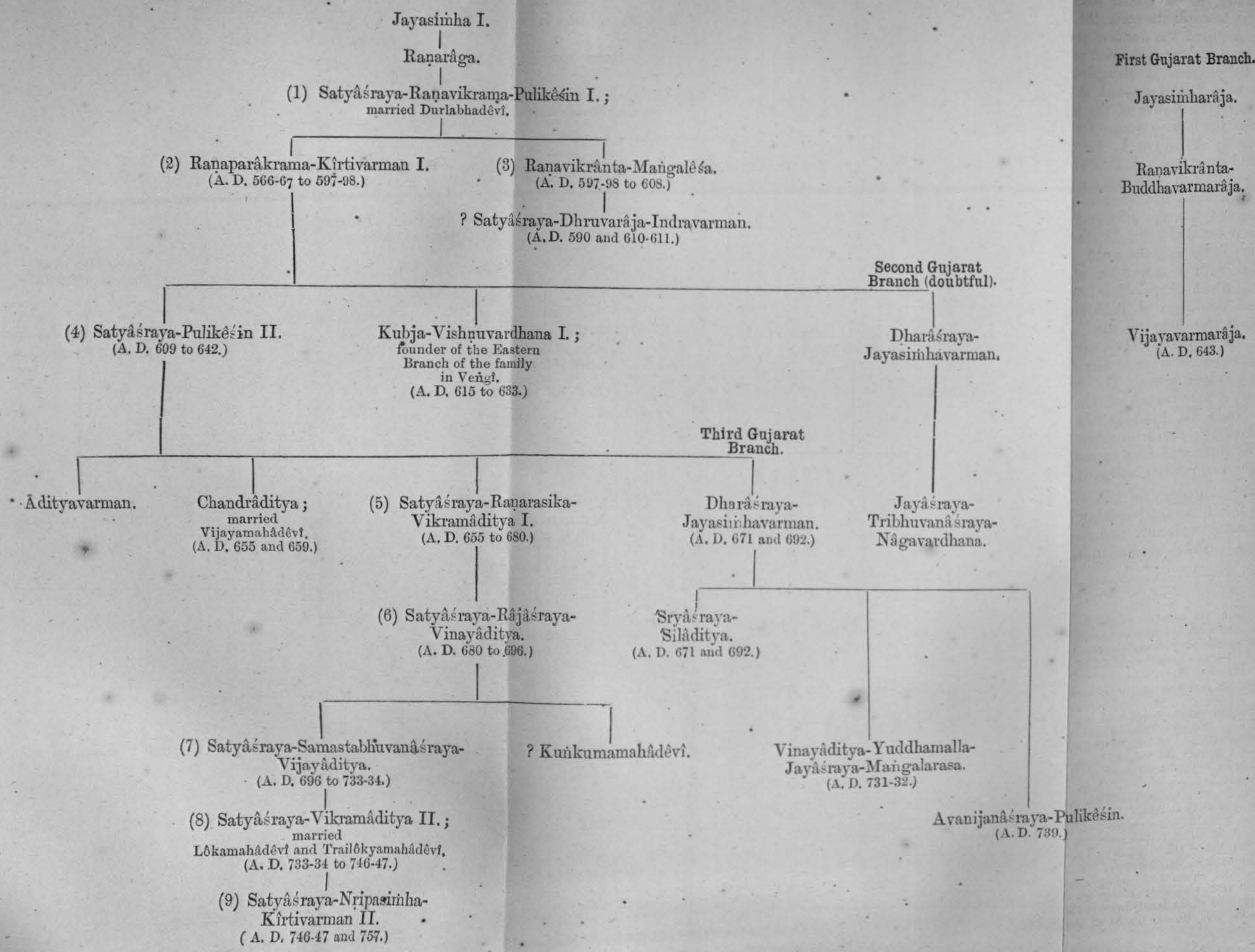
[1] See *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introd. p. 41.

[2] The numbers before some of the names indicate the members of the family who reigned as king, and the order in which the succession went.— I have separated the entire Western Chalukya genealogy, which the original records purport to give unbroken from beginning to end, into three parts. The list of the kings from the restoration by Taila II. is given in the table that accompanies chapter IV. And the traditional connection between that part of the genealogy and the portion that is now given, is exhibited towards the end of this chapter.

[3] The earliest form is 'Chalkya,' in the Bâdâmi cave-inscription of the time of Kîrtivarman I., of A.D. 578 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 363, text lines 3 and 4; for a lithograph, see Vol. X. p. 58).— The next form is 'Chaḷikya,' with the Drâviḍian *ḷ*, in the Mahâkûṭa pillar-inscription of Maṅgalêśa, of A.D. 602 (*id.* Vol. XIX. p. 16, text line 2).— Next comes 'Chalikya,' with the ordinary *l*, in the Nerûr grant of Maṅgalêśa (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 162, text line 2; for other instances, see *id.* Vol. VI. p. 73, Vol. XIX. p. 309, Vol. IX. pp. 127, 130, and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. pp. 2, 235, where *le* was formed by mistake for *li*, and 238).— And then comes 'Chalukya' (which was finally adopted, and occurs most frequently), in the Aihoḷe inscription of the time of Pulikêśin II., dated in A.D. 634-35 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 241, text lines 1 and 3; for other instances, see *id.* Vol. VII. pp. 163, 301, Vol. VIII. p. 46, Vol. IX. pp. 124, 133, Vol. XIX. p. 149, and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. pp. 234, 243). In the grant of Kîrtivarman II., of A.D. 757, Mr. Rice's published reading gives 'Chaulukya' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 26, line 4); but there also, as the lithograph shews, the original distinctly has 'Chalukya.'— For the variants of the family name in the Eastern Chalukya records, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 95, note 10.—In line 34 of the Nausârî

(To face page 336.)

THE WESTERN CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI.



Chapt

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Bâdâ

Chalukyas are represented as belonging to the Mânavya *gôtra* or clan,[1] and as being Hâritîputras, or descendants of an original ancestress of the Hârita *gôtra*.[2] Again like the Kadambas, they claim a certain connection with Kârttikêya, the god of war, and his foster-mothers, the Pleiades. And the usual complete description of them may be best illustrated by quoting the preamble of the Haidarâbâd grant of Pulikêśin II., of A. D. 612, which, with only a few unimportant verbal differences, was followed in all the later formal records: it speaks[3] of "the family of the Chalikyas, "who are glorious; who are of the Mânavya *gôtra*, which is praised "throughout the whole world; who are Hâritîputras; who have "been nourished by the Seven Mothers who are the seven mothers "of mankind;[4] who have acquired an uninterrupted continuity of "prosperity through the favour and protection of Kârttikeya; and "who have had all kings made subject to them at the sight of the "boar-crest which they acquired through the favour of the divine "Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu)." This quotation illustrates the preamble of

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grant of A. D. 739, of Avanijanâśraya-Pulikêśin of Gujarât (*Proceedings* of the Âryan Section of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, p. 232, and Plate), we have the very exceptional form 'Chalukki.' Whether this stands for 'Chalukika,' as given by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in his reading of the text, or whether 'Chalukya' was intended, or whether it is a real variant of the name, it is difficult to say.—The form 'Châlukya,' with the long vowel *â* in the first syllable, which was used by Taila II. and his successors, does not occur in any genuine document of the early period. It is used, with also the Drâviḍian *ḷ* in the second syllable, in the Lakshmêshwar inscription, dated in the second year of Vikramâditya II., of A.D. 735 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 106, text line 64; and also in line 52, in another division of the record). But, however admissible this record may be, as a copy, for general purposes, it was not put on the stone till after A. D. 967, and it furnishes no criterion in a detail such as the present one.— The forms 'Chalikya' and 'Chalukya' were perhaps evolved from 'Chalkya,' by the insertion of pronunciative vowels.

1 This statement appears in the earliest record, the Bâdâmi cave-inscription of A.D. 578, and is repeated in all the subsequent records of a formal nature.— For the meaning of the statement, see page 278 above, note 1.

2 This statement also appears in the Bâdâmi cave-inscription, and is repeated in all the subsequent records of a formal kind.— As in the Eastern Chalukya records (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 96, note 11), so also in the western records we find variants of the first component of the word Hâritîputra. The earliest and most usual form is 'Hâritî:' it occurs in the Bâdâmi cave-inscription; and other instances are found in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. pp. 161, 163, Vol. VIII. pp. 26 (see the lithograph), 44, Vol. IX. pp. 126, 130, Vol. XIX. pp. 16, 149, and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. pp. 233, 235, 238, 242. 'Hâritî' occurs in the Haidarâbâd grant of Pulikêśin II., of A.D. 612 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 73), and in four or five other places. 'Hâriti' occurs in the Chipḷûṇ grant of about the same period (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 50). The 'Hariti' of the Nerûr grant of Vijayâditya. (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 133) is only due to a mistake of the writer or the engraver, in one detail if not in two. The Lakshmêshwar inscription, which was put on the stone after A. D. 967, gives 'Hârîti;' but it is not to be relied in a detail of this sort.— It is plain that, though 'Hâritiputra' may be more correct grammatically, 'Hâritîputra' is the standard form in the Chalukya records, as in also the Kadamba records.— For the *gôtra*-name itself, see page 277 above, note 5.

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 74.

4 The mothers of mankind are the divine mothers, the personified energies of the principal deities. When taken as seven in number, which is usually the case, they are named as Brâhmî or Brahmâṇî, Mâhêśvarî, Kaumârî, Vaishṇavî, Vârâhî, Indrâṇî or Aindrî or Mâhêndrî, and Châmuṇḍâ. They were closely connected with the worship of Śiva; and they attended on Kârttikêya, who was his son.— They must have some original connection with the Pleiades, derived from the time when the principal stars of that group, visible clearly to the naked eye, were seven in number. Kârttikêya was fostered by the Pleiades (Kṛittikâḥ); and from this is derived his name of Kârttikêya, and one of his epithets, *viz. shaṇmâtura*, 'having six mothers.'

Chapter II.
The Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi.

their documents, as it was finally settled. But the earlier records contain some slight differences. The Bâdâmi cave-inscription of the time of Kîrtivarman I., dated in A. D. 578, represents them as also meditating on the feet of the holy Svâmin, *i.e.*, probably, Kârttikêya, and as having their heads purified by ablutions performed after celebrating the *agnishṭôma*, *agnichayana*, *vâjapêya*, *pauṇḍarîka*, *bahusuvarṇa*, and *aśvamêdha* sacrifices.[1] The Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalêśa, dated in A. D. 602, describes them as meditating on the feet of their parents.[2] And the Nerûr grant of the same king describes them as meditating on the feet of Svâmi-Mahâsêna, *i.e.* Kârttikêya,[3] which statement is repeated in the Sâtârâ grant of Vishṇuvardhana I.,[4] dated in the eighth year of Pulikêśin II., in A. D. 616 or 617. We have just seen that the Chalukya crest was the *varâha-lâñchchana* or boar-crest; in addition to being mentioned in the passage quoted above and in all the similar formal preambles, it appears constantly on the seals of their grants. Their banner was the *pâlidhvaja*, which is a particular arrangement of flags in rows;[5] but it is not mentioned in the records until the time of Vijayâditya, whose records say[6] that it was one of the insignia of supreme dominion, and that it was acquired by his father, Vinayâditya, by crushing some paramount king of Northern India, and add that he himself, pushing on further to the north even than his father, acquired again the *pâlidhvaja*-banner and also the insignia of the signs of the rivers Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ.[7] From the boar-crest, acquired, according to their tradition, from the god Vishṇu himself, and from an invocation of Vishṇu in his incarnation as a boar which stands at the beginning of many of their records irrespective of the particular sectarian subjects of them, it is plain that the family-god of the Chalukyas was Vishṇu. But, nevertheless, they displayed a considerable amount of tolerance in matters of religion, and patronised the Jains and 'Saivas, equally with the followers of the Vaishṇava faith.

In later times, there was gradually evolved a legendary history, embodying a variety of inventions devised in order to account for

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 363.— In the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription, the second epithet is applied, not to the members of the family as a body, but to Pulikêśin I.; as also, with an omission of the *agnichayana*-sacrifice, in the Nerûr grant of Maṅgalêśa (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 162).

[2] *id.* Vol. XIX. p. 18.

[3] *id.* Vol. VII. p. 162.

[4] *id.* Vol. XIX. p. 310.

[5] See *id.* Vol. XIV. p. 104.

[6] *e.g.*, *id.* Vol. IX. p. 129.

[7] *i.e.*, probably, the images of two goddesses, as personifications of the rivers. These were also Râshṭrakûṭa insignia; thus, Gôvinda III. is described as "taking from his enemies the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ, charming with their waves, and acquiring at the same time that supreme position of lordship (*which was indicated*) by (*those rivers in*) the form of a visible sign" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 163); and the rivers are spoken of again, as doing service to the palace of Gôvinda IV. (*id.* pp. 248, 253). These two emblems must have been derived, by some means or another, from the Early Guptas, in the temples of whose period the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ, as goddesses, the former with an attendant crocodile and the latter with a tortoise, constantly appear as an architectural embellishment (see General Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 43, 70).

appellations the origin of which had been forgotten in the lapse of time and events of which no very accurate memory had been preserved, which refers the origin of the Chalukyas to Ayôdhyâ or Oudh, and allots them to the Sômavaṁśa, or Lunar Race, in the family of the god Brahman, who sprang from the water-lily that grew from Vishṇu's navel. Thus, the Kauthêm grant of Vikramâditya V., of A.D. 1009, tells us that fifty-nine kings of the Châlukya[1] lineage reigned at Ayôdhyâ, and, after them, sixteen more over the *dakshiṇâpatha* or region of the south, *i.e.* the Dekkan; that then there was a temporary obscuration of their power; and that eventually it was restored by Jayasiṁha (I.)[2] An inscription at Balagâṁve, in Mysore, of the time of Jayasiṁha II., dated in A. D. 1019, states, in the same way, that fifty-nine Châlukya kings reigned at Ayôdhyâ, and subsequently in their lineage there was born Satyâśraya, through whom the family of Brahman came to be called the family of Satyâśraya.[3] Another record, apparently of the same reign and dated in A. D. 1025-26, at Kalyâṇ in the Dhârwâr District,[4] says that the mind-born son of the god Brahman was Svayaṁbhuva-Manu; his son was Mânavya, from whom came all those who belonged to the Mânavya *gôtra*; Mânavya's son was Harita; his son was Pañchaśikhi-Hâriti; and the son of the latter was Châlukya, from whom sprang the race of the Châlukyas. Two inscriptions of the time of Vikramâditya VI., at Gadag in Dhârwâr and Kâḷige in the Nizâm's Dominions, tell us that the Châlukya race arose in the lineage of Sôma, the Moon, who was produced from the eye of Atri, who was the son of Brahman.[5] And a later inscription of the same reign, at Handarike in the Nizâm's Dominions,[6] introduces a popular etymology of the family-name, and gives us the following account: in the water-lily that sprang from the navel of Vishṇu, there was born Hiraṇyagarbha-Brahman; his son was Manu; his was Mâṇḍavya;[7] his, Harita; and his, Hârîti-Pañchaśikha; the Châlukyas were born in the interior of his water-pot (*chulka*),[8] when he was pouring out a libation to the gods; then a certain Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayâditya (a purely imaginary person) appropriated the territories of his enemies; then there reigned fifty-nine kings, commencing with Satyâśraya, lord of Ayôdhyâ; then Jayasiṁha (I.) became king; and he was succeeded by sixteen others; after whom, the Raṭṭas, *i.e.* the Râshṭrakûṭas, governed the

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1 This, with the long vowel *â* in the first syllable, is the proper form of the name for the later period to which the Kauthêm grant, with the others quoted in the present connection, belongs. The records of that period, however, occasionally use also the earlier form, Chalukya; especially in metrical passages.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 21.

3 *id.* Vol. V. p. 17.

4 At the *dargah* of Pîr-Pâdshâh; *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 48; and see page 278 above, note 1.

5 See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 167.

6 At the temple of Lôkêśvara; *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 642.

7 Another inscription represents Mâṇḍavya as the son of Hârîta; Pañchaśikha as the son of Mâṇḍavya; and the Chalukyas as descended from Pañchaśikha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 21).

8 Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary gives the forms *chaluka* and *chuluka*, but not *chulka*.

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earth.[1] The most full statement, however, is to be found in the records of the eastern branch of the family; and the earliest instance of it occurs in a grant of Vishṇuvardhana-Râjarâja I., of the period A.D. 1022 to 1063. The genealogy there given[2] commences with the god Brahman, as born from the water-lily that grew from Vishṇu's navel; it is taken through Sôma, the Moon, Budha, the planet Mercury, Parûravas, Âyu, Âyusha, and so on; and the last specific name in this portion of it, is that of Udayana, the son of 'Satânîka. Then comes the legendary connection of the Chalukyas with the preceding. Without any specification of names, we are told that, including Udayana, fifty-nine emperors sat on the throne at Ayôdhyâ, in unbroken lineal succession.[3] Then a member of the family, named Vijayâditya, came to the south, from a desire for conquest, and attacked Trilôchana-Pallava, but lost his life in the attempt. His queen, who was pregnant, escaped with some of her attendants, and, being preserved by a saint named Vishṇubhaṭṭa-Sômayâjin, gave birth to a posthumous son named Vishṇuvardhana. The young prince was nourished; and, having done worship to the goddess Gaurî on the mountain called Chalukyagiri,[4]

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1 Bilhaṇa, the *Vidyâpati* or Chief Paṇḍit of Vikramâditya VI., gives a somewhat different account, to the following effect (*Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, i. 31-58; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 317):— On an occasion when Brahman was engaged in his *saṁdhyâ*-devotions, Indra came to him, to complain of the growing godlessness on earth, and begged him to put an end to it, by creating a hero who would be a terror to the evil-doers. On hearing this request, the Creator directed his looks towards his *chuluka*; and from it there sprang a warrior, fit to protect the three worlds. From him descended the Châlukyas,—a race of heroes, among whom Hârîta is reckoned the first progenitor, and one of whom was Mânavya, who humbled the kings of the earth. The original seat of the Châlukyas was Ayôdhyâ.— At Aṇhilwâḍ, in the Gaikwâr's Dominions, there was a well-known dynasty, the name of which was Chaulukya (*e. g., Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 104, 223, 242), or sometimes Chaulukika (*e. g., id.* Vol. VI. p. 192). In connection with it, a similar popular etymology is given in the Surat grant of Trilôchanapâla, dated in A.D. 1051. Thus (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 203), when Brahman was churning the ocean which was his *chuluka* with a mount Mandara (the churning-stick) which was his anxiety that was caused by the trouble given by the demons, there sprang forth a jewel of a king. He asked the god what he might do. The god said "O great king!, O Chaulukya!, marry a daughter of Râshṭrakûṭa at Kanauj, and obtain progeny from her; so that thus there may be a long-continuing race of warriors, born from Chaulukya."—Some other passages of the same purport, but giving the name of the first king as Chulukya, are quoted and referred to in the same paper.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 48; see also Vol. XIX. p. 427, and Vol. XX. p. 274.— There is a similar Purâṇic genealogy, agreeing with it as far as the name of Yayâti, in the records of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (*id.* Vol. XVIII. p. 170). And another, of the same style, seems to be followed in some of the Kâkatîya records (see Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, Introd. p. 74).— A short Purâṇic genealogy of the Sûryavaṁśa or Solar Race, beginning, in the same way, with Vishṇu and Brahman, but then taken through Marîchi, Kaśyapa, and Sûrya, the Sun, was adopted by the Chôḷas (*e.g., Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 330).

3 With this we may compare the statement in the records of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara, which connects their real with their Purâṇic genealogy by saying that, after Kôlâhala had founded the city of Kôlâhalapura, his son and seventy-nine other kings reigned there, and these were followed by the historical members of the family, commencing with Vîrasiṁha.

4 With the mountain Chalukyagiri that is introduced here, we may compare the Nandagiri fort which, according to the Kâkatîya legend, was founded by Nanda, the son of Uttuṅgabhuja; Nanda's father is represented, in similar manner, as coming from Upper India, and then settling to the south of the Gôdâvarî. And, in very similar fashion, the mountain Mahêndragiri,— in this case a really existent mountain,— is introduced into the traditions of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara.

he at length assumed all the royal insignia of the family,[1] conquered the Kadamba, Gaṅga, and other kings, and established himself as emperor of all the Dekkan, including seven and a half lâkhs of villages, lying between the Bridge of Râma, *i.e.* Adam's Bridge or the ridge of rocks connecting Ceylon with the Coromandel coast, and the Narmadâ.[2] The historical genealogy is introduced at this point, with the name of Pulikêśin I. It is connected with the preceding, by making him the son of the second Vijayâditya mentioned above. But, in reality, he was the son of Raṇarâga, who was the son of Jayasiṁha I.

For the above account, a certain amount of foundation may be derived from the fact that, from the time of Pulikêśin II. onwards, the Western Chalukyas were constantly at war with the Pallavas, who were their

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1 They are enumerated as the white umbrella, the conch-shell, the *pañchamahâśabda* (*i.e.* the sounds of five kinds of musical instruments, or, perhaps, five kinds of loud-sounding musical instruments; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 95, and *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 296, note 9), the *pâlikêtana* (*i.e. pâlidhvaja*), the double drum, the boar-crest, the *piñchha* or bunch of feathers of a peacock's tail, the spear, the throne, the *makaratôrana* (probably an ornamental arch), the golden sceptre, the Gaṅga and Yamunâ, and others which are not particularised.

2 *Sêtu-Narmadâ-madhyaṁ sârdha-sapta-lakshaṁ dakshiṇâpatham.*— The Narmadâ was always recognised as the dividing line between Northern India (*uttarâpatha*) and Southern India or the Dekkan (*dakshiṇâpatha*).— It is to be borne in mind that the record which asserts these details is an Eastern Chalukya record, of the eleventh century A. D. There is nothing in the records of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi to suggest that their dominions were then known as a seven-and-a-half-lâkh country, *i.e.* (see page 298 above, note 2) as comprising seven hundred and fifty thousand cities, towns, and villages. On the contrary, in connection with Pulikêśin II. their territory is defined, in the Aihoḷe inscription, as consisting of the three Mahârâshṭras, containing ninety-nine thousand villages (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 244). The references to the seven-and-a-half-lâkh country appear first after the period of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ, who, succeeding to the sovereignty of the Western Chalukyas, possibly added a good deal, especially in the direction of Mysore, to the territory which they thus acquired. Even the Râshṭrakûṭa records have not yet disclosed any mention of their territory by the conventional term in question. But it seems likely that the expression did come into use in the time of the Râshṭrakûṭas, and that a technical appellation was then adopted, which was retained for some time, even after their sovereignty had passed away, in commemoration of their connection with the territory: for, Iṛivabeḍaṅga-Satyâśraya, the second king in the later Châlukya dynasty of Kalyâṇi which came immediately after the Râshṭrakûṭas, is described, in the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of A. D. 1008, as ruling over Raṭṭapâṭi, *i.e.* the country of the Râshṭrakûṭas (for *pâṭi*, = *pâḍi*, *vâḍi*, see page 298 above, note 3); and the records of his Chôḷa opponent Kô-Ṛâjarâja-Râjakêsarivarman, otherwise called Râjarâjadêva, describe the latter as conquering the Raṭṭapâḍi seven-and-a-half-lâkh country (*e.g.*, *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 63, 65), and Kô-Parakêsarivarman, otherwise called Râjêndra-Chôḷa, the successor of Râjarâjadêva, is described as taking the Raṭṭapâḍi seven-and-a-half-lâkh country from Jayasiṁha II., a successor of Iṛivabeḍaṅga-Satyâśraya (*e.g.*, *ibid.* pp. 95, 96, 99). Even then, however, the seven-and-a-half-lâkh country was plainly not really looked upon as embracing, as is asserted in the Eastern Chalukya record from which the above quotation has been made, the whole of Southern India; for, Râjarâjadêva is described (*e.g.*, *ibid.* pp. 63, 65) as conquering, in addition to that country, Veṅgainâḍu (the land of Veṅgî, the territory of the Eastern Chalukyas), Gaṅgapâḍi (*i.e.* the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand), Nuḷambapâḍi (*i.e.* the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand), Taḍigaipâḍi (not yet identified), Kuḍamalainâḍu ("the western hill country," Coorg), Kolla (Quilon), and Kaliṅga (the country between the rivers Gôdâvarî and Mahânadî).—The later Western Châlukya records preserve the conventional numerical expression, without the dynastic appellation; *e.g.*, an inscription of A. D. 1103, at Baḷagâmve (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 171; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 139), mentions the *Mahâpradhâna* Anantapâlayya, a minister of Vikramâditya VI., as managing the *panndya*-tax of the *saptârdha-lakshe* or seven-and-a-half-lâkh country.

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most powerful and inveterate foes; coupled with a tradition of the later Kâdambas, that the founder of the Kadamba family was a certain Trinêtra or Trilôchana. But, in other respects, the account is a mere *farrago*, of vague legend and Purâṇic myths, of no authority. And the tenth century A. D.,— at about which time, all the great families of Southern India were looking up their pedigrees, and devising more or less fabulous genealogies,— is probably the period to which the invention of it is to be referred.[1] There are, indeed, in the early records, faint indications of some such ideas having been even then entertained: thus, a passage in the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription describes Pulikêśin I. as descended from the god Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahman);[2] the Aihoḷe inscription states that Jayasiṁha I. was preceded by many members of his family, in respect of whom, however, no further information of any kind is offered;[3] and a passage which appears for the first time in the grants of Vinayâditya, describes his father, Vikramâditya I., as defeating the lord of the Pallavas, who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of "the family (of the Chalukyas) which was as pure as the rays of the moon."[4] These statements, however, are too vague to prove that anything had then been devised, at all approaching to the full and detailed accounts which are found in the records of the period after the restoration by Taila II.

Jayasiṁha I. and Raṇarâga.

The earliest authentic names in the Western Chalukya family are those of Jayasiṁha I., and his son Ranaraga, whose designations mean, respectively, "the lion of victory," and "he who delights in war." We have no records of the time of either of them. And, among the genuine records of the early period, they are mentioned only in the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalêśa and the Aihoḷe inscription of the time of Pulikêśin II.; in the former the epithet of *vallabhêndra*, "the lord or chief of favourites," and in the latter the simple epithet of *vallabha*, "the favourite," is attached to the name of Jayasiṁha. According to a statement made in the Kauṭhêṁ grant of A. D. 1009, Jayasiṁha I. re-established the Chalukya power after a period of obscuration, and did so by conquering a Râshṭrakûṭa king named Indra, son of Kṛishṇa, who had an army of eight hundred elephants. But the records of the period with which we are dealing, contain no allusion to any such event, and do not attribute any specific victories, or any historical acts at all, either to Jayasiṁha I. or to Raṇarâga; and the statement in the Kauṭhêṁ grant is explained by

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1 The Purâṇic genealogy of the Râshṭrakûṭas makes its first appearance in the Sâṅglî grant of A. D. 933 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 247). The pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas may have been concocted a little earlier, but was more probably devised about A. D. 950 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 169). The Chôḷa Purâṇic genealogy is apparently first met with in the *Kaliṅgattu-Parani* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 329), which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I., A. D. 1063 to 1112. And the Purâṇic genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara is first presented in a record of A. D. 1118-19 (*id.* Vol. XVIII. p. 165).—The Purâṇic genealogy of the Pallavas has been mentioned on page 316 above. This is the earliest such pedigree that has as yet come to light. And possibly a discovery of it, in some ancient record, set the later fashion which became so general.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 19.

3 *id.* Vol. VIII. p. 243.

4 *e.g.*, *id.* Vol. XIX. p. 151.

events which occurred at the time when the Râshtrakûṭa sovereignty was passing into the hands of the later Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi.[1] Jayasiṁha I. and Raṇarâga may very possibly have held some military or executive office under the Kadamba kings of Banawâsi; such a position would have paved the way to the step by which Pulikêśin I. acquired Bâdâmi and established his independence. But it seems clear enough that neither of them enjoyed any semblance of sovereign power.[2] And it may be that their names were simply taken, to be placed at the head of the genealogy, from some grant of Pulikêśin I. drawn up in accordance with the directions of the Sanskṛit law-books, which prescribe that the genealogical part of a grant should give the names of at least three generations.[3]

Pulikêśin I.

The son of Raṇarâga, — called, in the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription, his "dear or favourite son,"[4]— was Pulikêśin I., whose initial date, reckoning back from the known commencement of his successor's reign, may be fixed pretty closely in A.D. 550. His name occurs in the various forms of Polekêśin, Polikêśin, Pulikêśin, and Pulakêśin.[5] He had the *birudas* of Satyâśraya, "the asylum of truth," and Raṇavikrama, "the valorous in war." The Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription, and the Karṇûl grant of Âdityavarman, give him the epithet of *śrî-pṛithivîvallabha*, "favourite of fortune and the earth:"[6] but, in the

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[1] See at the commencement of chapter IV. below.

[2] I cannot endorse Dr. Hultzsch's identification of Raṇarâga with the Raṇarasika of the Pallava records, whose army and town were destroyed by Ugradaṇḍa-Lokâditya-Paramêśvaravarman I.; see page 329 above.

[3] For the general rules regarding charters, see Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, second edition, pp. 94 to 105. It is there said (p. 97) that the grantor should specify three generations before himself.

[4] *priya-tanuja*; for the apparent meaning of the expression, see page 361 below, and note 3. In this case, however, it seems to be misapplied; for there was certainly no paramount sovereignty, at any rate, for Pulikêśin I. to be selected for.

[5] I do not feel sure about the meaning of the name. But I think it is a hybrid word, Kanarese and Sanskṛit, meaning 'tiger-haired,' *i.e.* perhaps 'having a coat of short, thick, and close hair, like that of a tiger.' The original form of the name, however, appears to be Polekêśin; and I do not know whether *pole* is an older form of *puli*, = *huli*, 'a tiger.' Still, Dr. Hultzsch has suggested to me a translation, better than the one given by me, of the verse which mentions him in the Aihoḷe inscription, to this effect:—"His son was he who, even though he possessed a lustre equal to that of the moon, was named Polekêśin, and who, favourite of fortune as he was, became the bridegroom of the bride which was the town of Vâtâpi." And here, as remarked by Dr. Hultzsch, there seems to be a contrast, suggested by the ferocious meaning of his name; with also an allusion to the tiger as the natural enemy of the deer which the moon is supposed to possess.—In the Kauthêṁ grant, in which the name is written Pulakêsin, with the vowel *a* in the second syllable, explanations of it are suggested by the words,—"His son was Pulakêśin, equal to (Kṛishṇa) the destroyer of (the demon) Kêśin; . . . . we, while describing king Pulakêśin, have our bodies experiencing the sensation of having the hair standing erect through pleasure (*pulaka-kalita-dêhâḥ*)." This, however, is purely fanciful, and depends entirely on the spelling used. And, though the form Pulakêśin has now been carried back, by the Kûram Pallava grant (see page 322 above), to the time of his grandson of the same name, still I think it must be a corruption of an original Polekêśin.— The name Pulakêśin appears in the Haḍḍâlâ grant, of A. D. 914, as that of an ancestor of Dharaṇîvarâha of the Châpa race (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 194); and this is the only instance, known to me, of the existence of the name outside the Chalukya family.

[6] This epithet is explained by such statements as (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 257, and note 55) "Gôpâla was the husband of Fortune, as well as the lord of the Earth," or, literally, "Gopâla was a lord of the Earth who was the fellow-wife of the goddess of Fortune."

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Aihoḷe inscription, he has the simpler epithet of *śrîvallabha*, "favourite of fortune;" while, in the formal charters, commencing with the Haidarâbâd grant of Pulikêśin II., the epithet that is attached to his name is the still plainer one of *vallabha*, and in the Nerûr grant of Maṅgalêśa, he is referred to simply by that epithet, used there in the place of a proper name,—Vallabha.[1] From the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription, we learn that his wife was Durlabhadêvî, of the Batpûra family.[2] And the same record describes him as descended from the god Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahman), and as performing the *agnishṭôma*, *agnichayana*, *vâjapêya*, *bahusuvarṇa*, *pauṇḍarîka*, and *aśvamêdha* sacrifices. With the exception of the *agnichayana*, the same attribution of sacrifices is made in the Nerûr grant of Maṅgalêśa, which further describes him as conversant with the code of laws of Manu, the *Purâṇas*, and the *Râmâyaṇa* and *Bhârata* (*Mahâbhârata*) and (other) *Itihâsas*. But, in the Aihoḷe inscription and in the subsequent formal charters, the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice is the only one that is linked with his name. The only historical fact that we have in connection with him, is recorded in the Aihoḷe inscription; and it is that he made himself master of the town of Vâtâpi, which is the modern Bâdâmi, the chief town of the tâluka of that name in the Bijâpur District.[3] His power was doubtless confined to the surrounding territory, which, with the town that he made his capital, he probably wrested from the Kadambas of Banawâsi. But, that he possessed sovereign powers, is indicated by the title of *Mahârâja*[4] being attached to his name in all the formal charters, from the time of Pulikêśin II. onwards. He was, therefore, the first king in the dynasty. And the manner in which the genealogy given in the formal charters commences usually with him, shews that he was looked upon as the real founder of the family.[5] We have, as yet, no genuine records of his time.[6]

Kîrtivarman I.

Pulikêśin I. was succeeded by his eldest son, Kîrtivarman I., who came to the throne in A. D. 566 or 567.[7] In the Nerûr grant of

[1] The epithet is used in the same way, in the place of a name, to denote Pulikêśin II., in the Udayêndiram Pallava grant (see page 326 above). And the practice was a frequent one in the case of the fuller forms of *śrîvallabha* and *pṛithivîvallabha*.

[2] See page 349 below.

[3] See page 280 above, and note 3.

[4] See page 288 above, and note 5.

[5] His memory, or that of his grandson, appears to have been preserved for a long time among the Kanarese poets; see some quotations by Nâgavarman and Kêśava, which are noted in Mr. Rice's *Nâgavarma's Canarese Prosody*, p. xxvi.

[6] There are, however, two spurious grants. One is the grant from Pimpaḷnêr in the Khândêsh District (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 293), which refers itself to the time of a Satyâśraya, and purports to be dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 310 (expired), = A. D. 388-89, and to record that he bestowed the village of Pippalanagara upon certain Brâhmaṇs: here, the name Satyâśraya might possibly be intended to denote Pulikêśin II.; but it probably indicates the grandfather, Pulikêśin I. The other is the British Museum grant, obtained from somewhere in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country or in the Kanarese country (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 209), which distinctly refers itself to his time, and purports to be dated in the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 411 expired by mistake for 410 expired or 411 current, = A. D. 488-89, and to record the building of a Jain temple, and the allotment of certain grants to it, at the village of Alaktakanagarî, in the Kuhuṇḍi *vishaya*, which was being governed by a feudatory named Sâmiyâra, of the Rundranîla-Saindraka family.

[7] As, by the Bâdâmi cave-inscription, the full-moon of Kârttika, Śaka-Saṁvat 500 expired, fell in his twelfth (current) year, the full-moon of Kârttika, Ś.-S. 489 expired,

Pulikêśin II., his name appears as Kîrtirâja; but in all the other records he is uniformly called Kîrtivarman, "he whose armour is his fame." The Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription describes him as performing the *bahusuvarṇa* and *agnishṭôma* sacrifices, and gives him the *biruda* of Puru-Raṇaparâkrama, "puissant in war as Puru," to which allusions are made in some others of the records. And the Nirpaṇ grant of Nâgavardhana would give him the *biruda* of Satyâśraya; but it is doubtful how far this may be accepted as authentic. Of the formal charters, a few attach to his name the epithet of *vallabha*; but the majority use the fuller one of *prithivîvallabha*, "favourite of the earth:"[1] they all agree in indicating his rank as a paramount sovereign, by the use of the title *Mahârâja*. From the Chipḷûṇ grant, of the time of Pulikêśin II., we learn that his wife was a sister of the *Râja* 'Srîvallabha-Sênânanda of the Sêndraka family;[2] her name, however, is not given. And the same record describes him as "the first maker or creator of Vâtâpi:"[3] we have seen, however, that Vâtâpi was acquired by Pulikêśin I.: the statement about Kîrtivarman I. must, therefore, be intended to mean that it was he who began to adorn the city with temples and other buildings; and it was, as a matter of fact, in his time, and under his orders, that at any rate the large Vaishṇava cave-temple there was finished. The Aihoḷe inscription describes him as "a night of death to the Naḷas, the Mauryas, and the Kadambas," and as breaking up the confederacy of the Kadambas, which indicates pretty well the directions in which, and the extent to which, he enlarged the Chalukya power:[4] the Kadambas were the kings of Banawâsi in North Kanara; the Naḷas were evidently the people of the Naḷavâḍi country, in, apparently, the direction of Bellâry and Karṇûl; the Mauryas, as we learn from the Aihoḷe inscription, were a people in the Koṅkaṇ; and Kîrtivarman I. appears to have appointed, in or about A. D. 590, as his governor for the possessions in the Koṅkaṇ which he thus acquired, a certain Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman who, at the beginning of the reign of Pulikêśin II., was stationed in Rêvatîdvîpa, and was governing four provinces.[5] The Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription, giving a larger list of his victories, would claim that they included the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaḷinga, Vaṭṭûra, Magadha, Madraka, Kêraḷa, Gaṅga, Mûshaka, Pâṇḍya, Dramiḷa, Chôḷiya, Âḷuka, and Vaijayantî.[6] But some of

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or 490 current, fell in his first current year. And, consequently, his accession took place, on some day still to be exactly determined, in A.D. 566 or 567; on any day from the *pûrṇimânta* Mârgaśîrsha kṛishṇa 1 of 'S.-S. 489 current, up to Kârttika śukla 15, the full-moon day, of 'S.-S. 490 current.

[1] This is indicated as specially a Western Chalukya epithet, by the verse in line 2 of the Aihoḷe inscription.

[2] See page 292 above.

[3] *Vâtâpyâḥ prathama-vidhâtâ.*

[4] The conquest of the Naḷas, the Mauryas, and the Kadambas, is mentioned also in the Kauṭhêṁ grant.—Bilhaṇa does not mention the Kadambas by name in connection with the Western Chalukyas; but he says (*Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, i. 64) that, when they first left Ayôdhyâ, their conquests "in the southern region, where the betel-tree grows," extended as far as the Nâgarakhaṇḍa; and the Nâgarakhaṇḍa was a part of the Kadamba territory.

[5] See page 349 below.

[6] Regarding the localities that are indicated see pages 281, 282, above.

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these territories lay so far away to the north and east, that the claim that is made in respect of them is plainly only a mere boast. And the mention of Kêraḷa, Pâṇḍya, Dramiḷa, and Chôḷiya, has probably not much more substance in it. Vaijayantî, however, was, as we have already seen, Banawâsi in North Kanara, and was the principal capital of the Kadambas; and the reduction of it by Kîrtivarman I. is not only implied by his conquest of the Kadambas, but is also specifically recorded in the formal charters, which speak of him as "establishing the banner of his pure fame in the territories of the hostile kings of Vanavâsî and other (cities), that had been invaded by his prowess." And he may easily have come in conflict with some rulers of the Western Gaṅga territory in Mysore, which was adjacent to his own possessions.

We have one record of his time,— the inscription on a pilaster in the verandah of the Vaishṇava cave at Bâdâmi.[1] It is dated in the twelfth year of his reign, on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika, 'Saka-Saṁvat 500 expired, corresponding to the 31st October, A.D. 578.[2] And it records that having, under his orders, finished the construction of the cave-temple, his younger brother, Maṅgalêśa, on the occasion of the installation of the image of Vishṇu, on the above date, granted gifts to Brâhmaṇs, and endowed the temple with a village named Lañjîśvara, which [3] is the modern Nandikêshwar, close to Bâdâmi.

Mangalêśa.

Kîrtivarman I. was succeeded, on his death, in A.D. 597 or 598, by his younger brother, Maṅgalêśa,[4] who seems to have been his half-brother,[5] and whose name appears in the various forms of Maṅgalarâja, Maṅgalêśa, Maṅgaḷîśa, and Maṅgalîśvara; the first meaning "the

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. III. p. 305, Vol. VI. p. 363, and Vol. X. p. 57; see also Vol. XIX. p. 10.— For a description of the cave, see Dr. Burgess' *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 19-25.

2 This is the earliest epigraphic record, as yet brought to notice, dated in the 'Saka era. And it fixes the historical starting-point of the era, as being the *râjyâbhishêka* or 'royal installation,' *i. e.* coronation, of the 'Saka king (or kings).

3 See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 317.

4 His accession took place on some day, still to be exactly determined, from the *pûrṇimânta* Jyêshṭha krishṇa 1 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 520 current, in A. D. 597, up to Vaiśâkha śukla 15 of 'S.-S. 521 current, in A. D. 598; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 10.— The Kauṭhêm grant says that Maṅgalêśa succeeded as regent during the minority of Pulikêśin II., and peaceably resigned the throne when the latter attained maturity; and it indicates this as the proper custom from which no righteous Chalukya would deviate: but this is only an assertion of the eleventh century A. D. The almost contemporaneous Aihoḷe record simply says that Maṅgalêśa became king on the death of Kîrtivarman I., and gives no hint of there being anything unusual in the circumstance. Is it possible that, in the accession of Maṅgalêśa, and in his attempt to secure the succession for his own son, we have an instance of an ancient custom, according to which sovereignty passed to brothers and brothers' sons, instead of in the direct line from the father to his eldest son, then to the latter's eldest son, and so on? This is stated to have been the custom in the Manipur State (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 422). And Major Temple says (*id.* Vol. XXI. p. 288) that it is the rule throughout the Shân States, and has given instances of it in the Mâlêr-Kôtlâ State, and in the Alompra dynasty of Burma. So peculiar a custom as this, must have some basis in antiquity. And, though, of course, instances could be brought forward to shew that the custom, if it did exist, was not invariably observed,— (Major Temple has suggested causes which would operate against it),— still, the existence of the custom would explain a variety of seeming irregularities in the succession of the Rulers of Valabhî (see *id.* Vol. XV. p. 273), of the Eastern Chalukyas (see *id.* Vol. XX. p. 283), and of the Western Châlukyas (see the table in chapter IV. below).

5 See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 15.

auspicious king," and the others, "the auspicious lord." He had the *birudas* of Raṇavikrânta, "the valorous in war," and Uru-Raṇavikrânta, "valorous in war as Uru;" and the epithets of *pṛithivîvallabha*, and *śrîpṛithivîvallabhêndra* "or chief of favourites of fortune and the earth:" and he is described as a *paramabhâgavata* or most devout worshipper of the Divine One (Vishṇu). The important events of his reign were, as mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription, a conquest of the Kaṭachchuris, *i.e.* the Kalachuris,[1] and of a territory called Rêvatîdvîpa. From the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription, we learn that the Kaḷachuri king at the time was named Buddha: the Nerûr grant gives us the name of his father, Śaṁkaragaṇa; and the Mahâkûṭa record shews that the victory over Buddha, by which Maṅgalêśa acquired the whole of the northern territory up to the river Kîm or perhaps even to the Mahî, took place before April, A. D. 602. The Nerûr record also states that he slew a chief named Svâmirâja, of Chalukya descent, who had been victorious in eighteen battles; this person, who was apparently settled in the Koṅkaṇ, is otherwise unknown. The stronghold which was attacked for the reduction of Rêvatîdvîpa, was evidently situated on the coast; for,— the Aihoḷe inscription says,— Maṅgalêśa's army, when it had beset the ramparts, was reflected in the water of the great sea as if it were the army of Varuṇa (the god of the ocean) which had come at his command. And we plainly have a reminiscence of the name of the territory, and very possibly an indication of the exact position of the stronghold itself, in the modern Rêḍî, a fortified promontory about eight miles south of Veṅgurla in the Ratnâgiri District, Bombay Presidency.[2] Maṅgalêśa died in the course of civil

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[1] See page 293 above. The memory of both these events is preserved in the Kauthêm grant.

[2] Lat. 15° 45', long. 73° 44'; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 41,— 'Reree Fort.'— This identification was made by Dr. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, pp. 37, 38). He, however, took *dvîpa* in the sense of 'island;' with the result that the promontory of Rêḍî was the island of Rêvatî. But it seems quite plain that *dvîpa* is used here in the broader sense in which it occurs also in Kâpardikadvîpa or Kavadidvîpa, another territorial division to the north of Rêvatîdvîpa. — The Kauthêm grant of A. D. 1009, also, has turned Rêvatî into an island; it says that Maṅgalêśa conquered it by crossing the sea with bridges of boats (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 17). —Elsewhere, the suggestions have been made (*id.* Vol. XIX. p. 80) that Rêvatîdvîpa might be Sumatra, or an island off the Malabâr Coast. And Sir Walter Elliot was evidently inclined to identify it with the island of Ramrî, off the coast of Arakaṇ. But the sole basis for the latter idea, is the wrong attribution, to Maṅgalêśa, of certain coins which are really to be referred to the Eastern Chalukya king Châlukyachandra-Śaktivarman.— I have already suggested (page 282 above, note 5) that the territory of Rêvatîdvîpa may be indentfied with the Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred, one of the provinces of the Kâdambas of Goa. If so, and if we have another trace of the territorial name in Rêwaḍî or Rêvaṇḍî, a small village just on the north of Mâlwaṇ, Rêvatîdvîpa, or the Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred, must have included, in addition to the present territory of Goa, the narrow strip of land between the Sâwantwâḍî State and the sea, which embraces the Vengurla tâluka and the southern part of the Mâlwan tâluka, up to the Kâlâwalî river; and the Iridige *vishaya*, which was the next territorial division to the north and included the Sâwantwâḍî State, must have spread out to the sea only from the north bank of the Kâlâwalî.—The spurious charter from Kaṇdalgaon in the Ratnâgiri District (see page 358 below, note 1) purports to convey the grant of a village named Pirigipa, in Rêvatîdvîpa, situated on the north bank of the river Mahânadî, and on the east, south, and west of villages named Vindiri, Khuddikâ, and Chhurâvaṇa. The last name is very suggestive of the modern 'Chorawne,' in the Saṅgamêshwar tâluka, on the north of a river which runs into the sea at Ratnâgiri. But,

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war between himself and his nephew Pulikêśin II., brought on by an attempt to secure the succession for his own son; his death may be placed in A. D. 608, a year or so before the coronation of Pulikêśin II., to allow time for all that was done by Pulikêśin II., before his coronation, in quieting the general confusion that ensued on the death of Mangalêśa.

We have already found Mangalêśa mentioned in the Bâdâmi cave inscription, which belongs to the time of his elder brother Kîrtivarman I. Of his own reign, we have three records:—

(1) An undated inscription on the rock, just outside the Vaishṇava cave at Bâdâmi,[1] which endorses or repeats the allotment of the village of Lañjigêsara[2] to the cave-temple, and appears to make some provision for the garland-makers of the god: this record may have been engraved with the object of making known to ordinary people, in the vernacular, the endowment that had been conveyed by the Sanskrit inscription inside the cave.

(2) An undated copper-plate grant from Nerûr in the Sâwantwâḍî State,[3] which mentions the expulsion of Buddharâja and the killing of Svâmirâja, and records the grant of a village named Kuṇḍivâṭaka, in the Konkaṇa *vishaya*, to a Brâhmaṇ.[4]

(3) The Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription, from the neighbourhood of Bâdâmi.[5] This is a genealogical and historical record of considerable interest. As regards Mangalêśa himself, it says that,—having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, and having conquered king Buddha and taken possession of all his substance, and, having a desire to set up a pillar of victory on the bank of the river Bhâgîrathî (the Ganges),—he decided that it would be proper to set up first a pillar of religion; and so he called into his presence his father's wife Durlabhadêvî, and, reminding her that the wealth of the Kalachuri[6] had been otherwise expended, proceeded to supplement an endowment of the god Makuṭêśvaranâtha,[7] which had been made by his father and elder brother, by granting ten villages, including Śrîyambâṭaka, Vrîhimukhagrâma, Kesuvoḷala,[8] Kendôramânya, and Nandigrâma. The

this seems too far to the north for Rêvatîdvîpa; the name 'Chorawne' is not unique, occurring again in the Khêḍ tâluka; and the other place-names cannot be traced at all. I do not find any such names in the Goanese territory, either. But all the places may easily have ceased to exist long ago.

1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 59. — This record is in Kanarese, and is the earliest known specimen of that language to which a definite period can be allotted.

2 Identical with the Lañjîśvara, *i. e.* Nandikêshwar, already mentioned; see page 346 above.

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161.

4 The village granted may possibly be identified with 'Kundi' in the Sangamêshwar tâluka, Ratnâgiri District.

5 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 7. The pillar now stands in the enclosure of the Government Museum at Bijâpur.

6 *i. e.*, of king Buddha. The original uses the Sanskritised form Kalatsûri.

7 The real original name of the group of temples is Makuṭa; not Mahâkûṭa, as it is now called (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 7). Makuṭêśvara is a form of Śiva.

8 *i. e.* the modern Paṭṭadakal, in the Hungund tâluka of the Bijâpur District, about eight miles east by north from Bâdâmi, (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 162). In other ancient records, it is called Kisuvoḷal and Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal.

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pillar was set up to record the grant. And the date of its erection is given as the full-month day of the month Vaiśâkha in the Siddhârtha *saṁvatsara*, in the fifth year of Maṅgalêśa's reign; the corresponding English date is the 12th April, A.D. 602, in Saka-Saṁvat 525 current.[1]

Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman.

It is recorded in the Aihole inscription that Maṅgalêśa had a son, for whom he was desirous of securing the succession after himself. This son's name is not explicitly stated in any of the records. But it is just possible that he is the Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman who in A.D. 610 or 611, in the beginning of the reign of Pulikêśin II. was stationed in Rêvatîdvîpa and there was governing four provinces,[2] and who, as that was his twentieth year, must have been first appointed as governor by Kîrtivarman I., in or about A.D 590. That this person was, at any rate, in some way or other a connection of Maṅgalêśa, is shewn by his being called "an ornament of the Âdi-mahâ-Bappûra-vaṁśa, or original great Bappûra lineage," which is plainly identical with the Batpûra family from which Pulikêśin I. obtained his wife. The expression may mean that Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman's father was of the Bappûra or Batpûra family; in which case he himself was only a connection of Maṅgalêśa by marriage. But, whether in consequence of his mother being perhaps a Pallava princess, or whether in connection with territorial administration which he held under his father, Jayasiṁha III., a son of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I., is sometimes described as belonging to the Pallava lineage. There seems, therefore, nothing in the expression, in the Goa grant, to prevent Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman being a Western Chalukya on his father's side. And it is possible that, like his own father, Maṅgalêśa took a wife from the Bappûra or Batpûra family; and that Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman was his son. But, however this may be, it does not appear that Maṅgalêśa's son ever actually ascended the throne.

Pulikêśin II.

Maṅgalêśa aimed,— as we have already seen,— at securing the succession after himself for a son of his own, not mentioned by name. Kîrtivarman I., however, had left certainly two sons,— Pulikêśin II., and Vishṇuvardhana I., whose name means "the increase of Vishṇu," and who was also called Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana;[3] and, if the Nirpaṇ grant is to be trusted, also a third son named Jayasiṁhavarman, "he whose armour is the lion of victory." And there ensued discord and civil war between Maṅgalêśa and Pulikêśin II., in the course of which the former lost his life. It is evidently because of these occurrences, that all the subsequent records pass Maṅgalêśa over without any mention.[4] After his death, there was a period of anarchy and confu-

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[1] This result is obtained by determining the *saṁvatsara* by the mean-sign system (see page 288 above, note 1), which is the proper one for this period, and according to which it lasted from the 25th October, A.D. 601, to the 21st October, A.D. 602. This is the earliest epigraphical instance, as yet obtained, of the use of the sixty-year cycle according to the mean-sign system.

[2] See page 355 below, No. 1.

[3] The word *kubja* means 'hump-backed;' also, 'a curved sword, a scimitar.'

[4] At the same time, the reign of Maṅgalêśa must have been carefully preserved in archives; to account for the manner in which it is mentioned in the Kaṇṭhêṁ grant and other records of the eleventh century.

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sion,[1] due to a general renunciation of allegiance by all the peoples whom Kîrtivarman I. and Mangalêśa had subjugated, when, according to the Aihoḷe inscription, "the whole world was enveloped by the darkness of enemies." Two invaders, specified by the names of Appâyika and Gôvinda, made their appearance on the scene;[2] they, however, were successfully met by Pulikêśin II., who repulsed and expelled the former, and made an ally of the latter. Then he had to again besiege and reduce Banawâsi, the Kadamba capital, which, as we have seen, had already been subjugated by his father. The Gangas and the Âḷupas were then brought into a state of submission and servitude. The Mauryas of the Konkaṇ were attacked and overwhelmed; and the city of Purî,[3] on the western coast, was invaded by ships and captured. The Lâṭas, the Mâlavas, and the Gurjaras were subdued. An attack by Harsha, *i.e.* the great king Harshavardhana of Kanauj in the Farukhâbâd District, North-West Provinces, was successfully resisted; and the text implies that Harshavardhana, who, Hiuen Tsiang tells us,[4] himself led the expedition, did not succeed in penetrating to the south of the Rêvâ, *i.e.* the Narmadâ, where Pulikêśin's armies were encamped. Thus, the sovereignty of the three countries known by the name of the Mahârâshṭrakas, and including, it is said, ninety-nine thousand villages,[5] was secured. And at this point, apparently, Pulikêśin II. was publicly crowned to the succession. Then the Kôsalas and Kalingas were humbled. The fortress of Pishṭapura, which is the modern Piṭṭâpuram, the chief town of an estate of the same name on the east coast, about twelve miles north by east of Coconâda in the Gôdâvarî District, Madras Presidency, was reduced.[6] The Pallavas were attacked; and their leader,—Mahêndravarman I.,[7]—was compelled to take refuge behind the ramparts of Kâñchî:[8] and that this was no empty boast, is shewn by the Pallava records themselves, which, in claiming that Mahêndravarman I. annihilated his "chief enemies," *i.e.* the Chalukyas, at Puḷḷalûra, which is a village very near Kâñchî, disclose the fact that the Chalukya army penetrated at any rate almost up to the Pallava capital. The Kâvêrî was crossed, to invade the Chôḷa country; and there the Chôḷas, the Kêraḷas, and the Pâṇḍyas were

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[1] The word used in the original is *chhattrabhanga*, 'a breaking of the umbrella (of sovereignty).'

[2] Dr. Bhandarkar has suggested (*Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, pp. 39, 47) that the second of these two persons may be the Râshṭrakûṭa Gôvinda I. But there is nothing to shew that Gôvinda I. enjoyed any regal power. Moreover, he seems hardly referable to quite so early a period as this.

[3] See page 283 above.

[4] See page 353 below.

[5] See page 298 above, note 2.

[6] Piṭṭâpuram is in lat. 17° 6′, long. 82° 18′.—A king Mahêndra of Pishṭapura is mentioned in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta (see page 280 above).—In a record of the eleventh A. D., the place appears to be mentioned as Pîṭhapurî (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX., p. 424).

[7] See page 324 above.

[8] A reminiscence of this is preserved in an inscription at Bhârangi in Mysore, dated in A. D. 1118 (*Carn-Dêśa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 557), which, speaking of a conquest of the Chôḷa king by Sômêśvara I., says that the Chôḷa had burned Kalyâṇa, which was the Western Châlukya capital, and implies that he did so in retaliation for Pulikêśin (II.) having (in former times) burned Kâñchî. By the time of Sômêśvara I., Kâñchî had passed into the hands of the Chôḷas.

made allies, while the Pallava army was again dispersed. And so, at length, Pulikêśin II. brought the whole kingdom under his sceptre again, and established himself at the city of Bâdâmi.[1] Such is the account as given in the Aihole inscription of A. D. 634-35. It may doubtless be accepted as correct in its general outlines. That all the earlier events recorded in it took place before August, A. D. 612, is established by the Haidarâbâd grant, which shews that Pulikêśin II. was then in possession of Bâdâmi, and, though it does not mention Harshavardhana by name, implies, by the title which was acquired by the victory over him, that that victory had then already been achieved; and they are probably to be placed in A. D. 608-609.

The *râjyâbhishêka* or coronation of Pulikêśin II. took place on some date, still remaining to be exactly determined, from Bhâdrapada śukla 1 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 532 current, falling in A. D. 609, up to the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada krishṇa 15, the new-moon day, 'S.-S. 533 current, falling in A. D. 610;[2] and it may probably be safely placed somewhere in the latter part of A. D. 609. His name appears in the variants of Polekêśin, Pulikêśin, and Pulakêśin.[3] But he was plainly best known by the *biruda* of Satyâśraya, which takes the place of his proper name in all the formal charters of his own line, of later times than his own, and in all of the Eastern Chalukya records that mention him. In the Haidarâbâd grant, he uses the epithet of *prithivîvallabha*, but, in the Nerûr grant, the plainer one of *vallabha*; and in the Udayêndiram grant of the Pallava king Nandivarman, he is spoken of, by the last-mentioned epithet, as "the *vallabha*-king" or "king Vallabha." The epithet used in the Gujarât records is *vallabha*. In the Eastern Chalukya records, it is sometimes *vallabha*, and sometimes *vallabhêndra*. But, in the subsequent western records, the epithet is always the full one of *śrîprithivîvallabha*. In his own two charters, he uses the title of *Mahârâja*, which is employed to denote him in the Sâtârâ grant of Vishṇuvardhana I., dated in his eighth year, and is attached to his name in the Karnûl grants of the third and tenth years of Vikramâditya I. But in all the subsequent formal charters, the higher title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja* is substituted for it. He also acquired the regal title of *Paramêśvara* or "supreme lord," by the defeat of Harshavardhana which has already been spoken of:[4] this

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[1] The original says that, "having entered the city of Vâtâpî, he was governing the whole world as if it was one city."

[2] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 3.

[3] An inscription at Lakshmêshwar, which mentions a *Mahârâja* of Chalukya descent with the *biruda* of Raṇaparâkrama, who seems intended to be Kîrtivarman I., allots to him a son named Ereyya; and seems to identify this Ereyya with the Satyâśraya, *i.e.*, probably, Pulikêśin II., who is mentioned immediately afterwards (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 110). There is, however, no other authority for giving to Pulikêśin II. any such name as Ereyya. And at the best, however far it may be a true copy of an authentic original, this Lakshmêshwar inscription was only put on the stone after A. D. 967.

[4] The Haidarâbâd grant says that he acquired it "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves (or a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles." But the subsequent records state, more specifically (*e.g.*, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 226), that he acquired it "by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north."— For the connection of the title with Harshavardhana, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 305.

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title is first attached to his name in the grant of the third year of Vikramâditya I.; and it is used in all the subsequent charters, commencing with the Haidarâbâd grant of the same king: it was also used by Vikramâditya I. himself, and by all his successors. In the Nerûr grant of Chandrâditya, there is also attached to his name the title of *Bhaṭṭâraka*, "the venerable one." The Nirpaṇ grant of Nâgavardhana would describe him as a *paramamâhêśvara* or most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (Śiva), and as meditating on the feet of a previous Nâgavardhana, who would seem to be some priest or teacher of high rank; but it is doubtful whether these statements may be accepted as authentic.

An important event of the reign of Pulikêśin II. was the establishment of the Eastern Branch of the Chalukya family in the country of Veṅgî, which was probably made a part of the Chalukya dominions during the campaign that included the conquest of Piṭṭâpuram. The Sâtârâ grant, with the subsequent eastern records, shews that in A.D. 615 his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana I., who in the Sâtârâ record is called his *priyânuja* [1] or "dear younger brother," was joined with him in the government as *Yuvarâja*, and in A. D. 616 or 617 was administering a part of the western territory. Evidently, not long after that date it was found that the kingdom was too extensive to be managed entirely from the western capital at Bâdâmi, and Vishṇuvardhana I. was deputed to administer the Veṅgî territory, in the same capacity of *Yuvarâja*. And then, whether it came to pass through a formal division of the kingdom by mutual consent, or whether there was a distinct act of rebellion on the part of the younger brother, in no great length of time, and at any rate before A.D. 632, Vishṇuvardhana became established on the eastern coast as a sovereign in his own right; and he founded there the Eastern Branch of the family, which held that part of the country for five centuries at least, and remained distinct from and independent of the Western Branch, down to the latest times of both the dynasties.[2]

The reputation and influence of Pulikêśin II. were by no means confined to India. There is an Arabic chronicle which records the fact that, in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Khosru II. of Persia, letters and presents were interchanged between him and Pulikêśin;[3] and, in one of the caves at Ajaṇṭâ, there is a painting, depicting the presentation of a letter from a Persian king to an Indian king, which is supposed to commemorate the fact.[4] The thirty-sixth year of Khosru II. was A. D. 625-26;[5] and the communication between him and Pulikêśin II., therefore, took place when the latter had been about sixteen years on the throne.

A vivid account of the kingdom of Pulikêśin II., written while he was at the zenith of his power, and probably in A. D. 639, after the

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[1] See page 361 below, and note 3.
[2] For the chronology and history of the Eastern Chalukyas, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 1 ff., 93 ff., 266 ff.
[3] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XI. p. 165.
[4] *ibid.* pp. 157, 167.
[5] *ibid.* p. 166.

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date of the Aihole inscription, is given by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who travelled in India between A. D. 629 and 645. This person visited the court of *Ho-li-sha-fa-t'an-na,* otherwise called *Shi-lo-o-t'ie-to, i.e.* of Harshavardhana-Śîlâditya of Kanauj; and he describes, and apparently visited, one of the leading cities of the country of *Mo-ho-la-ch'a, i.e.* Mahârâshtra, the name of the king of which is given by him as *Pu-lo-ki-she.* And his account is as follows :[1]— "This "country is about 5000 li in circuit. The capital[2] borders on the west "on a great river. It is about 30 li round. The soil is rich and fertile; "it is regularly cultivated and very productive. The climate is hot; "the disposition of the people is honest and simple; they are tall of "stature, and of a stern, vindictive character. To their benefactors they "are grateful; to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they "will risk their life to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help "one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render "assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their "enemy warning; then, each being armed, they attack each other with "lances (*spears*). When one turns to flee, the other pursues him, but "they do not kill a man down (*a person who submits*). If a general "loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with "woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The "country provides for a band of champions to the number of several "hundred. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxi-"cate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand "will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight. If one of these "champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not "punish him. Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. "Moreover, they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and taking "them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then "rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no "enemy can stand before them. The king, in consequence of his "possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with con-"tempt. He is of the Kshattriya caste, and his name is Pulakêśi "(*Pu-lo-ki-she*). His plans and undertakings are wide-spread, and his "beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey "him with perfect submission. At the present time Śîlâditya Mahârâja[3] "has conquered the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to "remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted "to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned "the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his "army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered

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1 Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World,* Vol. II. p. 255; see also his *Life of Hiuen Tsiang,* p. 146.

2 "There have been various surmises as to the name of this capital. M. V. de St. "Martin names Dêvagiri or Daulatâbâd, but this is not on a river. General Cunning-"ham thinks Kalyâṇ or Kalyâṇi is the place intended, to the west of which flows the "Kailâsâ river; but this is due south of Bharoch (the next station) instead of east. "Mr. Fergusson names Toka, Phulthamba, or Paiṭaṇ. However, the distance and "direction from the capital of Koṅkaṇâpura is about 400 miles N. W. This seems to "bring us near the river Taptî, or perhaps the Girṇâ river."

3 "That is, Śîlâditya of Kanauj (Vol. I. p. 210 ss.)"

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"their troops. So much for their habits. The men are fond of learning, "and study both heretical and orthodox (*books*). There are about 100 "*saṅghârâmas*, with 5000 or so priests. They practise both the Great "and Small Vehicle.[1] There are about 100 Dêva temples, in which "very many heretics of different persuasions dwell. Within and without "the capital are five *stûpas* to mark the spots where the four past "Buddhas walked and sat. They were built by Aśôka-râja. There are, "besides these, other *stûpas* made of brick or stone, so many that it "would be difficult to name them all. Not far to the south of the city "is a *saṅghârâma* in which is a stone image of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bôdhi-"sattva. Its spiritual powers extend (*far and wide*), so that many of "those who have secretly prayed to it have obtained their wishes. On "the eastern frontier of the country is a great mountain with towering "crags and a continuous stretch of piled-up rocks and scarped precipice. "In this there is a *saṅghârâma* constructed, in a dark valley. Its lofty "halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the (*or* open into the) face of "the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face "the valley (*water-course*).[2] This convent was built by the *Arhat* "Âchâra (*O'-che-lo*).[3] . . . . Going from this 1000 li or "so to the west,[4] and crossing the *Nai-mo-to* (Narmadâ) river, we arrive "at the kingdom of *Po-lu-kie-che-po* (Bhârukachheva; Barygaza or "Bharôch)." There can be no doubt that the latter part of the preceding description refers to the rock-cut Buddhist caves in the glen near Ajaṇṭâ in the Nizâm's Dominions;[5] the towering crags, the piled up rocks and scarped precipice, the dark valley, and the lofty halls and deep side-aisles, facing the valley, and backed storey above storey by the crags, represent most closely the surroundings of the Ajaṇṭâ caves, and apparently those of no other in any admissible locality. But, as regards the town which Hiuen Tsiang has spoken of as the capital, there has been considerable speculation. Now, the real capital of the Western Chalukya dynasty was, as we have seen, Bâdâmi. Its surroundings, however, do not answer to the description given by the Chinese pilgrim; and also, it is under any circumstances inadmissible, because its distance from Broach, 435 miles, is altogether incommensurate with the distance of 1000 *li* or about 167 miles, which is specified by him as the distance from the so-called capital

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[1] The Mahâyâna and the Hînayâna.

[2] "This must refer to the famous Bauddha rock temples at Ajaṇṭâ, in the Indh-"yâdri range of hills, cut in the lofty and almost perpendicular rocks that hem in a "wild secluded glen. See Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, pp. 280-347; "*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Reports*, Vol. IV. pp. 43-59."

[3] "In the inscription on the Chaitya cave, No. xxvi., at Ajaṇṭâ, we read that "'The ascetic *Sthavira* Achala, who glorified the faith and was grateful, caused to be "built a mountain dwelling (*śailagriha*) for the Teacher, though his desires were ful-"filled' (*Arch. Surv. West. Ind. Reports*, Vol. IV. p. 135). This apparently decides "the name of the *Arhat* mentioned here. But, as the Chinese translation of the name "is *So-hing* (he who does, or, the doer), we retain the equivalent Âchâra."

[4] "Hwui-lih gives north-west. M. Julien has translated it north-east, by mistake "(*Vie.*, &c., p. 203)."

[5] Indian Atlas, sheet No. 38; lat. 20° 33', long. 75° 49'.—On the question of identification, see amongst other references, *Archæol, Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 58. —The proper form of the name appears to be Âjiṇṭhâ; in the Survey map of the village, it is written Âjiṇṭha.

of Mahârâshtra to the town of Broach. We have, therefore, to look for some subordinate but important town, far to the north of Bâdâmi, which was mistakenly spoken of as the capital by Hiuen Tsiang; most probably, because it was the basis of the operations against Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and because, in connection with those operations, Pulikêśin II. happened to be there at the time. And full reasons have been given elsewhere[1] for rejecting certain other places which have been proposed,[2] and for deciding that the town in question is Nâsik, about 128 miles to the south-south-east of Broach. The Ajaṇṭâ caves being in the Chândôr or Sâtmâḷâ range, just about the point where the range, which finally merges itself in the highlands that form the southern frontier of Berâr, turns towards the south, and being, according to Hiuen Tsiang, on the eastern frontier, it is evident, to anyone who has the opportunity of seeing the localities, that the natural northern frontier of the country was the western and principal part of the range, which, forming from Ajaṇṭâ to near Nândgaon a conspicuous wall-like boundary between Khândêsh and the country to the south, runs on through Chândor, and eventually joins the Sahyâdri chain on the north-west of Nâsik.[3] The town of Nâsik lies to the south of the range; *i. e.*, as is required, within the northern frontier of the kingdom. It has been a place of importance from considerable antiquity. And its surroundings answer fully to the details given by Hiuen Tsiang: thus, it is on the Gôdâvarî, which, anywhere along its course, is always counted as one of the great rivers of India; within a distance of six miles on the south-west, there is the Pâṇḍulêṇa group of caves, some of them Buddhist, in which we may locate the *saṁghârâma* mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang; and finally, as regards the *stûpas* spoken of by him, one, at any rate, still exists,— near a small waterfall on the Gôdâvarî, about six miles west of the town.[4]

Of the time of Pulikêśin II. we have the following records:—

(1) A copper-plate grant from Goa,—dated on the full-moon day of the month Mâgha, 'Saka-Saṁvat 532, corresponding, approximately, to the 15th January, A. D. 610, or to the 5th January, A. D. 611, according as the 'Saka year is applied as current or as expired,[5]— which mentions him as "the *Mahârâja* who was the favourite of fortune and the earth," and records how, with his permission, Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman,[6] the governor, stationed in Rêvatîdvîpa, of four *vishayas* and *maṇḍalas*, granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Kârellikâ in the Khêṭâhâra *dêśa*. The Khêṭâhâra *dêśa* is plainly

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 113.

2 See, *e. g.*, page 353 above, note 2.

3 The country called Mahârâshṭra by Hiuen Tsiang would, in my opinion, have been more correctly called Kuntala in Mahârâshṭra. To allow for the number of ninety-nine thousand villages, whether actual or traditional, which the Aihoḷe inscription of A. D. 613-14 allots to the three divisions of it, each called Mahârâshṭraka (see page 350 above), Mahârâshṭra proper must, I think, have extended up to the Narmadâ, and on the east and north-east far beyond Ajaṇṭâ.

4 *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVI., Nâsik, p. 539. It is there called a burial mound;" but the details of the description shew it to be an undeniable *stûpa*.

5 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 348; and see some remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. pp. 11, 12.

6 See page 349 above.

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now represented by the Khêḍ tâluka of the Ratnâgiri District; and Kârellikâ may possibly be Karêl, somewhere in the Râjâpur tâluka.[1] The record is further dated in the twentieth year of the government of Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman; and this indicates about A. D. 590, in the reign of Kîrtivarman I., for the commencement of his administration.

(2) A copper-plate grant from Haidarâbâd in the Dekkan,[2] which records that Pulikêśin II. himself, at the city of Vâtâpî, granted a village named Mâkarappi to a Brâhmaṇ, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Bhâdrapada in the third year of his *râjyâbhishêka* or installation in the sovereignty, Śaka-Saṁvat 534 expired; the corresponding English date is the 2nd August, A.D. 612, on which day there was a total eclipse of the sun, though it was not visible in India.[3] It is this record that fixes the period of his coronation. And it is also of importance in shewing that Pulikêśin had established himself at Bâdâmi before the date recorded in it; and consequently, that the earlier expeditions and successes described in the Aihole inscription as preliminary to the consolidation of his power were at any rate anterior to A. D. 612.

(3) An undated copper-plate grant from Nerûr in the Sâwantwâdî State,[4] the donative passages of which are not very legible, but which contains a mention of Vâtâpi.

(4) A copper-plate grant from Chipḷûṇ [5] in the Ratnâgiri District, which records that his maternal uncle, the *Râja* Śrîvallabha-Sênânanda of the Sêndraka family, granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Âmravâṭavaka and an allotment at Avañchapalî on the Vârubennâ or Châru-bennâ, in the Avarêtikâ *vishaya*.

(5) A copper-plate grant from Sâtârâ,[6] which records that, at a place named Kurumarathî or Kurumarathyâ, his younger brother, the *Yuvarâja* Vishṇuvardhana I., granted to some Brâhmaṇs the village of Alandatîrtha, on the south bank of the river Bhîmarathî, in the Śrî-

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[1] Mr. K. T. Telang, in editing the Goa grant, proposed (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 350) to identify Khêṭâhâra with Kittûr in the Belgaum District. But there is absolutely no connection at all between the two names.—The Khêṭâhâra *dêśa* of this record is not to be confused with the Khêṭaka *âhâra*, or Khêṭakâhâra *vishaya*, which is mentioned in some of the Valabhî records and took its name from a town, Khêṭaka, which is the modern Kaira, the chief town of the Kaira District in Gujarât.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 72.

[3] *id.* Vol. XX. p. 2.— Other cases are to be met with, in which eclipses are quoted as occasions of ceremonies, though they were not visible in India; and some, which mention eclipses that did not occur at all.— This date is of interest in connection with the Hindû calendar. The *tithi* and the eclipse can be brought together only by the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, according to which each month ends with the full-moon day. This is not now the system of Southern India. But the present record shews that it was the system in that part of the country in A. D. 612. And the Kanarese grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III, (chapter III. below) shews that the same system was still sometimes in use there up to A. D. 804. The Paithaṇ grant of Gôvinda III., of A. D. 794, however, gives an instance of the use of the *amânta* arrangement of the fortnights; and this is the earliest instance that has as yet been obtained.

[4] *id.* Vol. VIII. p. 43.

[5] *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. III. p. 50.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 303.

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nilaya *bhôga*. Alandatîrtha is probably to be identified with 'Alundah,' about thirty-five miles north of Sâtârâ, on the south bank of the Sivagangâ, which is a tributary of the Nîrâ, which, again, flows into the Bhîma. The grant was made on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika, in the eighth year of Pulikêśin II.; and the English equivalent of the date is, approximately, either the 31st October, A. D. 616 or the 21st October, A. D. 617, according to what may be the exact starting-point of his regnal years.[1]

(6) The stone inscription at the Mêguṭi temple at Aihoḷe in the Bijâpur District.[2] The historical details given in this record, have been noted above. The direct object of it is to record the completion of the temple, as a shrine of Jinêndra, by a Jain named Ravikîrti, in Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 3735, and Saka-Saṁvat 556, expired, = A. D. 634-35,[3] while Pulikêśin II. was still reigning at Bâdâmi. And it is also of considerable interest from a literary point of view: for, the composer of it, Ravikîrti himself, claims equality of fame with the poets Kâlidâsa and Bhâravi; thus shewing that the names of these two poets were already well known, and their fame established, in A. D. 634-35, and fixing a limit later than which they cannot be placed.

In addition to these, there is also a copper-plate grant from Nirpaṇ in the Nâsik District,[4] which is to be placed in the time of Pulikêśin II., if it is genuine. It first mentions Kîrtivarman I.; then his son, Pulikêśin I.; then a younger brother of the latter, a *Râja* named Dharâśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman, plainly of feudatory rank; and then a son of the latter, the *Râja* Nâgavardhana or "increase of the Nâgas," who had the *biruda* of Tribhuvanâśraya or "asylum of the three worlds," and, judging by the seal, also the *biruda* of Jayâśraya or "the asylum of victory." The charter purports to record that Tribhuvanâśraya-Nâgavardhana granted a village named Balegrâma, which was in the Gôparâshṭra *vishaya* and is to be identified with the

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[1] The Chîpurupalle grant of Vishṇuvardhana I., of the 7th July, A. D. 632 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 15), also falls within the period of the reign of Pulikêśin II., and mentions him as the *Mahâraja* Satyâśraya. But Vishṇuvardhana I. was then himself a *Mahârâja*, in independent possession of the territory on the eastern coast. And the record does not bear upon the history of the Western Chalukyas; except in shewing that the formal separation of the two branches of the Chalukya family had taken place before the time when it was drawn up.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 237.

[3] The Kaliyuga era is of extremely exceptional use in epigraphic records. The only instances that I can quote are the present one, and some of the records of the Kâdambas of Goa, ranging from A.D. 1167 to 1247 (see chapter VIII. below), which, for some capricious reason, are dated in the Kaliyuga, without any reference to the Saka era at all, though other records of the same family are dated in the Saka era and in that alone.—In the present case, the Kaliyuga era is quoted a little indirectly; the statement of the original being that three thousand seven hundred and thirty-five years had elapsed from the Bhârata war, and that five hundred and fifty-six years of the Saka kings had expired in (their own era as a subdivision of) the Kali age (the figures of which are marked by those of the Bhârata war). The equation, however,—3735 years expired from the Bhârata war = Saka-Saṁvat 556 expired, —is in exact accordance with the reckoning of the Kaliyuga, as given in the published tables (*e.g.*, General Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*) and in the Hindû almanacs (see, *e.g.*, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introd. pp. 138 to 141, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 150). Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 1 current was B. C. 3102-3101.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 123.

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modern Belgaum-Tarâlhâ in the Nâsik District, for the purposes of the worship of the god Siva under the name of Kapâlêśvara. The record is not dated; but the mention of Pulikêśin II., and of no later member of the paramount line, shews that it belongs, or was intended to belong, to his time.[1]

Interval after Pulikêśin II.

The reign of Pulikêśin II. ended in disaster. Doubtless in retaliation for the defeat inflicted on them by him in his early years, the Pallavas, now under Narasimhavarman I., who is described in the Pallava records as putting Pulikêśin I. to flight in battle at Pariyala, Manimangala, Sûramâra, and other places, and writing the word "victory" on his back as on a plate, and as destroying the city of Vâtâpi, invaded the Western Chalukya dominions, and attacked and laid waste Bâdâmi.[2] The event must be placed after A. D. 634-35, which is the date of the Aihole inscription, and before A. D. 655, which is the earliest ascertainable date for Vikramâditya I. From an indication afforded by a record which will be noticed just below, it

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[1] Without definitely stamping as unauthentic the names that are given in this record, I would draw attention to the following points, which render the record itself extremely suspicious. In the first place, it gives to Kîrtivarman I. the *biruda* of Satyâśraya, which is not borne out by the undoubtedly authentic documents of the Bâdâmi line itself. In the second place, it styles Pulikêśin II. a *paramamâhêśvara* or most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (Siva), and describes him as meditating on the feet of (a previous) Nâgavardhana: these points, again, are not supported by any of the unquestionable records; and the first unchallengeable occurrence of the name Nâgavardhana is in connection with Vikramâditya I. And in the third place, it speaks of him as acquiring the three hereditary kingdoms of the Chêras, the Chôlas, and the Pândyas, by means of a charger named Kanthachitra: but none of the indisputable records mention any charger of Pulikêśin II.; and the name seems to be taken, by a mistake, from the name of Chitrakantha, the charger of Vikramâditya I. This last point, in particular, suggests that the record is not a genuine one; and that it was fabricated after the restoration of the dynasty by Vikramâditya I.—In addition to possibly this Nirpan grant and the Pimpalnêr grant from Khândêsh (see page 344 above, note 6), there are two plainly spurious records which purport to belong to the time of Pulikêśin II. One is the copper-plate grant from Hosûr near Bangalore (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 89, 96, with a lithograph in Vol. IX. p. 304; for the translation, see also *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 298), which purports to give the name of a supposed daughter, Ambêrâ (not of a son, Ambêra, as is indicated by Mr. Rice's rendering: the text being corrupt, a son may possibly have been intended; but it is a daughter who is actually mentioned and named by the text, as it stands), and to record that she granted to some Brâhmans a village named Periyâla in the Konikal *vishaya*. And the other is the copper-plate grant from Kândalgaon in the Ratnâgiri District (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 330), which purports to be dated in his fifth year, and to record the grant, to a Brâhman, of a village named Pirigipa, on the north bank of the river Mahânadî, in Rêvatîdvîpa.—Also, a stone inscription which formerly existed at Aminbhâvi in the Dhârwâr District, of the time of Vikramâditya VI., and dated in A. D. 1113 (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 672: I had a search made for the original stone about ten years ago, but, like many of the inscriptions that were in existence in Sir Walter Elliot's time, it was not forthcoming), included a passage from some spurious record on stone or copper which purported to record that, while reigning at the capital of Kisuvolal, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Thursday the new-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha of the Sarvajit *samvatsara*, Saka-Samvat 488 by mistake for 489 expired, = A.D. 567-68, Pulikêśin II. made certain grants to the god Kalidêva of Ammaiyyanabhâvi, which was an *agrahâra* in the Kundûr five-hundred of the Palasige *vishaya*.—An inscription at Lakshmêshwar (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 110, the second part of the record, lines 51 to 61), which, even if a true copy of an original, is at the best only a copy and was only put on the stone after A. D. 967, mentions a Satyâśraya who is probably intended to be Pulikêśin II., and seems to give him also the name of Ereyya, and purports to record a grant of land to the Jain temple called Sankha-Jinêndra by his feudatory Durgaśakti of the Sêndraka family (see page 292 above).

[2] For the necessary references see page 322 ff. above.

must also probably be placed before A.D. 643. And it may, with a close approximation to the truth, be placed in A.D. 642, which allows Pulikêśin II. a reign of about thirty-two years. The "destruction" of Vâtâpi undoubtedly denotes more particularly a desecration of the temples there and in the surrounding territory: the family-god of the Pallavas being Śiva, and of the Chalukyas Vishṇu, the conquest of the country would naturally be attended by a spoliation of the Vaishṇava shrines; and the records of Vikramâditya I. specifically state [1] that the grants to gods and Brâhmaṇs were confiscated by the invading kings.

For the interval that followed, we have at present only two records:—

(1) One is the Kaira grant of Vijayarâja or Vijayavarmarâja,[2] which, by disclosing the existence of a feudatory branch of the Chalukya family in Gujarât,—or, speaking more strictly, in the Lâṭa division of the Koṅkaṇ,—furnishes corroboration of the statement of the Aihole inscription that Pulikêśin II. subdued the Lâṭas and the Gurjaras, and shews that he recovered, up to the river Kîm at any rate, the northern provinces of the kingdom that had been put together by his predecessor. The genealogy given in this record commences with a Chalukya prince named Jayasiṁharâja; his son was the *Râja* Buddhavarman, "he whose armour is Buddha," to whose name are attached the epithet *vallabha* and the *biruda* Raṇavikrânta; and the latter's son was Vijayarâja, "the king of victory," or, as he is styled in the cancelled grant, the *Râja* Vijayavarman, "he whose armour is victory." The charter was issued from his camp at a town named Vijayapura; and it records a grant of the village of Pariyaya, on the east of Sandhiyara, in the Kâśâkûla *vishaya*, to the priests and religious students of Jambûsara. Vijayapura has not been identified.[3] But, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler,[4] Pariyaya is the modern Pariyâ, in the Ôlpâḍ tâluka, Surat District; Sandhiyara is the modern Sandhier, a few miles to the west of Pariyâ; the Kâśâkûla or Kâśakûla *vishaya*, which is mentioned again in the grant, dated in A. D. 757, of the Râshtrakûṭa Kakkarâja II. of Gujarât, was evidently the country on the northern bank of the Taptî; and Jambûsara is, of course, Jambûsar, the head-quarters of the tâluka of the same name in the Broach District.[5] The charter is dated on the full-

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[1] *e.g., Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 226.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 241; with a notice of the cancelled grant, on the backs of the plates, at p. 251.— The description of Vijayavarmarâja includes three of the expressions which in the Gupta records are always applied to Samudragupta (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14, note 4).— Dr. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, p. 42) has expressed the opinion that this grant is a forgery. But I cannot find any grounds for endorsing his view. The Gujarât Chalukya grant which I do view with suspicion, is the Nirpaṇ grant of Tribhuvanâśraya-Nâgavardhana (see page 357 above, and page 358, note 1).

[3] There is a Vêjâpur in the Mahî-Kâṇṭhâ State; a Vijâpur in the Cutch State; another Vijâpur in the Pañch Mahâls; and still another Vijâpur in the Barôda State, which is the head-quarters of the Vijâpur subdivision. But these places are all on the north of the river Kîm.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 197.

[5] Pariyâ and Sandhier are on the south of the river Kîm, as is required in accordance with my delimitation of the Lâṭa country (page 310 above). Jambûsar is on the north of the Kîm (and of the Narmadâ),—in what was the Gurjara country. But it is

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moon day of the month Vaiśâkha of the (Kalachuri or Chêdî) year 394 (expired);[1] and the corresponding English date is, approximately, the 9th April, A.D. 643.[2] The use of the title *Râja* shews that Jayasiṁha and his son and grandson were of only feudatory rank, and that, at some time previous to the date of the record, Vijayavarman had been in charge of this part of the country under Pulikêśin II. No indication is given as to the relationship between Jayasiṁha and the Chalukyas of Bâdâmi; and, consequently, he and his son and grandson cannot yet be referred with any certainty to a definite place in the genealogy.[3] And this omission to indicate the relationship, or to make any reference at all to the paramount line, seems a plain indication that, when this charter was issued, the latter had experienced disaster, and that the Chalukyas of Gujarât, while not exactly prepared to assert independence, were in doubt as to what supreme authority they should recognise. It is for this reason that the downfall of Pulikêśin II., and the sacking of Bâdâmi, must probably be placed before A. D. 643.

(2) The other is the grant of Pṛithivîvallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti, of the Sêndraka family, from Bagumrâ in the Barôda territory.[4] It records the grant, to a Brâhmaṇ, of the village of Balisa in the Trêyaṇṇâhâra *vishaya*, which names are identified by Dr. Bühler with the modern Tên, near Bârdôlî, and Wanesa or Wanisa, south-east of Tên,

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mentioned simply as the residence of the grantees. The mention of it does not imply that Vijayavarman had any territorial rights over the place; it simply suggests friendly relations between the inhabitants of the Gurjara and the Chalukya territories.

[1] In this and the other Gujarât Chalukya grants, the era is not specified by name. But the identity of it is proved by the synchronisms that are established by the Nausârî grant of Śryâśraya-Śîlâditya, which mentions Satyâśraya-Vinayâditya of the Bâdâmi line (see further on in this chapter), and by the Balsâr grant of Vinayâditya-Maṅgalarasa, which is exceptionally dated in the Śaka era.— Dr. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, p. 42) has preferred identifying the unnamed era of the Gujarât Chalukya records with the Gupta era. But this makes Śryâśrâya-Śîlâditya seventy years too late to be a feudatory, as he was, of Satyâśraya-Vinayâditya.— For the epoch of the Kalachuri or Chêdî era, see Prof. Kielhorn's paper in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 215.

[2] The date is expressed in numerical symbols, used properly as such.

[3] I have long ago (*e. g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 292, note 10) abandoned my original identification of this Jayasiṁha with Jayasiṁha I., the father of Raṇarâga. I then (*loc. cit.*) proposed to identify him either with the Dharâśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman of the Nirpaṇ grant, who is represented as a younger brother of Pulikêśin II.; or else with the Dharâśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman of the Nausârî and Balsâr grants, who was a younger brother of Vikramâditya I. The latter suggestion was afterwards adopted by Dr. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, p. 42). But it is not tenable; for it would make Pulikêśin II. contemporaneous with a great-grandson, at a time when the latter was of sufficient age to have exercised feudatory authority. And as regards the former suggestion, though it has been endorsed by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 199), and though, if we accept the Nirpaṇ grant at least so far as proving that Pulikêśin II. really had a younger brother named Jayasiṁhavarman, there may be nothing in the dates to raise a substantial objection to the identification of that brother with the Jayasiṁharâja of the Kaira grant, still, if regard is paid to the generations, the Jayasiṁharâja of the Kaira grant may equally well be made contemporaneous with Pulikêśin I., and may be taken as a younger brother of that person, named after the grandfather Jayasiṁha I. Pending the acquisition of some distinct hint one way or the other, I think it is better to keep the three names given in the Kaira grant, in a place apart from the main line of the family.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 265. — For the Sêndrakas, see page 292 above.

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in the Barôda territory.[1] The grant was made on the new-moon day of the month Bhâdrapadâ, in the (Kalachuri) year 406 (expired), corresponding, approximately, to the 8th August, A. D. 655. Here, again, though the Sêndrakas were a feudatory family, and in former times, at any rate, under the Western Chalukyas, by whom they appear to have been introduced into Gujarât, and though no sovereign titles are assumed by them in this record, no mention is made of any paramount king. The inference is that this record also belongs to the period when the Western Chalukya sovereignty was in abeyance. From this record, it also seems likely that the first Gujarât branch of the Chalukya family ended with Vijayavarmarâja, and that the Sêndrakas succeeded to the government of the Lâṭa province pending the establishment of another feudatory branch of the Chalukyas.

Vikramâditya I

The supremacy of the Chalukyas was eventually re-established by Vikramâditya I., "the sun of valour," one of the sons of Pulikêśin II.[2] The records describe him as the *priya-tanaya*, or "dear or favourite son," of his father; and this, especially in connection with the facts that he was not the eldest son, and that the expression is applied to him even in the charters issued by his elder brother Chandrâditya, seems to indicate that he had been specially selected by his father for the succession.[3] Like his father, he had the *biruda* of Satyâśraya; but also that of Raṇarasika, "delighting in war," which occurs in his Haidarâbâd grant, and is used to denote him in two Pallava inscriptions at Conjeeveram:[4] and his epithet was *śrîprithivîvallabha*. In his own records, he uses the paramount titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*; and the Nausârî grant of Śryâśraya-Śîlâditya, with some of the later records, adds to these titles that of *Bhaṭṭâraka*, "the worshipful one." This latter record also describes him as a *paramamâhêśvara*, or most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (Śiva), and as meditating on the feet of a god or teacher named Nâgavardhana.

The records say that Vikramâditya I. conquered in many battles, by means of his charger Chitrakaṇṭha, and with the edge of his sword; that he acquired for himself the regal fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by three kings, and so brought the whole kingdom under the sway of himself as sole ruler; that, with his own mouth, he re-established the grants to gods and Brâhmaṇs which had been confiscated by the three kings in question; and that, defeating the hostile

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[1] Tên and Wanesa or Wanisa are on the south, not only of the Kîm, as required, but also of the Taptî.

[2] The Kauthêm grant of A. D. 1009 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 17), with certain other records that follow the same draft, introduces two more generations into the genealogy: it gives a person named Neḍamari as the son of Pulikêśin II., and an Âdityavarman as the son of Neḍamari; and it makes Vikramâditya I. the son of this Âdityavarman, and thus the great-grandson, instead of the son, of Pulikêśin II. But this is a pure mistake, based on imperfect tradition, which it is unnecessary even to criticise.— The name of Âdityavarman, as the supposed father of Vikramâditya I., very possibly owed its existence to his really having had a brother of that name (see page 367 below). The name of Neḍamari may have some connection with the fictitious name of the daughter, Ambêrâ (or son, Ambêra), who is allotted to Pulikêśin II. by the spurious Hosûr grant (see page 358 above, note 1).

[3] A clear indication of some such custom of selection is afforded, for the Gupta period, by the description of Chandragupta II. as being "accepted (as his favourite son and successor) by Samudragupta;" and Samudragupta himself seems to have been chosen from among several brothers (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 12, note 1).

[4] See page 329 above, and note 5.

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kings in battle in country after country, he acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors.[1] The reference to three kings here is explained by the Haidarâbâd grant, which tells us that he rubbed out the fame of Narasimha (*i.e.* the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I.), destroyed the power of Mahêndra (*i.e.* Mahêndravarman II.), and surpassed Îśvara (*i.e.* Paramêśvaravarman I.) in statesmanship, and thus bruised or crushed the Pallavas, and that, "conquering Îśvarapôtarâja (*i.e.*, again, Paramêśvaravarman I.), he took Kâñchî, whose huge walls were insurmountable and hard to be broken, which was surrounded by a large moat that was unfathomable and hard to be crossed, and which resembled the girdle (*kâñchî*) of the southern region."[2] And from this we learn that the Chalukya sovereignty remained in abeyance during the remainder of the reign of Narasimhavarman I., under whom the Pallavas took and devastated Bâdâmi,[3] the whole of the time of Mahêndravarman II., and the first part of the reign of Paramêśvaravarman I.; and that it was by overthrowing Paramêśvaravarman I., that Vikramâditya I. recovered the kingdom. His success can only have been achieved after a protracted struggle, commenced probably a long time before the period to which the records point for the formal beginning of his reign. And it would appear that he was not at once, or at all easily, victorious: for, the Pallava records represent Paramêśvaravarman I. as defeating him in battle at a place named Peruvaḷanallûr,—saying that Paramêśvaravarman, unaided, made Vikramâditya, whose army consisted of several hundreds of thousands, take to flight, covered only by a rag; and they even claim that Paramêśvaravarman destroyed his city, *i.e.* Bâdâmi. Subsequent records describe Vikramâditya I. as receiving, by surrender, the town of Kâñchî, after defeating the lord of the Pallavas who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of his family,—as humbling the pride of the three kings of Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, and Kêraḷa,—as having obeisance done to him by the lord of Kâñchî, who had bowed down to none other,—and as thus becoming the lord of the whole earth included within the three oceans.[4] Others add the Kaḷabhras to the list of kings whose pride he humbled.[5] And they shew that he was greatly assisted by his son and grandson: of the former, Vinayâditya, it is said that, at the command of his father, he arrested the excessively exalted power of the three kings of Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, and Kêraḷa, and of the Pallavas, and thus gratified his father's mind by bringing all the provinces into a state of quiet;[6] and of the latter, Vijayâditya, it is said

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1 *e.g.*, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 226.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 78; with the amended translation given by Dr. Hultzsch in *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 145, and note 4.—The same passages occur in also the spurious Kurtakôṭi grant (see page 365 below, note 1).

3 For the necessary references in the Pallava records, see page 322 ff. above.

4 *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. pp. 151, 152.

5 *e.g.*, *id.* Vol. IX. p. 129.

6 *e.g.*, *ibid.*—The expression in the text is *ati-samuddhatam trairâjya-Pallava-balam = avashṭabhya*; in some instances, *Pallava* is replaced by *Kâñchîpati* (*e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 127, text line 16). Here, *trairâjya* reads, at first sight, exactly as if it qualifies *Pallava* or *Kâñchîpati*; and it was so interpreted by me,—"arrested the extremely exalted power of the Pallavas, whose kingdom consisted of three component dominions." But it is really explained by the expression *Chôḷa-Pâṇḍya-Kêraḷa-dharaṇîdhara*, "the three kings of Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, and Kêraḷa," which stands in the sentence before it.

that, while his grandfather was successfully dealing with his enemies in the south, he himself completely rooted out all the troubles that had beset the kingdom,[1] meaning, probably, that he established and maintained peace and order in the home provinces.

That all this was accomplished before at any rate A. D. 671, is shewn by the Nausârî grant of Śryâśraya-Śîlâditya of Gujarât,[2] which, dated in January of that year, mentions Vikramâditya I. as having overcome the Pallavas with unrepulsed prowess. But the conquest of the hostile kings in country after country, with the recovery of his ancestral fortune and sovereignty, is mentioned in the charters of Chandrâditya, one of which, dated on the 23rd September A. D. 659, and in the fifth regnal year, indicates,— whether the year be that of Chandrâditya or of Vikramâditya I.,— that the restoration of the sovereignty had been effected before the same date in A. D. 655. On the other side, from the Bagumrâ grant of the Sêndraka prince Prithivîvallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti, we have found reasons for inferring that it was not effected till after the 8th August, immediately preceding. And we shall, therefore, probably be very close to the mark, if we place the formal commencement of his reign somewhere in the autumn of that same year, A. D. 655. This gives about thirteen years for the interval which followed the downfall of Pulikêśin II.; and about twenty-five years for the duration of the reign of Vikramâditya I. And the localities covered by the records of his time in which places are mentioned that can be identified,—Nausârî in the Barôda State, Kochrêm in the Ratnâgiri District, and Ratnâgiri in the southernmost parts of the Bellâry District,—suffice to shew that he really did recover the whole of the Western Chalukya dominions.

Of the time of Vikramâditya I., we have the following records :—

(1) A copper-plate grant from the Karṇûl District, Madras Presidency,[3] which records that, in the third year of his reign, on the full-moon day on which the festival of the *saṁgama-mahâyâtrâ* was held, Vikramâditya I. granted to a Brâhmaṇ some land at a village named Ratnagiri, in the Naḷavâḍi *vishaya*, which is probably the modern Ratnâgiri,[4] about thirteen miles south-west of Maḍakaśirâ, the chief town of the Maḍakaśirâ tâluka of the Bellâry District. No reference is made to the Śaka or any other era. But, accepting the conclusion that the commencement of the reign may be placed in A. D. 655, the corresponding English date may be placed in A. D. 657.

(2) Another copper-plate grant from the Karṇûl District,[5] which records that, in the tenth year of his reign, on the full-moon day of the month Âshâḍha, at the request of the *Râja* Dêvaśakti of the Sêndraka family, Vikramâditya I. granted to some Brâhmaṇs some

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[1] *e.g., Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 129.

[2] See page 364 below, No. 3.

[3] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. pp. 225, 235.

[4] Lat. 13° 48′, long. 77° 11′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 59,— 'Ruttnagerry.' This, of course, is some little distance from Karṇûl. But copper-plate grants are liable to travel (see page 377 below, note 4).

[5] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. pp. 227, 238.

lands at a village named Raṭṭagiri on the west bank of the river Andirikâ.[1] Here, again, no era is quoted; but the corresponding English date may be taken to be, approximately, the 15th June, A. D. 664.

(3) A Gujarât Chalukya copper-plate grant from Nausârî in the Barôda State.[2] It first mentions Pulikêśin II.; and then his son Satyâśraya-Vikramâditya I., whom it describes as a *paramamâhêśvara* or most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara,—as meditating on the feet of his parents and of the illustrious or holy Nâgavardhana,[3]—and as having overcome the Pallava family with unrepulsed prowess. It next mentions another son of Pulikêśin II., named Dharâśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman,[4] whose dignity or prosperity, it says, had been augmented by his elder brother Vikramâditya I. It then mentions a son of Jayasiṁhavarman, the *Yuvarája* Śîlâditya, "the sun of good character," to whom the seal gives the *biruda* of Śryâśraya, the "asylum of Fortune." And it then records that, while resident or encamped at Navasârikâ, Śryâśraya-Śîlâditya granted to some Brâhmaṇs a village named Âsaṭṭigrâma, in the Kaṇḍavalâhâra *vishaya*, which was in the Ṭhâhirikâ *vishaya*. The grant was made on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Mâgha, in the (Kalachuri) year 421 (expired); and the corresponding English date is, approximately, the 30th January, A. D. 671.[5] Of the places mentioned in this record, Dr. Bühler has identified Navasârikâ with Nausârî itself, and Âsaṭṭigrâma with Ashṭgâm or Astgâm, a few miles to the south-east of Nausârî.[6] This record and the other[7] of Śryâśraya-Śîlâditya, both describing him as *Yuvarâja*, indicate the same dates, A. D. 671 and 692, for his father Dharâśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman.

(4) A copper-plate grant from Haidarâbâd in the Dekkan,[8] which records that Vikramâditya I. granted to some Brâhmaṇs a village named Chintakuṇṭha, on the east of the village of Kandugûḷ, in the

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[1] The record mentions a village named Chiñchavalya, *i.e.*, Chiñchavaḷḷi, which may possibly be the 'Chincholy' of the map, about forty miles east by north of Kulbarga in the Nizâm's Dominions.

[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 1.

[3] Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji agreed in holding that Nâgavardhana may be the name of a god or a teacher.

[4] In line 9 of the present grant, the *biruda* is distinctly Dhârâśraya, with the long *â* in the first syllable (see the Plate); and it was so given by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in his reading of the text, though in his remarks he substituted the short *a* (in his translation, the *biruda* is omitted). But, in lines 13, 17, of the Surat and Nausârî grants of Śryâśraya-Śîlâditya and Avanijanâśraya-Pulikêśin (*Proceedings* of the Âryan Section of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, p. 211 ff.; see the Plates), it is distinctly Dharâśraya, with the short *a*. And Dharâśraya, 'asylum of the earth,' seems a more probable appellation than Dhârâśraya, 'asylum of the sword-edge,' or 'he whose refuge is the sword-edge.'—In the Nirpaṇ grant, also (see page 357 above), the *biruda* of the Jayasiṁhavarman who is there mentioned is distinctly Dharâśraya, with the short *a* (see the Plate).

[5] The date is expressed in numerical symbols, used properly as such.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 198.—These two places are, as is required, on the south of the Kîm.

[7] Page 370 below, No. 6.

[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 75.—The authenticity of this grant is not altogether free from suspicion (see page 327 above, note 4).

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Chandrâditya.

Kaṇṇa *vishaya*. This record is not dated, either in a regnal year, or with reference to any era.[1]

To the time of Vikramâditya I. we have also to refer two copper-plate records which mention an elder brother of his, named Chandrâditya or "moon-sun:"—

One is a grant from Nerûr, in the Sâwantwâḍî State.[2] It mentions first Kîrtivarman I.; then his son, Satyâśraya, *i.e.* Pulikêśin II.; then the latter's son, Vikramâditya I.; and then the latter's elder brother, Chandrâditya. With the name of Chandrâditya there is coupled the epithet *prithivîvallabha*; and also the title *Mahârâja*, which had then come to denote feudatory rank. The object of the record is to state that, in the fifth year of the reign or government, on the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Aśvayuja, at the autumnal equinox, Chandrâditya's wife, Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ, granted to a Brâhmaṇ some land in (a village named) Tarakâgâhara. No era is quoted; but the corresponding English date is the 23rd September, A. D. 659.[3] The

[1] There are also two spurious records which assume to belong to the time of Vikramâditya I.— One is a copper-plate grant from Kurtakôṭi in the Dhârwâr District (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 217), which purports to record that Vikramâditya I. granted to some Brâhmaṇs the village of Kûrutakûṇṭe, *i.e.* Kurtakôṭi, in the Beḷvola *vishaya*. The grant purports to have been made at the city of Kisuvoḷal, in the sixteenth year of his reign, at the time of a total eclipse of the sun, on Sunday, the new-moon day between the months Vaiśâkha and Jyêshṭha, Śaka-Saṁvat 532 expired. The real period of Vikramâditya I. is so well established, that no criticism of this record is called for. It is sufficient to remark, that the characters shew that it was fabricated in the ninth or tenth century A. D., and that even the date was not correctly computed; for, the corresponding English date (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 285) would be, not a Sunday, but Tuesday, 20th April, A. D. 610, and on this day there was no solar eclipse at all. The record, however, mentions, in addition to the usual genealogy, some historical facts which seem to be quite genuine (see page 327 above, note 4). And it may perhaps be taken to prove that the duration of the reign of Vikramâditya I. was certainly not less than sixteen years.— The other is another grant from the Karnûl District (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. pp. 229, 240), which purports to record that Vikramâditya I. granted to a Brâhmaṇ some land at villages named Aguṇṭe and Tebuṁḷaûra. This record is not dated, either in a regnal year, or with reference to any era. It may perhaps have been concocted not long after the period to which it refers itself.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 163.— The characters are rather rude; but the authenticity of the record has not been questioned.

[3] From A. D. 634-35 (the latest recorded date for Pulikêśin II.), to A. D. 680 (the year in which commenced the reign of Vinayâditya there are only three occasions on which the *tithi* Âśvina śukla 2 and the autumnal equinox, as represented by the Tulâ-saṁkrânti or entrance of the sun into Libra, fell on the same day. (1) In A. D. 640, the *tithi*, ending on the 23rd September, at about 4 *gh.* 45 *p.*, = 1 hr. 54 min., after mean sunrise (for Bombay), began on the 22nd, at about 11 *ghaṭis*, = 4 hrs. 24 min.; and the *saṁkrânti* occurred on the 22nd, at about 31 *gh.* 30 *p.*, = 12 hrs. 36 min. As is required (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 250, and Vol. XX. p. 413), the *tithi* was actually current when the *saṁkrânti* occurred. But, even apart from the indications given by the Kaira grant of A. D. 643 and the Bagumrâ grant of A. D. 655 (see page 360 above), this date is undoubtedly too early to allow time for the overthrow of Pulikêśin II. and the re-establishment of the sovereignty by Vikramâditya I.; especially, with the completion of four years of government, plainly all under him, by his brother Chandrâditya. (2) In A. D. 659, the *tithi*, ending on the 24th September, at about 5 *ghaṭis*, = 2 hours, began on the 23rd, at about 8 *gh.* 30 *p.*, = 3 hrs. 24 min.; and the *saṁkrânti* occurred on the 23rd, at about 26 *gh.* 30 *p.*, = 10 hrs. 36 min. Here, again, as required, the *tithi* was actually current when the *saṁkrânti* occurred. And (3) in A. D. 678, the *tithi* ended on the 23rd September, at about 49 *ghaṭis*, = 19 hrs. 36 min.; and the *saṁkrânti* occurred on the same day, at about 21 *gh.* 30 *p.*, = 8 hrs. 36 min. Here, also, the *tithi* was actually current when the *saṁkrânti* occurred. But this date, only two years, or less,

feudatory position of Chandrâditya is shewn by the mention of Vikramâditya I. before him, and as the "dear or favourite son" of Pulikêśin II.; as well as by the use of the title *Mahârâja* in connection with Chandrâditya. The record expressly allots itself to after the time when the sovereignty had been re-established by Vikramâditya I.,— by speaking of him as "the unrepulsed one, who had conquered the hostile kings in country after country and had acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors." The regnal year is qualified by the words *sva-râjya*, "own reign or rule:" they seem to construe in direct connection with the name of Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ; and, if so, they must refer to the local rule of Chandrâditya: but it is also possible that they are intended to construe in connection with the name of Vikramâditya I.; and, in that case, they definitely fix, within the limit of a year, the date of his accession. In any case, the result for the date shews a starting point in A. D. 654 or 655. And, as the five years of Chandrâditya's government plainly all fell in the time of Vikramâditya I., this record, taken in connection with the Bagumrâ grant of the Sêndraka prince Pṛithivîvallabha-Sênânanda,[1] suggests that we should place the formal commencement of the reign of Vikramâditya I. somewhere in the autumn of A. D. 655.

The other record is a copper-plate grant from Kôchrêṁ in the Ratnâgiri District.[2] It gives the genealogy in precisely the same way; and it refers itself, in the same manner, to the period after the restoration of the sovereignty by Vikramâditya I. And, mentioning Chandrâditya's wife as Vijayamahâdêvî, it records that she granted to a Brâhmaṇ some lands at the village of Kochchuraka, *i.e.* Kôchrêṁ

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before the commencement of the reign of Vikramâditya's successor, Vinayâditya, is decidedly too late.— The words containing the details of the date are *Aśvayuja-paurṇamâsasya dvitiyâyâm vishuvê*. When I edited the record, led by the fact that Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary gives *paurṇamâsa* only in the sense of 'the day of full-moon,' I translated them as denoting the second *tithi* after the full-moon; adding in a foot-note that perhaps they might denote the second *tithi* of the full-moon fortnight, *i.e.* of the bright fortnight. There can be little doubt, if any, that the latter is what they really denote; especially, as we have now another instance (see page 370 below, note 5) in which the similar word *pûrṇamâsa* means 'the full-moon fortnight,' and not, as according to the dictionary in question, 'the day of full-moon:' the proper terms for the full-moon *tithi* or day are the feminine forms *paurṇamâsî* and *pûrṇamâsî*. Still, I have thought it worth while to calculate also for the second *tithi* after the full-moon. And the results are that, though during the above period there are five occasions on which the second *tithi* after the full-moon of Âśvina, and the *saṁkrânti*, may be brought on to the same day, on none of them is the condition answered, of the *tithi* being current when the *saṁkrânti* occurred. Thus:—(4) In A.D, 636, the *tithi* ended on the 22nd September, at about 26 *gh.* 20 *p.*, =10 hrs. 32 min.; but the *saṁkrânti* did not occur till about 29 *gh.* 25 *p.*, =11 hrs. 46 min. (5) In A. D. 644, the *tithi* began on the 22nd September, at about 49 *gh.* 20 *p.*, =19 hrs. 44 min.; but the *saṁkrânti* had occurred earlier, at about 33 *gh.* 35 *p.*, =13 hrs. 26 min. (6) In A. D. 655, the *tithi* ended on the 23rd September, at about 22 *gh.* 25 *p.*, =8 hrs. 58 min.; but the *saṁkrânti* did not occur till about 24 *gh.* 25 *p.*, =9 hrs. 46 min. (7) In A. D. 663, the *tithi* began on the 23rd September, at about 50 *gh.* 30 *p.*, = 20 hrs. 12 min.; but the *saṁkrânti* had occurred earlier, at about 28 *gh.* 35 *p.*, =11 hrs. 26 min. And (8) in A. D. 674, the *tithi* ended on the 22nd September, at about 59 *gh.* 25 *p.*, =23 hrs. 46 min., and may doubtless be brought by other tables to a short time after sunrise on the following day; but the *saṁkrânti*, on the 23rd, did not occur till about 19 *gh.* 20 *p.*, =7 hrs. 44 min.

[1] See pages 359, 360, above.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 44.

itself. The grant was made on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha; but no further details are given, by which the English equivalent might be determined. In this record the title allotted to Chandrâditya is the paramount title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*: but, as in the Nerûr grant, his subordination is indicated by his being mentioned after Vikramâditya I., and by the description of the latter as the "dear or favourite son" of Pulikêśin II.; and the use of the paramount title may be justified by the fact that it was used by the Western Châlukya Jayasimha III., when he was governing at Tardavâḍi in the reign of his father Sômêśvara I.[1]

Âdityavarman.

To some time in the same period belongs also another copper-plate grant from the Karnûl District,[2] which mentions another son of Pulikêśin II., named Âdityavarman, or "he whose armour is the sun," and records that he granted to a Brâhman an allotment at the villages of Muṇḍakallu and Palgiṟe. The grant was made in the first year of his reign, on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika, at the great festival of Paitâmahî and Hiraṇyagarbha: but the Śaka year is not given; and there is nothing in the details of the date from which the English equivalent can be determined. With Âdityavarman's name there are coupled the epithet of *pṛithivîvallabha*, and the paramount titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*; and he is described as the "dear or favourite son" of Pulikêśin II., and as "possessing the supreme rule over the whole circuit of the earth, which had been overcome by the strength of his own arm and his prowess." It is not altogether easy to locate this record. It makes no mention of Vikramâditya I. There is no information to shew whether Âdityavarman was the elder or the younger brother, as compared either with Chandrâditya or with Vikramâditya I. And Âdityavarman is not mentioned in any other records. But the insertion, in the Kauthêm grant of A. D. 1009,[3] of two generations between Pulikêśin II. and Vikramâditya I., —actually making an Âdityavarman the father of Vikramâditya, —may possibly, mistaken as it is, be a reminiscence of Vikramâditya having had two elder brothers. The description of Âdityavarman, quoted above, distinctly appears to place his charter after the period of disaster which followed the reign of Pulikêśin II. And it seems likely, on the whole, that Âdityavarman was the eldest son of Pulikêśin II.; and either that he made the first attempt to restore the sovereignty, and failed, or else that, after the restoration by Vikramâditya I., he endeavoured to wrest the succession from his younger brother: the former supposition is, however, less probable than the latter; because, if that was the course of events, there would have been no substantial reason for omitting Âdityavarman's name in all the subsequent records of the family.

Vinayâditya.

Vikramâditya I. was succeeded, in A.D. 680[4], by his son, Vinayâditya,

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[1] See chapter IV. below.

[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. pp. 223, 233.

[3] See page 361 above, note 2.

[4] It is impossible (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 143) to find an initial day for his regnal years which will satisfy the conditions of all his five dated records. But the results point to some day between Âshâḍha śukla 2 and Kârttika śukla 15 of Śaka-

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"the sun of modesty," whom the subsequent records describe as the "dear or favourite son" of his father; his own records, however, do not mark him in this way. He had the usual *biruda* of Satyâśraya, and also that of Râjâśraya, "asylum of kings:" the Kauthêṁ grant mentions him by the *biruda* of Yuddhamalla, "the wrestler or champion in war," without giving his proper name at all; but there is no contemporaneous authority for this; and it is possibly taken in reality from Yuddhamalla-Maṅgalarasa of Gujarât, one of the sons of Dharâśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman. He also had the epithet of *śrîprithivîvallabhá*. And he used the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭâraka* or *Bhaṭâra*.[1] His own records describe him as arresting, at the command of his father, the excessively exalted power of the three kings of Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, and Kêraḷa, and of the Pallavas, and so gratifying his father's mind by bringing all the provinces into a state of peace and quiet;[2] and as reducing the Pallavas, Kaḷabhras, Kêraḷas, Haihayas (*i.e.* Kalachuris), Viḷas, Maḷavas,[3] Chôḷas, Pâṇḍyas, and other peoples, to a similar state of servitude with his hereditary servants the Âḷuvas (*i.e.* Âḷupas), the Gaṅgas, and others.[4] And the subsequent records add that he levied tribute from the rulers of the Kavêras or Kamêras and the Pârasîkas, and of Siṁhaḷa, *i.e.* Ceylon; that he acquired the *pâlidhvaja*-banner, and other insignia of sovereignty, by defeating some paramount king of Northern India whose name is not specified,[5] but who may perhaps be the Vajraṭa whom some of the Râshṭrakûṭa records [6] mention in connection with the victories of the Western Chalukyas; and that his son Vijayâditya, pushing on further to the north even than himself, acquired again the *pâlidhvaja*-banner, and also the signs of the rivers Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ, the *ḍhakkâ*-drum, and other attributes and wealth.[7]

Of the time of Vinayâditya, we have the following records:—

(1) An inscription on stone at Lakshmêshwar, in the Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâr District,[8] which records that on the full-moon day of the month Mâgha, 'Saka-Saṁvat 608 expired, in the fifth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at Raktapura,— which seems to denote Lakshmêshwar itself,— he made a grant to an *Âchârya* of the Dêva-Gaṇa in the Mûla-Saṅgha. There is a mistake here, either in the 'Saka year or in the regnal year; but, taking the 'Saka year as

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Saṁyat 603 current, falling in A. D. 680, for the commencement of his reign. The discrepancies may possibly be due to the regnal years being sometimes reckoned from the date of appointment as *Yuvarâja* and nomination to the succession.

1 *Bhaṭṭâraka* always occurs in the Sanskrit records, and is probably an amplification of the title which is used in the Kanarese records, and which is generally *Bhaṭâra*, with the single *t*, but in one instance *Bhaṭṭâra* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125).

2 *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 87, 88.

3 This name seems to be a mistake, either for that of the Mâlavas, the people of Mâlwa, or for that of the people of the Malaya country in the Western Ghauts.

4 *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 303.

5 *e.g.*, *id.* Vol. IX. p. 229.

6 *e.g.*, *id.* Vol. XI. p. 114.

7 *e.g.*, *id.* Vol. IX. p 129.

8 See *id.* Vol. VII. p. 112; the fourth part of the record; not yet published in full.—This record may be a true copy of an authentic original; but it was only put on the stone after A. D. 967.

correct, and the fifth as a mistake for the seventh regnal year, the corresponding English date is, approximately, the 3rd February, A. D. 687.

(2) A copper-plate grant from Togarchêḍu in the Karṇûl District, Madras Presidency,[1] which records that on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika, Saka-Saṁvat 611 expired, in the tenth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at Pampâtîrtha,— which is the modern Hampe in the Bellâry District,— he granted to a Brâhmaṇ some allotments at the village of Togochchêḍu in the Pedekuḷ *vishaya*, and at the villages of Guḷḷaveḷeṇḍavu, Ereyûr, and Baṭṭeyûr. The corresponding English date is, approximately, the 3rd November, A. D. 689.

(3) A copper-plate grant from the Karṇûl District,[2] which records that, on the full-moon day of the month Mâgha, Saka-Saṁvat 613 expired, in the eleventh year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at the village of Eḷumpundale, Vinayâditya granted to some Brâhmaṇs, at the request of the *Yuvarâja* Vijayâditya, a village named Musuṇipaṛu in the (?) Velahiṇaṛu *bhâga* on the north bank of the river Krishṇavêrṇâ, *i.e.* the Krishṇa, and some fields at the villages of (?) Kaduvapayepu, Sihukûra, and (?) Sattikkara. The corresponding English date is, approximately, the 10th January, A. D. 692. The *Yuvarâja* Vijayâditya is evidently Vinayâditya's son of that name.

(4) A stone inscription at Baḷagâmve, Bâḷagâmi, or Beḷagâve, in Mysore,[3] which records that, while his feudatory the *Mahârâja* Pogilli, of the Sêndraka family, was governing the Nâyarkhaṇḍa district and Jedugûr or Jeḍugûr, an official named Kândarba granted, at the time of his accession to office, a remission of certain fees and duties. This record is not dated. The Nâyarkhaṇḍa district is identical with the Nâgarakhaṇḍa division of the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province; and Jedugûr or Jeḍugûr may perhaps be identified with Jeḍḍa in the Sorab tâluka, Shimoggâ district, Mysore.

(5) A copper-plate grant from Sorab, in Mysore,[4] which records that, at the summer solstice, on Saturday, Saka-Saṁvat 614 expired, in the eleventh year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at the village of Chitrasedu in the Toramara *vishaya*, Vinayâditya, at the request of the *Mahârâja* Chitravâha of the Âḷupa family, granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Sâlîvoge in the Edevoḷal or Eḍevoḷal *vishaya*, on the north-east of the town of Vaijayantî (Banawâsi). The corresponding date is Saturday, 22nd June, A. D. 692.[5]

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1 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. pp. 231, 242.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 88.

3 *id.* Vol. XIX. p. 142.— This is the earliest known stone record in Western India that has an emblem engraved on the tablet. The emblem here is an elephant; and it is probably the crest of the Sêndrakas.

4 *ibid.* p. 146.

5 *ibid.* p. 147.— This charter contains the earliest mention but one of a week-day in a record from Southern India. The other instance from Southern India, earlier than this, is contained in the grant that was issued in the second year of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishṇuvardhana II., and the date of which falls in A. D. 664 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 186; and see Vol. XX. p. 5). The only earlier instance, from any part of the country, is in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, the date of which falls in A. D. 484 (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 89).

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(6) A copper-plate grant from Surat, Bombay Presidency,[1] which records that, on the full-moon day of the month Śrâvaṇa in the (Kalachuri) year 443 (expired), corresponding, approximately, to the 3rd August, A. D. 692,[2] the *Yuvarâja* Śryâśraya-Śilâditya, son of Dharâśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman who was the younger brother of Vikramâditya I., while encamped at Kusumêśvara near Kârmaṇêya, granted to a Brâhmaṇ a field at the village of Ôsumbhalâ, on the west of Allûraka, in the Kârmaṇêyâhâra *vishaya*. Of the places mentioned here, Dr. Bühler has identified Kârmaṇêya with Kamrêj or Kâmrêj in the Barôda State, near Surat, and Ôsumbhalâ with Umbhêl or Umbhêr, and Allûraka with Aluâ, in the same neighbourhood.[3]

(7) A copper-plate grant from Harihar, in Mysore,[4] which records that on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika, Śaka-Saṁvat 616 expired, in the fourteenth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at the village of Karañjapatra near the town of Harêshapura or Harishapura, Vinayâditya, at the request of an Âḷuva (*i. e.* Âlupa) prince, granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Kiṟu-Kâgâmâsi in the Edevoḷal or Eḍevoḷal *bhâga*, in the Vanavâsi *maṇḍala*, and a field at the village of Per-Gâgâmâsi. The corresponding English date is, approximately, the 9th October, A. D. 694. Harêshapura or Harishapura is possibly Harihar itself.

Vijayâditya.

Vinayâditya was succeeded, in A. D. 696,[5] by his son Vijayâditya, "the sun of victory," who is styled, both in his own records and in the subsequent ones, the "dear or favourite son" of his father. In the Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of Kîrtivarman II., his name also appears in the form of Vijayâdityadêva, "his majesty, the sun of victory." He had the usual *biruda* of Satyâśraya, and also that of Samastabhuvanâśraya, "asylum of the universe," and the customary epithet of *śrîprithivîvallabha*; and he used the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*, with generally *Bhaṭṭâraka* or *Bhaṭâra* according to the language of the record, but in one instance *Paramabhaṭṭâ-*

[1] *Proceedings* of the Âryan Section of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, p. 225.

[2] The date is expressed in numerical symbols, used properly as such.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. pp. 184, 198.— Here, again, the places are, as is required, on the south of the Kîm.

[4] *id.* Vol. VII. p. 300.

[5] In examining his dated records, on a previous occasion I arrived at the conclusions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 188) that the Aihoḷe inscription is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 632 current, on the 23rd September, A. D. 709, when the autumnal equinox occurred during the full-moon *tithi*; that this appeared to fix the month Śrâvaṇa of Ś.-S. 620 current, in A.D. 697, as the first month of his first year; and that this result could be reconciled with the others only by assuming that in that record the "thirteenth" year is a mistake for the "fourteenth." But it seems plain now that, like *paurṇamâsa* in the Nerûr grant of Chandrâditya (see page 365 above, and note 3), the word *pûrṇamâsa* in the Aihoḷe inscription, denotes, not 'the full-moon *tithi*,' but simply 'the full-moon fortnight.' Accordingly, the Aihoḷe record is to be placed one year earlier, in Ś.-S. 631 current, on the 23rd September, A. D. 708, when the autumnal equinox occurred in the bright fortnight of Âśvayuja, during the fifth *tithi* (see page 372 below, note 5). This makes the Śrâvaṇa of Ś.-S. 619 current, in A. D. 696, the first month of his first year. And this satisfies all the conditions of his other dated records.

raka, "the most worshipful one."[1] It seems that, while his grandfather was engaged in reducing the southern countries, he himself was employed in maintaining peace and order in the home provinces. By A.D. 692, in his father's time, as we have already seen, he had been appointed *Yuvarâja*. He assisted his father in a campaign to the north, and, pushing on further to the north even than his father, there acquired for him the signs of the rivers Gangâ and Yamunâ. On one occasion, he was led into an ambush and taken prisoner by his enemies; but even then he contrived to tranquillise anarchical disturbances in his own territory, and, without any assistance, to escape and establish his power over the whole of his own dominions. He built the great temple of the god Śiva under the name of Vijayêśvara, now known as Samgamêśvara, at Paṭṭadakal.[2] And he is perhaps mentioned, with a younger sister named Kuṅkumamahâdêvî, in an inscription of the eleventh century A. D. at Gudigere, which states that Kuṅkumamahâdêvî built the Jain temple called Ânesejjeya-basadi at Lakshmêshwar.[3] One of his records may be of considerable literary interest, in mentioning, with details which would place him just before A. D. 730, a Jain teacher named Pûjyapâda, who may possibly be the celebrated author of the *Jainêndra*-grammar.[4]

Of the time of Vijayâditya, we have the following records:—

(1) A stone inscription at Bâdâmi, in the Bijâpur District,[5] which records that, on the full-moon day of the month Jyêshṭha, Śaka-Saṁvat 621 expired, in the third year of his reign, images of the gods Brahman, Vishṇu, and Mahêśvara (Śiva), were installed, at the victorious capital of Vâtâpi. The corresponding English date is, approximately, the 20th May, A. D. 699. The record contained, after the Sanskrit portion, some verses in Kanarese, which is here called "the Prâkrit language:" they are now very illegible; but it can be seen that they mention the town by the name of Bâdâvi, which is the Prâkṛit equivalent of the Sanskrit Vâtâpi.

(2) A copper-plate grant from Nerûr, in the Sâwantwâḍî State,[6] which records that, on the full-moon day of the month Âshâḍha, Śaka-Saṁvat 622 expired, in the fourth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at the city of Râsenanagara, at the request of a certain Nandereya, he granted to a Brâhmaṇ the village of Nerûr, situated between the villages

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[1] In the Bâdâmi inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 60).—This is the first occasion on which this title appears, for a certainty, in the Western Chalukya records (see *id.* Vol. XIX. p. 306, and note).

[2] This is recorded in the Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of Kîrtivarman II. For a description of the temple, see Dr. Burgess' Reports of the *Archæol. Surv. West Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 32-33. There are two short inscriptions, on structural parts of the temple itself, which give the name of the god as Vijayêśvara (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 170); and the same name remained in use at any rate till A. D. 1162 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 273).

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 38.

[4] This is the Lakshmêshwar inscription (see page 373 below, No. 8).

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 60.

[6] *id.* Vol. IX. p. 125.

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of Baḷḷâvaḷḷi and Sahamyapura, on the bank of the river Vihige, in the Iridige *vishaya*. In this year, the month Âshâḍha was intercalary; and the approximate results for the date are, for the first Âshâḍha, the 6th January, A.D. 700, and for the second Âshâḍha, the 6th July. Râsena is possibly identical with the Râsiyana of a Râshtrakûṭa grant issued in A. D. 807; and, if so, it may be identified with the modern Râśin or Râsîn in the Karjat tâluka, Ahmednagar District. Nerûr is evidently the village itself, where the record was obtained; for, about three miles on the west of it, there still exists a village named Wallâwal, *i.e.* Baḷḷâvaḷḷi. The river Vihige is now known by the name of Sarambaḷ. The Iridige *vishaya* was, apparently, the territory, in the Koṅkaṇ, which now forms the Sâwantwadî State and the Ratnâgiri District.[1]

(3) Another copper-plate grant from Nerûr,[2] which records that, in the tenth year of his reign, 'Saka-Saṁvat 627 expired, at the request of a certain Upêndra, he granted to some Brâhmaṇs a village named Hikuḷamba in the Iridige *vishaya*, which was a *mahâsaptama* or "great seventh," *i.e.*, evidently, one of the divisions of the seven Koṅkaṇs.[3] The date does not include details from which the exact English equivalent can be determined; but the charter was issued not earlier than the *pûrṇimânta* 'Srâvaṇa kṛishṇa 1, 'S.-S. 627 expired, corresponding approximately to the 12th June, A. D. 705, and not later than the *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra new-moon of the same 'Saka year, corresponding approximately to the 19th March, A. D. 706.

(4) A stone inscription at Aihoḷe, in the Bijâpur District,[4] which records certain grants that were made in the thirteenth year and the third month of his reign, at the (autumnal) equinox in the bright fortnight of the month Âśvayuja. The 'Saka year is not quoted; but the exact English date is the 23rd September, A. D. 708, in 'Saka-Saṁvat 631 current.[5]

(5) A stone inscription at Mahâkûṭa, in the Bijâpur District,[6] which records gifts that were made to the temple by "the harlot Vinâpoṭi, the soul's darling of Vijayâditya." This record is not dated.

(6) A stone inscription at Paṭṭadakal, in the Bijâpur District,[7] which mentions both Vijayâditya and his son Vikramâditya II., and records certain gifts made by them to a temple of the god 'Siva under the name of Lôkapâlêśvara. This record also is not dated.

(7) A stone inscription at Lakshmêshwar, in the Miraj State, within

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[1] See page 282 above, note 1; and also the immediately following record.
[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 130.
[3] See page 282 above, note 1.
[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 284.
[5] The autumnal equinox, as represented by the Tulâ-saṁkrânti, occurred on the 23rd September, at about 7*gh.* 15 *p.*, = 2 hrs. 54 min.; and the *tithi* that was then current was Âśvina śukla 5, which began at about 57 *gh.* 20 *p.*, = 22 hrs. 56 min., on the 22nd September, and ended at about 40 *palaś*, = 16 minutes, on the 24th September.— See page 370 above, note 5.
[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 102.
[7] *ibid.* p. 165.

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the limits of the Dhârwâr District,[1] which records that, at the time of a total eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of the month Bhâdrapada, Saka-Samvat 645 expired, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at the town of Raktapura, Vijayâditya granted a village named Sembolala, on the south of the town of Pulikara, to a certain Jayadêvapaṇḍita, the *dharma-tanaya*, or son begot from a sense of duty, of Râmadêvâchârya of the Mûla-Saṁgha, for the purposes of a shrine of Jinabhaṭṭâraka inside the Jain temple that was known as the Saṅkha-Jinâlaya. The corresponding English date is the 20th August, A.D. 723; on which day there was an eclipse of the moon.[2] It has already been noted that Raktapura is probably a Sanskrit name of Lakshmêshwar. And Pulikara is the Sanskṛitised form of Puligeṟe or Purigeṟe, which were the ancient Kanarese names of the same place.

(8) Another inscription on the same stone, immediately below the preceding, at Lakshmêshwar,[3] which records that, on the full-moon day of the month Phâlguna, Saka-Samvat 651 expired, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at Raktapura, Vijayâditya granted to a Jain named Niravadya-Udayadêvapaṇḍita, who was a house-pupil of Pûjyapâda, and belonged to the Dêva-Gaṇa in the Mûla-Saṁgha, a village named Kardama, on the south of the town of Pulikara for the purposes of the Jain temple called Saṅkha-Jinêndra. The corresponding English date is, approximately, the 7th February, A. D. 730. This record may be of some literary importance; for it seems very possible that the reference in it is to the celebrated Pûjyapâda, the author of the *Jainêndravyâkaraṇa*, whose proper name was Dêvanandin, and who was also called Jinêndrabuddhi on account of his great learning:[4] but, whether the record may be accepted as fixing the date of Pûjyapâda, is a question that remains to be fully discussed.[5]

(9) Another copper-plate grant from Nerûr,[6] which records that his son Vikramâditya II. granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Maḷavura. This record is not dated.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 112; the first part of the record, noticed there from imperfect materials, and not yet published in full. This and the next record were put on the stone after A. D. 967; and the question is, how far they are true copies of authentic originals. Sir Walter Elliot has suggested that some similar records, which stand on another stone, at the same temple, below a Western Gaṅga inscription of A. D. 968-69, may have been put there for "the unification of the titles" (*Coins of Southern India*, p. 114).

[2] Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, p. 354.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 112; the second part of the record.

[4] See, *e.g.*, *Inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 40.

[5] For another notice of Pûjyapâda, referring him to the same line of teachers, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 156, and note 1.—The possible bearing of the Lakshmêshwar inscription was first pointed out by Mr. K. B. Pathak (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 20). Dr. Bühler, however, considers (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 355) that there must have been many Jain teachers having the honorific epithet of Pûjyapâda. And it has to be borne in mind that the record, at the best a copy of an original, was only put on the stone after A. D. 967, and that names may have been introduced which were not in the original.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 132. The orthography of this record being very bad, and the characters rude, its authenticity is not quite certain.

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(10) Another stone inscription at Lakshmêshwar,[1] which does not actually mention Vijayâditya, but which, as it speaks of Vikramâditya II. as *Yuvarâja*, must be allotted to the period of Vijayâditya's reign.

(11) A copper-plate grant from Balsâr, in Gujarât,[2] which contains a charter issued from the town of Maṅgalapurî by the *Râja* Maṅgalarasa, who had the *birudas* of Vinayâditya, Yuddhamalla, and Jayâśraya, and was another son of Dharâśraya-Jayasiṁhavarmań, the younger brother of Vikramaditya I. Contrary to the usual practice of the Gujarât grants, this record is dated, not in the Kalachuri or Chêdî era, but in Saka-Saṁvat 653, which, if the year is to be applied as expired, is equivalent to A. D. 731-32;[3] and this fact suggests that the record really belongs, not to the Lâṭa country, but to the territory above the Ghauts, in the direction of Nâsik and Khândêsh.

Vikramâditya II.

Vijayâditya was succeeded, in A. D. 733 or 734,[4] by his "dear or favourite son" Vikramâditya II., who had the usual *biruda* of Satyâśraya, the epithet of *śrîpṛithivîvallabha*, and the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and in Sanskrit *Bhaṭṭâraka* or in Kanarese *Bhaṭâra*. In the Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of Kîrtivarman II., his name appears also in the form of Vikramâdityadêva, "his majesty, the sun of valour." His *mahâdêvî*, or queen-consort, was Lôkamahâdêvî of the Haihaya race, *i.e.* of the Kalachuri family. But he also had a queen (*râjñî*) named Trailôkyamahâdêvî, who was the uterine younger sister of Lôkamahâdêvî;[5] and it was from Trailôkyamahâdêvî that his son and successor Kîrtivarman II. was born. Lôkamahâdêvî built the great temple of the god Siva under the name of Lôkêśvara, now known as Virûpâksha, at Paṭṭadakal; and Trailôkyamahâdêvî built, in the vicinity of it, a great temple of Siva under the name of Trailôkyêśvara, which seems now to have been completely ruined.[6] In the Vakkalêri grant of his son and successor, it is recorded that, having resolved to completely uproot his "natural enemy," the Pallava, Vikramâditya II. made a sudden and expeditious incursion into the Tuṇḍâka country, attacked and put to flight the Pallava king Nandipôtavarman who had come out to meet him, and took possession of his musical instruments called *kaṭumukha* or "harsh-sounding" and *samudraghô-*

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[1] Not yet published.

[2] See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 5; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 75; not yet published in full.

[3] There are also stone inscriptions of Vijayâditya at Bannikop and Munawaḷḷi in the Dhârwâr District; but they are much damaged, and I have not as yet obtained impressions of them that can be properly deciphered.

[4] On any date from the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna krishṇa 1 of Saka-Saṁvat 655 current, in A. D. 733, up to Mâgha śukla 15 of S.-S. 656 current, in A. D. 734.

[5] With this instance of the marriage of sisters to one and the same husband, compare the cases of the wives of the Râshṭrakûṭa Jagattuṅga II. (chapter III. below), and of the wives of the Hoysaḷa Ballâḷa I. (chapter VI.).

[6] All these facts about the two queens are taken from the Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of Kîrtivarman II.— For a description of the temple of Lôkêśvara see Dr. Burgess' Reports of the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 28-32.—There seems to have been some shrine of Lôkêśvara in existence before the building of Lôkamahâdêvî's temple; for, one of the inscriptions speaks of her confirming to the singers the covenants of former times, which had been made by Vijayâditya.

sha or "roar of the sea,"[1] of his *khaṭvâṅga-dhvaja* or club-banner, and of quantities of elephants and rubies; that he then entered Kâñchî, which, however, he refrained from destroying; that there he acquired great merit by granting heaps of gold to the Râjasimhêśvara and other temples which Narasimhavarman II. had caused to be built; and that, having destroyed the power of the Pâṇḍya, Chôḷa, Kêraḷa, Kaḷabhra, and other kings, he set up a pillar of victory on the shore of the southern ocean. The conquest of Kâñchî is mentioned in the Paṭṭadakal inscriptions. That Vikramâditya II. did really enter Kâñchi, is proved by the remains of an inscription of his at the Râjasimhêśvara temple. And there appears to have been, in this reign, also a second expedition against the Pallavas, led by Vikramâditya's son Kîrtivarman I., as *Yuvarâja*. From the Nausârî grant of A. D. 739,[2] we learn that in the time of Vikramâditya II. there was a formidable invasion of Gujarât by the Tâjikas or Arabs.[3] The Tâjikas are described as having already destroyed the Saindhava,[4] Kachchhella,[5] Saurâshṭra,[6] Châvôṭaka,[7] Maurya,[8] and Gurjara[9] kings. And then, the record says, wishing to enter the Dekkan with the desire of conquering all the southern kings, they came in the first instance to reduce the Navasârikâ country, *i. e.* the province of Lâṭa.[10] There, however, they were met and conquered by the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanijanâśraya-Pulikêśin. And it seems likely that Pulikêśin then annexed the Gurjara territory, and made it a part of the dominions of the dynasty to a subordinate branch to which he belonged.

We have already found Vikramâditya II. issuing a copper-plate charter in the time of his father, and joining with his father in making certain grants which are recorded in one of the Paṭṭadakal inscriptions; and we have also found him mentioned as *Yuvarâja* in an inscription at Lakshmêshwar, which has consequently to be allotted to his father's time. Of his own reign, we have the following records :—

(1) A stone inscription at Lakshmêshwar, in the Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâr District,[11] which records that, on the full-moon day of the month Mâgha, 'Saka-Samvat 656 expired, in the second year

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[1] Doubtless, a large conch-shell, if the fancies of the human imagination were the same then as now.

[2] See page 376 below, No. 6.

[3] Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Proceedings* of the Âryan Section of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, p. 223) would place this event in A. D. 730,—in the preceding reign,—when, he said (quoting Elliot's History, Vol. I. pp. 432-439, and the *Sindh* Gazetteer, pp. 24, 25), Mahommed, son of Kâsim, conquered Sindh and went very far into the interior of India. But the Tâjikas destroyed the Gurjaras. For the Gurjara prince Jayabhaṭa III., we have the date of A. D. 736 (page 315 above); and we have no subsequent dates for his family. And this seems to place the event some seven or eight years later than was supposed by the Pandit.

[4] *i. e.*, the ruler of Sindh.

[5] *i. e.*, probably, the ruler of Kachh ('Cutch').

[6] *i. e.*, doubtless, the king of Valabhî.

[7] *i. e.*, the Châpôtkaṭa or Châvaḍâ prince.

[8] See page 282 above.

[9] See page 312 above.

[10] See page 309 above.

[11] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 101; the third part of the inscription, lines 61 to 82. This, however, is only a copy of an original record, put on the stone after A. D. 967.

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of his reign, when his victorious camp was at the town of Raktapura, he granted some land for the purposes of the worship of Jinêndra. The corresponding English date is, approximately, the 14th January, A. D. 735.

(2) An undated stone inscription at Aihole, in the Bijâpur District,[1] which registers certain grants made by a private individual.

(3) A much obliterated inscription at the Râjasimhêśvara shrine, in the Kailâsanâtha temple, at Conjeeveram,[2] which mentions him with the paramount titles, and proves that he really did enter Kâñchî.

(4) Two undated stone inscriptions in the eastern gateway of the temple of Lôkêśvara-(Virûpâksha) at Paṭṭadakal, in the Bijâpur District,[3] the object of which is to record that he conferred the fillet or badge of honour called *mûmê-perjerepu-paṭṭa*, and the name of Tribhuvanâchârya or "preceptor of the three worlds," upon the architect, Guṇḍa, also called Anivâritâchârya, "the unrepulsed *Acharya*," who built the temple.

(5) Two undated stone inscriptions in the east porch of the same temple:[4] one of them records that his queen-consort Lôkamahâdêvî confirmed the covenants which had been given to the singers by Vijayâditya; and the other records a grant of the circle of villages known as the Nareyaṁgal fifty, the chief town of which is to be identified with Naregal in the Rôṇ tâluka, Dhârwâr District.

(6) A copper-plate grant from Nausârî in the Barôda State,[5] dated on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika of the (Kalachuri or Chêdî) year 490 (expired), corresponding, approximately, to the 22nd October, A. D. 739,[6] which records that the *Râja* Pulikêśin,[7] who had the *biruda* of Avanijanâśraya or "asylum of mankind,"—another son of Dharâśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman, the younger brother of Vikramâditya I.,—granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Padraka in the Kârmaṇêyâhâra *vishaya*, *i. e.*[8] in the neighbourhood of Kamrêj or Kâmrêj near Surat

Kîrtivarman II.

Vikramâditya II. was succeeded, in A. D. 746 or 747,[9] by his "dear or favourite son" Kîrtivarman II., who had the usual *biruda* of Satyâśraya, and also that of Nripasiṁha, "a very lion of a king," and the customary epithet of *śrîprithivîvallabha*. In the Paṭṭadakal and Vakkalêri records, the titles attached to his name are the usual ones of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭâraka*: but, in the Kanarese record at Âḍûr, *Râjâdhirâja* is substituted for the first of them, the *Bhaṭṭâraka* or *Bhaṭâra* is omitted, the Kanarese *arasa*, 'king,' is added to his name, and the epithet is shortened to *prithi-*

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 285.
[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 147.
[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. pp. 162, 164.
[4] *ibid.* pp. 166, 677.
[5] *Proceedings* of the Aryan Section of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, p. 230.
[6] The date is expressed in numerical symbols, used properly as such.
[7] In the original, his name is written with the vowel *a* in the second syllable. I substitute *i* for uniformity and convenience in indexing.
[8] See page 370 above, and note 3.
[9] On any day from the *pûrnimânta* Âśvina krishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 669 current in A. D. 746, up to Bhâdrapada śukla 15 of S.-S. 670 current, in A. D. 747.

prithvîvallabha. In the Sâmângad grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dantidurga, he is spoken of as Vallabha, and his army is called the Karṇâṭaka army. The Vakkalêri grant tells us that, learning the use of weapons in his childhood, he so pleased his father as to be invested with the dignity of *Yuvarâja*, and to be intrusted with the command of an expedition against the "family-foe," the Pallava, the lord of Kâñchî, in which the Pallava king came out to meet him, but proved unable to fight in the open country; whereupon, Kîrtivarman II. drove him back into his fortress, broke his power, and seized multitudes of elephants and rubies, and much gold, which he presented to his father. The grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvinda III., dated in A. D. 804, mentions a grant which Kîrtivarman II. had made, to the god Paramêśvara (Śiva), at the Ramêśvara *tîrtha* on the Tuṅgabhadrâ.[1]

Of the time of Kîrtivarman II., we have three records:—

(1) A stone inscription at Âḍûr, in the Dhârwâr District,[2] which records a grant to a temple of Jinêndra. This record is not dated.

(2) An inscription on a pillar at Paṭṭadakal, in the Bijâpur District,[3] which records that the pillar was set up, by a Brâhmaṇ from Northern India, in the space between the three great Śaiva temples of Vijayêśvara, Lôkêśvara, and Trailôkyêśvara, which had been built by Vijayâditya, and by Lôkamahâdêvî and Trailôkyamahâdêvî, the wives of Vikramâditya II. Certain grants were given; and one of them was made on the occasion of a total eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Śrâvaṇa: the corresponding English date is the 25th June, A. D. 754, when there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible right across India.

(3) A copper-plate grant from Vakkalêri, in Mysore,[4] which records that, on the full-moon day of the month Bhâdrapada, Śaka-Saṁvat 679 expired, in the eleventh year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at the village of Bhaṇḍâragavittage on the north bank of the river Bhîmarathî, Kîrtivarman II., at the request of a certain Dosirâja, granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Suḷḷiyûr, together with Neṅgiyûr and Nandivaḷḷi, in the centre of the villages of Tâmaramuge, Pânuṁgal, Kiṟuvaḷḷi, and Bâḷavûr, on the south bank of

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127.

[2] *ibid.* p. 68.— I originally attributed this to the time of Kîrtivarman I.; but the history of the development of the regal titles (*id.* Vol. XIX. pp. 305-308) shews that it must be referred to the reign of his descendant of the same name.

[3] *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. III. p. 1.— This record is in duplicate,— one copy being in the local characters, and the other in Nâgarî characters; and this, and the Sâmângad copper-plate grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dantidurga, which is six months earlier in actual date, give the earliest instances, as yet obtained, of the use of Nâgarî characters in Southern India, *i. e.* south of the Narmadâ, after the Multâî grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa Nandarâja of A.D. 708 or 709 (see chapter III. below).

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 23.— This record furnishes a pointed instance of the way in which copper-plate grants are liable to travel, and lose their connection with the places to which they really belong. The grant was made, and possibly the charter was given, at a place north of the Bhîma. The grantee, residing at or close to Hângal in the Dhârwâr District, must have had the plates in his possession there. And they have eventually come to light from a distant part of Mysore.

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the river Aradore in the Pânuṁgal *vishaya*. The corresponding English date is the 2nd September, A. D. 757. The Bhîmarathî is, as has already been noted, the river Bhîma; and the village at which Kîrtivarman II. was encamped must be 'Bhandâr-Kawte' in the Shôlâpur District,— the 'Kowteh' of the map,— on a stream which flows into the Sîna, which again flows into the Bhîma. Pânuṁgal is the modern Hângal in the Dhârwâr District; and Bâḷavûr seems to be the modern Bâḷûr, three miles south by east of Hângal: the other places have now disappeared.

The downfall of the Western Chalukyas.

The Kauṭhêṁ grant tells us that in the time of Kîrtivarman II. the Chalukya sovereignty was overthrown; and there is ample evidence of the truth of this statement. No record of any immediate successor of his has ever been obtained. And, not only do the Râshṭrakûṭa records shew that, within fifty years after the latest date that we have for him, the kings of that dynasty had gained possession of the whole of the Western Chalukya dominions, but the Sâmângaḍ grant of Khaḍgâvalôka-Dantidurga states explicitly that that king acquired the supremacy by conquering Vallabha, *i.e.* Kîrtivarman II., and by overcoming the army of the Karṇâṭaka army, *i.e.* the Western Chalukya forces, which had been expert in defeating the lord of Kâñchî, the king of Kêraḷa, the Chôḷas and the Pâṇḍyas, and Harsha and Vajrâṭa;[1] and further, its date shews that Kîrtivarman II. had lost the northern provinces of his hereditary dominions even before the date of the Paṭṭadakal record of A. D. 754. An attempt to re-assert the Western Chalukya sovereignty was evidently made, by Kîrtivarman II. himself, in the time of Dantidurga's successor Kṛishṇa I.; for, the latter is described as transforming into a deer, *i.e.* putting to flight, the great boar,— the crest of the Chalukyas,— "which was seized with an itching for battle, and which, kindled with the warmth of bravery, attacked him:"[2] and it is possibly on this occasion that Kîrtivarman II. made, when his victorious camp was on the north of the river Bhîma, the grant which is recorded in the Vakkalêri plates. But, from that time onwards, the Râshṭrakûṭas held undisputed possession of the Chalukya territory in Western India, until they were overthrown by Taila II. in A. D. 973.

Bhîma I., Kîrtivarman III., Taila I., Vikramâditya III., Bhîma II., Ayyaṇa I., and Vikramâditya IV.

We have no contemporaneous evidence of Kîrtivarman II. having left any offspring. For the names in the table on the opposite page, which shews the traditional connection between the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi and the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi,[3] we are dependent on the Kauṭhêṁ grant of A. D. 1009;[4] and, as we have seven generations spread over a period of two hundred and forty years, counting from the latest date of Vijayâditya to the commencement of the reign of Taila II., it seems probable,— if, indeed, there was a direct lineal descent from Vijayâditya to Taila II.,— that the genealogy is not altogether reliable here, and that some steps must be wanting.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 114.
[2] *id.* Vol. XII. p. 162.
[3] The authentic names are given in ordinary type; the others, for which we are dependent only on the Kauṭhêṁ grant and similar records, in italics.
[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 15.

The Traditional Connection between the Chalukya dynasties of Badami and Kalyani.

Satyâśraya-Samastabhuvanâśraya-
Vijayâditya.
(A. D. 696 to 733-34)

Satyâśraya-
Vikramâditya II.
(A. D. 733-34 to 746-47)

Satyâśraya-Nṛipasiṁha-
Kîrtivarman II.
(A. D. 746-47 and 757)

Bhîma I.

Kîrtivarman III.

Taila I.

Vikramâditya III.

Bhîma II.

Ayyaṇa I.

Vikramâditya IV.

Âhavamalla-
Nûrmaḍi-Taila II.
(A. D. 973-74 to 996-97)

Of Bhîma I., Kîrtivarman III., Taila I., Vikramâditya III., and Bhîma II., we have no record beyond the mere mention of their names. Of Ayyaṇa I.,[1] all that we are told is that he improved the fortunes of his race by marrying a daughter of a certain Krishṇa, who may perhaps be the Râshṭrakûṭa king Krishṇa II. : but it has been thought that he may be identical with the Ayyapadêva of the Bêgûr inscription, who was one of the commanders of the forces of Vîra-Mahêndra, and was killed in the war between that king and the Western Gaṅga king Eṛeyappa ; and he might thus be placed about A. D. 935.[2] Of Vikramâditya IV., we are only told that he married

[1] The Âlûr inscription of A. D. 1091-92 (noticed in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 21) gives his name as Ajjaṇa. But the record contains several instances of carelessness; and this may be one of them.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 348.— Eṛeyappa belonged to one generation before A. D. 949-50 (*id.* Vol. II. p. 171). And Ayyaṇa I. was two generations before A. D. 973-74. For Krishṇa II., we have the extreme limits of A. D. 888 and 911-12.—Mr. Rice, however, appears to have obtained some evidence that the Ayyapadêva of the Bêgûr inscription was a Pallava (see *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., Introd. p. 4, note 3).

Chapter II.
The Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi.
Miscellaneous names.

Bonthâdevî, a daughter of king Lakshmaṇa, of the race of the lords of Chêdî, who may be identified with Lakshmaṇa, the grandson of the Kalachuri king Kokalla I. of Tripura or Têwar.[1]

To some time in this period belongs the inscription from Kôṭûr, in the Belgaum District,[2] which records how a Saiva ascetic named Sambhu voluntarily entered the fire and burned himself to death, as the means of attaining paradise; it mentions a Chalukya prince, with the name or *biruda* of Parahitarâja, who was doubtless one of the Chalukya chieftains who must have survived, and would probably be entrusted with subordinate authority, during the period of the Râshtrakûta supremacy. If the Kaḍab grant, which purports to be dated in A. D. 813, may be accepted, there was at that time, in Mysore, a Chalukya prince named Vimalâditya, governor of the Kunuṁgil *dêśa*, a son of Yaśôvarman, who was the son of Balavarman.[3] An inscription at Varuṇa, in Mysore,[4] seems to mention a Châlukya *Mahâsâmanta* named Narasiṁha, and his wife Gâvilabbarasi. Other records at the same place[5] mention a Châlukya *Mahâsâmanta* Goggi or Gugga, with the boar-crest; and one of them commemorates the death of a follower of his in a battle between some persons named Polukêsi and Bûdiga. And finally, the Kanarese poet Pampa, the author of the *Vikramârjunavijaya* or *Pampa-Bhârata*, who was born in A. D. 902-903, mentions as his patron, in A. D. 941-42, a Chalukya prince named Arikêsarin II., to whom he allots the following descent; — (1) Yuddhamalla I., of the Chalukya race, who ruled over the Sapâdalakha or lâkh-and-a-quarter country; (2) his son, Arikêsarin I., who, with the ministers of the 'Bangerishaya' (? Veṅgî *vishaya*), penetrated into the kingdom of a certain Nirupamadêva; (3) his son, Narasiṁhabhadradêva; (4) his son, Dugdhamalla; (5) his son, Baddiga, who acquired the *biruda* of Sôladagaṇḍa, "the undefeated hero," and, "as if seizing a crocodile, entered into the water and proudly seized Bhîma;" (6) his son, Yuddhamalla II.; (7) his son, Narasiṁha, whose preceptor was the *Muni* Subhadra, and who gave a province to Erapa, subdued the chiefs of the Seven Mâlala (?), plucked the goddess of victory from the arms of Ghûrjararâja (*sic*), defeated a king named Mahipâla, and bathed his horses at the junction of the Ganges; and (8) the poet's patron, Arikêsarin II., the son of this Yuddhamalla and his wife Chandrânanâ: his territory is called the Jôla country, *i. e.* "the land of the great millet;" and he is described as protecting a certain Vijayâditya, who took refuge with him, against a king named Gujjiga or Gojjiga, and as presenting Pampa, as a reward for writing the *Vikramârjunavijaya*, — for the hero of which poem Arikêsarin II. himself was taken,— with the village of Dharmaüra in the Bachche thousand.[6] As regards the extraneous persons whose names are mentioned

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1 See General Sir Alexander Cunningham's account of the Kalachuris, *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 85.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 69.

3 *id.* Vol. XII. p. 18.— As regards the authenticity of this record, however, see chapter III. below, under the account of Gôvinda III.

4 *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. My. 35.

5 *ibid.* Nos. My. 36, 37, 41 to 44.

6 *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XIV. p. 19.— The following identifications are my own; except in the case of Erapa.— Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.* p. 22) seemed to wish to identify Yuddhamalla I. with Satyâśraya-Vinayâditya; but this cannot be done. He suggested

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here, Gujjiga or Gojjiga must be the Râshṭrakûṭa king Suvarṇavarsha-Gôvinda IV., who was reigning in A. D. 930 and 933, and whose name actually appears in the form of Gojjigadêva; Vijayâditya is doubtless the Eastern Chalukya king Kollabigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya IV., for whom we have the date of A. D. 918; Eṛapa may possibly be the Western Gaṅga king Eṛeyappa, who has been mentioned just above in connection with Ayyapadêva-Ayyaṇa I.; Bhîma may be the Eastern Chalukya Bhîma I., in the period A. D. 888 to 918; and, judging by the generations, Nirupamadêva may be identified with the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kalivallabha-Nirupama-Dhârâvarsha-Dhruva, just before A. D. 804: and these identifications may be taken as establishing the general correctness of the genealogy given by Pampa. Also, as Pampa specifically states that he wrote in the "pithy Kanarese" of Puligere, which is Lakshmêshwar, the village of Dharmaüra may be safely identified with the neighbouring Ḍambaḷ, in the Dhârwâr District, the name of which appears in an inscription of A. D. 1095-96 as Dharmâpura and Dharmavoḷal;[1] and this, though the name of the Bachche thousand is not otherwise known, locates the authority of Arikêsarin II. But, to what place in the Chalukya genealogy Yuddhamalla I., the founder of this line, may be referred, is not apparent. On the one hand, the fact that Pampa was born in a family that was settled at the town of Veṅgî in the Veṅgî *maṇḍala*, may be taken as indicating that Yuddhamalla I. was of the eastern branch of the family; but the name of Yuddhamalla does not occur in the eastern genealogy until just before A. D. 925. And on the other hand, if the locality of the government of Arikêsarin II. is held to connect him with the western branch, there is a similar difficulty: the name of Yuddhamalla is, indeed, substituted for that of Satyâśraya-Vinayâditya in the Kauthêm grant; but there is no contemporaneous authority for connecting the name with him, even as a *biruda*; and under any circumstances, his date, A. D. 680 to 696, appears altogether too early, even if regard is paid only to the generations, and is unquestionably so, if the identification of Nirupamadêva with Kalivallabha-Nirupama-Dhârâvarsha-Dhruva is accepted. Therefore, while Pampa's statements may be accepted in respect of the names and lineage, we are unable to fit this line of princes into either the Western or the Eastern Chalukya genealogy.

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that the Bhîma who was seized by Baddiga might be "the Châlukya" who is mentioned in the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of the Kâkatya king Rudradêva: but the real date of that record is A. D. 1162-63 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 9); and there is nothing in it to indicate that the Bhîma who is spoken of in it, was a Chalukya at all. In connection with Baddiga, he drew attention to the supposed existence of a ruler of Kâñchî of that name in A. D. 804, and to the occurrence of the name in the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty: but the real name of the ruler of Kâñchî was Dantiga (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 126); and the Baddiga in question is Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga, just before A. D. 945. He proposed to identify Gojjiga with the Râshṭrakûṭa king Koṭṭiga or Khoṭṭiga; but Khoṭṭiga's date was A. D. 971-72. Vijayâditya, he said, might be the last of the Châlukyas during the supremacy of the Râshṭrakûṭas, and the predecessor of Taila II.; but here the real name is Vikramâditya IV.—Mr. Rice's suggested identifications tended to indicate that Pampa's account was put together from such disconnected sources, as to be practically altogether fictitious; and he thus led me to view the genealogy with a suspicion which I do not now attach to it. I am convinced that much real history might be brought to light, by examining the *praśastis* or introductions of the works of the early Kanarese authors, especially among the Jains.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 185.

Chapter III.

The Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ.

CHAPTER III.

THE RASHTRAKUTAS OF MALKHED.

So far, we have seen that, beginning, about A. D. 550, with the acquisition of the country round Bâdâmi in the Bijâpur District, by the end of the sixth century the Western Chalukyas had created a kingdom which embraced nearly the whole of the Bombay Presidency, —up to the river Kîm, certainly, and possibly up to the Mahî,—with a large extent of adjacent territory to the east and south; and that, save for a short interruption of their sovereignty by the Pallavas of Kâñchî from A. D. 642 to 655 or thereabouts, they held the supremacy over the dominions which they thus put together, until about A. D. 757. Their sway then ceased; the sovereignty being wrested from them by the Râshṭrakûṭas. In the north, the Lâṭa country, with part of the Gurjara territory, was taken by a branch of Râshṭrakûṭa family which had but a short career, and in which the last known name is that of Kakkarâja II.: at some point, however, north of the Narmadâ, —probably at a line which ran through the southern point of the Pañch-Mahâls District straight to the Mahî on the west and to Chhôṭâ-Udêpur on the east,—the Râshṭrakûṭas must, for the time being, have been kept back by the kings of Valabhî; for, a record of A. D. 766[1] shews that the territory which was known as the Khêṭaka *âhâra* or Khêṭakâhâra *vishaya*, the modern Kaira District, with the Cambay State and some outlying parts of the Gaikwâr's dominions,—named after Khêṭaka, the ancient form of the name of Kaira itself,—was still a portion of the Valabhî kingdom, and a record of A. D. 760[2] places the country round Gôdhrâ in the Pañch-Mahâls in the dominions of Śîlâditya VI. of Valabhî. From the central and southern parts of their dominions, the Western Chalukyas were ejected in the first instance by Dantidurga,—the conquest being completed by his uncle Krishṇa I.,—who belonged to a more powerful branch of the Râshṭrakûṭa family, which eventually selected Mâlkhêḍ in the Nizâm's Dominions as its capital, and retained the sovereignty till A. D. 973. The territory of the Mâlkhêḍ line was at first bounded on the north, towards the coast, by the southern limit of the Lâṭa country, where the other branch of the family was then reigning. Shortly after A. D. 783-84, however, Gôvinda III. took that province from his relatives, and made it a part of his own kingdom, in charge of his brother Indrarâja; and the Mâlkhêḍ dominions were thus extended up to the southern limit of the Gôdhrâ province of Valabhî. Somewhere about the end of the eighth century A. D., the Valabhî dynasty came to an end.[3] And the

[1] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 171.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 16.

[3] The latest certain date for it is A. D. 766-67, for Śîlâditya VII. But the apocryphal *Satruṁjaya-Mâhâtmya*, which speaks (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 195) of a Śîlâditya who lived in Vikrama-Saṁvat 477 and reigned till 286 (? 486), may possibly preserve a distorted reminiscence of later dates for him, or for a successor, in Valabhî-Saṁvat 477 and 486, = A. D. 796-97 and 805-806.

Râshṭrakûṭas probably then at once annexed all the territory to the north, as far as the Sâbarmatî: at any rate, the grants of Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja of A. D. 811 or 812, and of Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarâja of A. D. 812,[1] suffice to cover the intervening country up to the Mahî; the grant of Dhârâvarsha-Nirupama-Dhruvarâja, son of Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja,[2] shews that in A. D. 834 or 835 Kaira was a Râshṭrakûṭa town; and the grant of A. D. 909 or 910[3] shews that the country round Kâpaḍwaṇaj, further to the north even than Kaira, was then a part of the dominions of Krishṇa II. What became of Kâṭhiâwâḍ and northern Gujarât after the end of the Valabhî period, is not yet known. The statements of some of the Arab travellers[4] would suggest that the Râshṭrakûṭas pushed on to the frontier of Sindh. But it does not seem likely that they long retained any possessions in that direction. For, in A. D. 914 the territory on the west of the Sâbarmatî was in the possession of a king named Mahîpâla, who had a local representative, Dharaṇîvarâha, of the Châpa family, at Waḍhwâṇ in the north-east corner of Kâṭhiâwâḍ.[5] And in A. D. 941-42[6] Mûlarâja established the Chaulukya dynasty of Aṇhilwâḍ, to the north-west of Ahmedâbâd, which retained the sovereignty of that part of the country for the next four centuries: the records of Krishṇa III. point to wars between him and Mûlarâja; and very possibly in his time the Râshṭrakûṭa frontier in that direction had to be drawn back to the Mahî, or even to the Narmadâ. The extent to which the territory acquired by the Râshṭrakûṭas from the Western Chalukyas was enlarged by them to the east and south, and the various means by which this was done, will be best gathered from the details given in the following pages; in those directions, the climax was reached in the time of Krishṇa III., who penetrated even to the Chingleput District, near Madras, on the east coast, and took Conjeeveram and Tanjore.

The later records of the Mâlkhêḍ family represent the Râshṭrakûṭas as descendants of Yadu in the Sômavaṁśa or Lunar Race;[7] some of them adding that they belonged to the Sâtyaki branch or clan.[8] But this statement, which appears first in the Nausârî grants of Indra III. of A. D. 915, simply belongs to a period when all the great families of Southern India were devising Purâṇic pedigrees,[9] and does not necessarily prove that the Râshṭrakûṭas were Âryans. And Dr. Burnell was apparently inclined to look on them as being of Drâvidian origin: for, he gave the word *râshṭra* as a mythological perversion of *raṭṭa*, which he held to be equivalent to the Kanarese and Telugu *raḍḍi* or *reḍḍi*;[10] and the latter word is explained in the dictionaries as de-

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[1] Page 399 below, Nos. 5, 6.
[2] Page 404 below, No. 2.
[3] Page 413 below, No. 4.
[4] See page 388 below.
[5] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 192; and, for the date, Vol. XVIII. p. 90.
[6] See *id.* Vol. VI. p. 213.
[7] *Id.* Vol. XII. pp. 252, 267.
[8] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 249, 265.
[9] See page 342 above, note 1.
[10] *South-Indian Palæography*, second edition, Introd. p. x.— According to Native authorities, however (*e.g.*, Trivikrama; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 14), *raṭṭa* is a Prâkṛit form of the Sanskrit *râshṭra*.

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The Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ.

noting "the caste of aboriginal Telugu farmers," or as being a title annexed to the proper names of members of that caste, and also as meaning "the head man of a village." Unless, however, the Guntûr grant of Attivarman,[1] is a Râshṭrakûṭa record, the earliest traces of the Râshṭrakûṭas are obtained from Central India and the more northern parts of the Bombay Presidency, where, now at all events, the Reḍḍi caste does not seem to exist. And this fact appears rather to indicate that the full name Râshṭrakûṭa is either the origin, or a Sanskritised form, of Rahṭôr or Rahṭôḍ; and so to connect the Râshṭrakûṭas with Râjputânâ and the Kanauj country in the North-West Provinces, which seem to have been the original habitats of the Rahṭôr clan of Râjputs. On this view, "Raṭṭa" would be an abbreviation of "Râshṭrakûṭa," rather than "Râshṭrakûṭa," an amplified form of "Raṭṭa;" and it may be noted that "Râshṭrakûṭa" is the name that is met with in the earliest documents,—for instance, in the grant of Abhimanyu, the Multâî grant of Nandarâja, and the Sâmângaḍ grant of Dantidurga: the cases in which the name "Raṭṭa" appears in the records of the Râshṭrakûṭas, distinctively so-called, are very few;[2] and it was specially affected only by the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti,[3] who did not use the name Râshṭrakûṭa except in metrical passages that aim at grandiloquence. It may also be remarked that the Râshṭrakûṭas had the hereditary title of "lord of the town of Lattalûr or Lattanûr,"[4] indicative of the place from which they originally started: this place has never yet been identified;[5] but, if any representative of it still exists, it may not impossibly be found in Ratanpur in the Bilâspur District, Central Provinces; and this identification would be another point in favour of the Râshṭrakûṭas being of northern and Âryan origin. And finally, as another possible way of accounting for the name, it may be remarked that in early times there was a class of officials named *Râshṭrakûṭa*, which title seems to have designated

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[1] See page 334 above.

[2] The earliest instance, in the family records, is in connection with Amôghavarsha I. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 220).— Among the Eastern Chalukya records, it is used first in the grant of Amma I. (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 42).

[3] See chapter VIII. below.

[4] *Lattalûra-pura-paramêśvara* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 220). So; also, the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti styled themselves *Lattalûr-* and *Lattanûr-puravar-êśvara* (*e.g.*, *id.* Vol. XIX. pp. 165, 248).— Another form in which the name appears, is Latalaura,— doubtless by mistake for Lattalaura. It occurs in an inscription of the time of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., dated in A. D. 1087-88, at Sîtâbaldî in the Central Provinces, which says that his feudatory, the *Mahâsâmanta* Dhâḍibhaḍaka or Dhâḍibhaṇḍaka, of the "great" Râshṭrakûṭa family, had emigrated from Latalaura.— One of the records of the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti (an unpublished inscription at Hannikeri in the Belgaum District, dated in A. D. 1208-1209) styles the Râshṭrakûṭa king Krishṇa III. *Kandhâra-puravar-âdhîśvara* or "supreme lord of Kandhârapura, the best of towns." This, however, is an isolated instance; and I know of no place that can be identified with an ancient Kandhârapura or Kṛishṇapura. The name may possibly have been invented from an imaginary Kṛishṇapura, derived from some passage similar to that in which the Eastern Chalukya king Guṇaka-Vijayâditya III. is said to have effected the burning of the city of Kṛishṇa II. (*Kṛishṇa-purâ-dahana*; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 102, note 26).

[5] The suggestion, indeed, has been made (Graham's *Statistical Report on the Principality of Kolhapur*, p. 416) that it is Athṇî, the chief town of the Athṇî tâluka in the Belgaum District. But this, which is only based on the mistaken reading of 'Ataupur, is quite unsustainable.

"the head man of a *râshṭra* or province," just as *Grâmakûṭa* designated "the head man of a village:"[1] the Râshṭrakûṭas may have been feudatory and hereditary governors of provinces, who, when they rose to sovereign power, preserved their official title as a dynastic or family name.[2]

According to the Kauthêm grant of A. D. 1009, there was an early Râshṭrakûṭa king Indra, son of Krishṇa, who was conquered by Jayasiṁha I., of the family of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi, about the beginning of the sixth century A. D.[3] And the tendency has been to find corroboration of this statement in certain coins from Dêvalâṇâ in the Nâsik District, which may be allotted to the period in question, just as well as to a somewhat later date, and which give the name of an early king Krishṇa. But, as has already been pointed out,[4] the statement in question appears first in the eleventh century A. D., after the overthrow of the Râshṭrakûṭas by the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi; in the early records, there is nothing whatever to support it; and it is evidently to be accounted for simply by the fact that, after the overthrow of Kakka II. by Taila II., there survived Indra IV., grandson of Krishṇa III., by crowning whom the Western Gaṅga prince Mârasiṁha attempted to continue the Râshṭrakûṭa sovereignty.[5] As regards the coins, there is nothing that compels us to allot them to any dynasty in particular; and they are probably Kalachuri coins of Krishṇarâja, the father of Śaṁkaragaṇa.

We have possibly a Râshṭrakûṭa king in the Gôvinda who invaded the Western Chalukya dominions during the confusion that prevailed

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[1] The earliest instance of the use of the title *Râshṭrakûṭa* is perhaps to be found in the Gôdâvarî grant of Pṛithivimûla (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 119). It occurs frequently in the Eastern Chalukya records (*e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. pp. 214, 249, and Vol. XIX. p. 417). And it is found even in the Sâmângaḍ grant of Khaḍgâvalôka-Dantidurga (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 114).

[2] Dr. Bhandarkar's views, (*Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, p. 10, and note 4, and p. 36) appear to be that the Râshṭrakûṭas were an ancient Kshatriya tribe; that they are the Ristikas or Rastikas (= Râshṭrikas) of the Aśôka inscriptions (see, *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 248); that they are also mentioned in inscriptions as Mahârathis, or, as he writes it, Mahâraṭṭhis; that they are the ancient Marâṭhâs; and that the name Râshṭrakûṭa originated from some of the Raṭṭhi or Raṭṭha tribes forming themselves into a family or group (*kûṭa*). I am not prepared at present to discuss all these points. But there is certainly one detail in which he is wrong. He objects to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji translating *Mahârathi* by 'great warrior' (*e.g.*, *Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, pp. 24, 29, 34; Dr. Bühler has rendered it by 'feudal baron,' *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 64), because the feminine form *Mahârathinî* also occurs (*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 27), and, he says, to translate this by 'wife, or daughter, of a great warrior' is "simply begging the question;" his opinion is that "Mahâraṭhi appears clearly to be the name of a tribe, and is the same as our modern Marâṭhâ." But, both in former times there was, and in the present day there still is, the practice of mentioning wives of officials by feminine forms of the titles of their husbands; note, for instance, *Daṇḍanâyakiti* as a feminine form of *Daṇḍanâyaka*, in a inscription of A.D. 1108-1109 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 254), and the Kanarese *Gauḍasâni*, and the Marâṭhî *Pâṭlîṇ* and *Dêsâîṇ*, as the designations of the wives of a *Gauḍa*, *Pâṭîl*, or village-headman, and of a *Dêsâî* or hereditary head official of a *parganâ*: so also, among religious titles, we have *Vihârasvâmin*, and the feminine form *Vihârasvâminî* (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 263, 280).

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 17.

[4] Page 296 above.

[5] See page 342 above, and, more fully, page 421 below.

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from the death of Maṅgalêśa to the coronation of Pulikêśin II., and who eventually became an ally of Pulikêśin.[1]

And another early Râshṭrakûṭa king may perhaps be found in the person of Attivarman,— of the family of king Kandara, *i.e.* Krishṇa, in the lineage of the great saint Ânanda, and belonging to the posterity of the god Hiraṇyagarbha, *i.e.* Brahman,— whose existence is proved by the copper-plate grant from the Guṇṭûr District, Madras Presidency.[2]

Abhimanyu.

The earliest certain mention of Râshṭrakûṭas, however,[3] is to be found in a copper-plate grant which gives the following short genealogy :— (1) Mâna, or Mânâṅka, who was "an ornament of the Râshṭrakûṭas;" (2) his son, Dêvarâja; (3) his son, Bhavishya, with two others whose names are not given; and (4) Bhavishya's son, Abhimanyu, who, when resident at a town named Mânapura, in the presence of a certain Jayasiṁha who is described as "the chastiser of the Koṭṭa Harivatsa," granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Uṇḍikavâṭikâ, on behalf of the god Dakshiṇa-Śiva of Pethapaṅgaraka. The record is not dated; but it may be allotted, on palæographic grounds, to approximately the seventh century A. D. And Mânapura may possibly be identified with the modern Mânpur in Mâlwa, about twelve miles south-west of Mhow.[4] It is to be noted that the crest of these Râshṭrakûṭas, as indicated by the device on the seal of the charter, was a lion; and they must, therefore, have belonged to a branch of the Râshṭrakûṭa stock separate from that of the Mâlkhêḍ family.

Nandarâja.

And next after this comes the Multâî grant, from the Bêtûl District, Central Provinces,[5] which gives the following list of names "in the Râshṭrakûṭa lineage:"—(1) Durgarâja; (2) his son, Gôvindarâja; (3) his son, Svâmikarâja; and (4) his son, Yuddhâsura-Nandarâja, who granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Jalaûkuhe. The grant was made on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika, Śaka-Saṁvat 631; and the corresponding English date is, approximately, the 24th October A. D. 709, if the Śaka year is applied as expired. The device on the seal of the grant is a Garuḍa; from which it may be inferred that these princes were of the same descent with the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ: but the exact connection is not yet known.

The Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ.

We come now to the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ, whose genealogy is given in the accompanying table. In their records, the kings of this line almost invariably give their dynastic or family name as Râshṭra-

[1] Page 350 above.— Dr. Bhaṇḍarkar has suggested (*Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, p. 47) that he was probably Gôvinda I. of the Râshṭrakûṭa line of Mâlkhêḍ. But, even apart from the fact that there is nothing to shew that Gôvinda I. enjoyed any regal power, the date of A. D. 608, to which we must refer the Gôvinda who is mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription, seems altogether too early for this identification.

[2] Page 334 above.

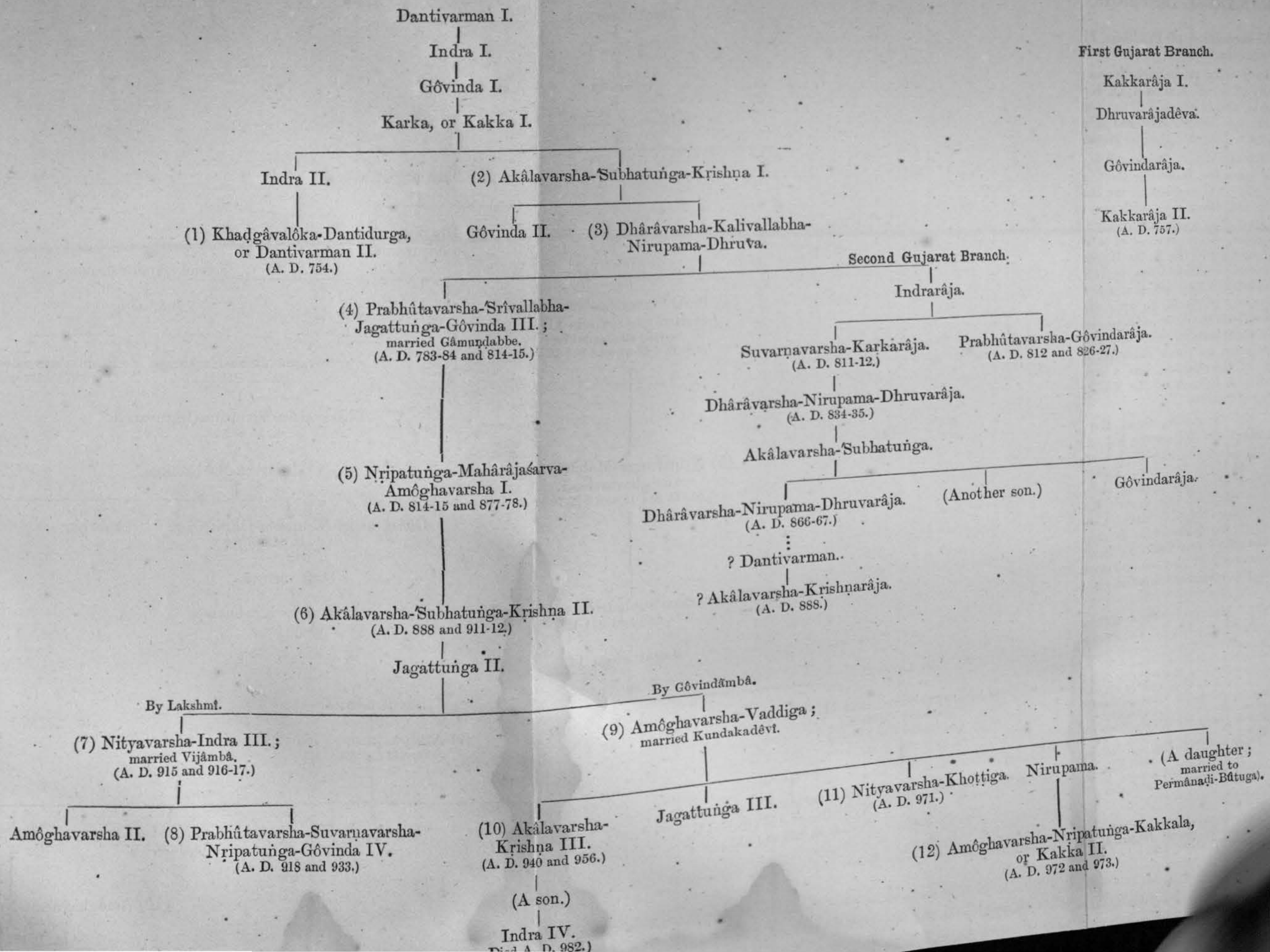
[3] Dr. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, p. 36) was inclined to look upon the Kaṇheri grant as a Râshṭrakûṭa record. But (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 150) this is a mistake : the first word is, not *strakûṭakânâṁ*, giving the name of Strakûṭaka or Strakûṭa, for Râshṭrakûṭa, but *ttraikûṭakânâṁ*, "of the Traikûṭakas;" and (see page 294 above) the grant is in all probability a Kalachuri record.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 233.

[5] *ibid.* p. 230.— Assuming that this record really belongs to the locality where it was found, it furnishes the earliest known instance of the use of Nâgarî characters in Southern India, *i.e.* south of the Narmadâ (see page 377 above, note 3.)

(To face page 386.)

THE RASHTRAKUTAS OF MALKHED.



Chapter

The Râshtı
of Mâlk

Abhim

Nandaı

Th
Râshtr
of Mâl

kûta; in fact, except in the *biruda* Raṭṭa-Kandarpa, applied to Gôvinda IV. and Khoṭṭiga,[1] the only citable instances in their own records, in which the form Raṭṭa is used, are in the 'Sirûr inscription, where Amôghavarsha I. is described as "born in the Raṭṭa *vaṁśa* or race;"[2] in the Nausârî grants of Indra III., of A. D. 915, which speak of Amôghavarsha I. as "raising again the glory of the Raṭṭas, which had been drowned in the Chalukya ocean;"[3] and in the Dêôlî grant, which places an eponymous person named Raṭṭa[4] at the head of the genealogy, and uses the same word in one or two other places. They had the *pâlidhvaja*-banner, and also the *ôkakêtu* or (?) bird-ensign, the *Garuḍa-lâñchhana* or crest of Garuḍa, the servant and carrier of Vishṇu, and the hereditary title of "supreme lord of the town of Lattalûra;" they were heralded in public by the musical instrument called *ṭivili*;[5] from a verse which stands at the beginning of some of the records,[6] they seem to have worshipped both Vishṇu and 'Siva as family-gods; the images or emblems of the rivers Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ appear to have been among their insignia,[7] having been probably acquired by them, with the *pâlidhvaja*-banner, from the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi, who had obtained them by conquering some king of Northern India; and their kingdom came to be known as Raṭṭapâṭî, "the country of the Raṭṭas," and as "the Raṭṭapâḍi seven-and-a-half-lâkh country.[8] As regards the Garuḍa-crest, which ought to appear on the seals of all their copper-plate charters,—as is now shewn by the better preserved seal of the Paiṭhaṇ grant of Gôvinda III., of A. D. 794,[9] it is met with there, and on the seals of the Sâmângaḍ grant of Dantidurga of A. D. 754, the Kanarese grant of Gôvinda III. of A. D. 804, the Waṇî grant of the same king of A. D. 807, and the Barôda grant of Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja of Gujarât, of A.D. 811 or 812;[10] but the seal of the Kardâ grant of Kakka II., of A. D. 972, bears, instead, an elaborate representative of the god 'Siva.[11]

From about the middle of the ninth century A. D., we have a variety of interesting contemporaneous references to the kings of this dynasty, under the name of Balharâs, and to their capital, under the name of Mânkîr, in the writings of the early Arab travellers and geographers,—the merchant Sulaimân (A. D. 851), Abû Zaid (shortly before A. D. 916), Ibn Khurdâdba (died A. D. 912), Al Mas'ûdî (wrote A. D. 932-933, and died A. D. 956), Al Istakhrî (wrote

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 249, 256.
[2] *ibid.* p. 220.
[3] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 266.
[4] *ibid.* pp. 249, 251.
[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 219, 220.—The word *tivili* appears in records of the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti in the forms of *trivaḷe*, *trivaḷi*, and *trivaḷî*.—As regards musical instruments in general, see page 327 above, note 7.
[6] *e. g.*, *id.* Vol. XI. p. 113; Vol. XII. p. 219.
[7] See page 338 above, and note 7.
[8] See page 341 above, and note 2.
[9] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 103, and plate.
[10] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 108, 125, 156, and Vol. XII. p. 156, and the plate given with each.
[11] *id.* Vol. XII. p. 263, and plate.

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about A. D. 951), and Ibn Haukal (between A. D. 943 and 968).[1] The general purport of these accounts is, that the princes of India did not recognise the supremacy of any one sovereign,— each being his own master; still, the Balharâ,— whose appellation is explained as meaning "king of kings," and as being, not a proper name, but a dynastic title, similar to the Khosru of the Persians,— was recognised as the greatest king in India, and homage was paid to him by all the other princes. Both the Balharâ kings, and their subjects, are described as extremely partial to Musalmâns; and Ibn Haukal and Al Istakhrî say that Musalmân governors of cities were employed by them. The same two writers appear to describe the Balharâ kingdom as extending from Kambâya to Saimûr; as, however, these two cities were on the confines of Sind, the statement must be intended to give only a northern limit and extent. Sulaimân, on the other hand, says that the kingdom commenced on the sea-side, at the Koṅkaṇ country; but he does not tell us how far across India it extended. The country is called 'Kamkar;' but the origin of this appellation is not apparent.[2] The capital is called Mânkîr, which represents the real name fairly closely; and Al Mas'ûdî specifies it as eighty Sindî *parasangs* from the sea: here, however, there must be some mistake; for, the given distance denotes six hundred and forty miles, which, on the latitude of Mâlkhêḍ, carries us more than quite across India; and Mâlkhêḍ is as near as possible only two hundred and ninety miles almost due east of Ratnâgiri. According to Al Mas'ûdî, the language of the kingdom was called 'Kîrîya,' and took its name from a place named 'Kîra:' Dr. Bühler, however, has pointed out that, with a very slight change of the diacritical points, we may read 'Kanara,' *i.e.* 'Kannaḍa;' and the vernacular of the country round Mâlkhêḍ was, of course, Kanarese.

Dantivarman I., and Indra I.

The first two names, of Dantivarman I. and Indra I., are taken from an inscription at the Daśâvatâra temple at Ellôrâ, near Auraṅgâbâd in the Nizâm's Dominions,[3] which, omitting some intermediate names after Dantidurga, carries the genealogy on as far as Amôghavarsha I., but was then left unfinished. It furnishes, however, no historical information in respect of them; and none of the other records carry the genealogy back beyond Gôvinda I.

Gôvinda I., and Karka or Kakka I.

Regarding Gôvinda I., again, and his son, whose name appears sometimes as Kakka and sometimes as Karka, we have no information beyond the mention of their names. No historical facts are recorded

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[1] Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, edited by Prof. Dowson, Vol. I. pp. 3-40; apparently, the chapter on the Arab geographers is mainly Prof. Dowson's work (editor's preface, pp. xi., xii.).— The Balharâs were identified by Prof. Dowson with the kings of Valabhî (*id.* p. 354). It seems that Dr. Bhau Daji first identified them with the Râshṭrakûṭas; and this identification, which cannot be questioned, has been endorsed by Dr. Bühler in 1877 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI., p. 64), and by Dr. Bhandarkar in 1884 (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 56). It is Dr. Bhandarkar, however, who explained the true origin of the word Balharâ; *viz.*, in the Sanskṛit *vallabha-râja*, through the Prâkṛit *ballaha-râya*.— In later times, the Arabs used the word Balharâ to denote the Chaulukyas of Aṇhilwâḍ (*e.g.*, Al Idrîsî, towards the end of the eleventh century A.D.; *loc. cit.* pp. 85, 86, 87).

[2] *e.g.*, *loc. cit.* p. 25.

[3] *Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 92; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 87.

in respect of them; and it does not seem at all likely that either of them enjoyed any regal power.[1]

And in connection with Indra II., all that we are told is, that his wife, whose name is not given, was the daughter of a Chalukya father and of a mother who belonged to the Sômavaṁśa or Lunar Race.[2] It is a justifiable inference from this, that up to his time the Râshṭrakûṭas had not come into hostile contact with the Western Chalukyas, or made any attempt to dispossess them.

Dantidurga.

The first king in the dynasty, and the real founder of it, was Dantidurga, "he whose fortress is (his) elephant," for whom we have a date in January, A.D. 754.[3] His name appears, in one passage, in the form of Dantivarman, "he whose armour is his elephant."[4] He had the *biruda* of Khaḍgâvalôka, meaning probably "he whose glances are as keen as the edge of a sword,"[5] and the epithet of *prithivîvallabha*; in one of the later records he is spoken of as king Vallabha or the *vallabha*-king;[6] and he used the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*. His own record says that his elephants rent asunder the banks of the rivers Mahî, Mahânâdî, and Rêvâ (the Narmadâ),—that he acquired the supreme sovereignty by conquering Vallabha, *i.e.* the Western Chalukya king Kìrtivarman II.,—and that, with but a small force, he quickly overcame the boundless Karṇâṭaka army, *i. e.* the Western Chalukya troops, which had been expert in defeating the lord of Kâñchì, the Chôḷas and the Pâṇḍyas, and Harsha and Vajraṭa. And the date of it shews that he and his connections had dispossessed Kîrtivarman II. of all except the southern provinces of the Chalukya dominions before A. D. 754; a copper-plate grant from the Surat District, however,[7] indicates that, in the north, the Lâṭa country was taken, not by Dantidurga, but by some member of a separate independent branch of his family, of which the representative in A. D. 757 was Kakkarâja II. The Ellôrâ inscription, mentioning the conquest of Vallabha, adds that Dantidurga completed the acquisition of sovereignty by subjugating the ruler of (?) Sandhubhûpa, the lord of Kâñchì; the rulers of Kaliṅga and Kôsala, the lord of the 'Srîśaila country, *i.e.* the Karṇûl territory, the (?) 'Sêshas,[8] and the kings of Mâlava, Lâṭa, and Taṅka. He seems to have ultimately made himself unpopular, and to have been deposed in favour of his uncle Kṛishṇa I.

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[1] For a remark in connection with Gôvinda I., see page 386 above, note 1.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 114.

[3] Among the points in support of the position that Dantidurga was the first king in the Mâlkhêḍ line, the fact may be specially adduced, that his grant does not mention him as meditating on the feet of a predecessor, whereas the formal grants of the later members of the family do so in respect of them.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 111.

[5] The Kaḍab grant, which purports to be dated in A.D. 813, would speak of him by the *biruda* of Vairamêgha, "the cloud of enmity" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 17). As regards the authenticity of this record, however, see page 399 below, note 7. And the *biruda* is not supported by any other document.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 187.

[7] See page 392 below.

[8] Perhaps a Nâga tribe.

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Of the time of Dantidurga, we have only one record,— a copper-plate grant, obtained at Sâmângaḍ in the Kôlhâpur State,[1] which records that he made a grant to a Brâhmaṇ on the seventh *tithi*, called *ratha-saptamî*, in the month Mâgha, Saka-Saṁvat 675 expired. The lunar fortnight is not specified; the Hindû almanacs, however, place the *ratha-saptamî* of Mâgha in the bright fortnight; and, accordingly, the corresponding English date is the 5th January, A.D. 754.[2] The record is connected, in a general way, with the part of the country in which it was obtained, by the fact that the grantee was a resident of Karahâṭaka, which is the modern Karâḍ or Karhâḍ, the chief town of the tâluka of the same name in the Sâtârâ District. But a more specific indication is afforded by the fact that, in the description of the boundaries of the village or villages which formed the subject of the grant, mention is made of a village named Aïtavâḍê as defining the northern limit. This seems plainly to be Aitawaḍê-Khurd,[3] seven miles south of Pêṭh, the chief town of the Wâḷwa tâluka, Sâtârâ District. Accepting this identification, we may take the long word, read as Karaṁdivaḍêjaphitadêulavâḍâ, which contains the name of the subject of the grant, as giving a combination of the names of two villages, Karañjawaḍê and Dêwarḍê, which are just to the south of Aitawaḍê-Khurd. And it may further be added, that the record places a village named Pâragâvâ on the south of the subject of the grant, and the map shews a Pârgaon just to the south by west of Karañjawaḍê and Dêwarḍê: it is separated from them by the river Wârṇâ; but the river may possibly have run somewhat differently in ancient times; and this may account for it not being mentioned among the boundaries.

Krishṇa I.

Dantidurga was succeeded by his uncle Krishṇa I., who had the *birudas* of Akâlavarsha, "the untimely rainer," and Subhatuṅga, "prominent or conspicuous in good fortune." Some of the records mention him by the epithet of *vallabha*;[4] and others of them might be interpreted as giving him the *biruda* of Srîvallabha:[5] but, in the latter case, the word is broken up in a manner that is not customary when it is really intended as a formal attribute.[6] A later record says that he succeeded because Dantidurga died without issue;[7] and another

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 108.

[2] This is the earliest known epigraphic record in which the date (given here both in words and in figures) is expressed by ordinary figures arranged according to the decimal system of notation. But the Sâṅkhêḍâ grant of the (Kalachuri or Chêdî) year 346 (expired), = A.D. 595-96 (see page 313 above, note 4), furnishes a very exceptional instance, of earlier date, of the use of the decimal system in connection with numerical symbols.— From this point onwards, it is to be understood, unless anything to the contrary is expressly stated, that all the dates are expressed either by decimal figures pure and simple, or in words.— This record further furnishes one of the earliest known instances of the use of Nâgarî characters in Southern India (see page 377 above, note 3, and page 386, note 5.)

[3] The 'Ueetowreh (*k*)' of the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 40.

[4] *e. g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 160.

[5] *e. g.*, *id.* Vol. XIV. p. 201.

[6] Also, the Kaḍab grant would give his name in the form of Kannêśvara; and would allot to him the *biruda* Akâlavarsha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 17). But, at the best, Kannêśvara is a mistake for Kannara; and as regards the general question of this record, see page 399 below, note 7.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 287.

says that he succeeded on the death of Dantidurga :[1] but the record that approximates most closely to his own time, and therefore is more probably correct, states that "he uprooted his relative (Dantidurga), who had resorted to evil ways, and appropriated the kingdom to himself, for the benefit of his family ;"[2] and there are indications elsewhere in support of this. He completed the establishment of the Râshṭrakûṭa supremacy, by finally overthrowing Kîrtivarman II. : thus, the Waṇî grant of A. D. 807 says that he "quickly tore away the goddess of fortune from the Chalukya family, which was hard to be overcome by others ;"[3] and the Barôda grant of A. D. 811 or 812 says that "he transformed into a deer, *i. e.* put to flight, the great boar,— the crest of the Chalukyas,— which was seized with an itching for battle, and which, kindled with the warmth of bravery, attacked him :"[4] this event must be placed after A.D. 757, which is the latest date that we have for Kîrtivarman II. Also, other records describe him as extending his sovereignty by conquering a certain Râhapa, Râhappa, or Râhapya,[5] whose identity has not yet been made quite clear, but whose high position and power are indicated by the statement that, by conquering him, Krishṇa I. attained supreme sovereignty, resplendent by numerous *pâlidhvaja*-banners. And one of his achievements was to have constructed in the hiḷl at Êlâpura, *i.e.* at Verûḷ, Yerûḷ, Yeruḷâ, Êlûrâ, or Ellôrâ, in the Nizâm's Dominions, an elaborate temple of Śiva which is to be identified with the so-called Kailâsa temple.[6] It was in

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 187.

[2] *ibid.* p. 162.

[3] *id.* Vol. XI. p. 160.

[4] *id.* Vol. XII. p. 162.

[5] *ibid.* p. 187 ; and Vol. XIII. p. 67.

[6] The place is to be found, under the name Ellôrâ, in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 38, in lat. 20° 2′, long. 75° 14′. It is the chief town of the Ellôrâ pargaṇâ in the Auraṅgâbâd tâluka.— To the local inhabitants, it is known only as Verûḷ and Yerûḷ,— sometimes pronounced Yeruḷâ ; and the name is entered as Verûḷ in the Survey map of the village. It would be interesting to ascertain how the name Ellôrâ, which is undoubtedly more correct, has been preserved ; but at present I can only say that this, or Êlûrâ, is the form in which the name is known among Musalmâns.— It is Dr. Bhandarkar who, through being able to quote an unsuspected meaning of the word *kîrtana*, pointed out the correct translation of the passage that describes the construction of the temple for Krishṇa I., and indicated the identity of the shrine (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 228, and *Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, p. 48). And, that he is right, cannot be doubted by anyone who has seen the Kailâsa temple, which is of considerable size, most elaborate in its design and details, carved out of the solid rock, and with verandahs and chambers in the rock surrounding it on three sides (see Dr. Burgess' *Rock Temples of Elura or Verul*, pp. 41-55 ; also the photograph given by him as the frontispiece of *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V.).— As regards the identity of the name Êlâpura with that of the village where the Ellôrâ caves are, I do not agree with Dr. Bhandarkar in respect of his view that the modern name is derived from the Sanskṛit Êlâpura. The place is undoubtedly the one which is mentioned as Vellûra in Varâhamihira's *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, xiv. 14 (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 193) ; as Vallûra (*i.e.* Vellûra) in the inscription in the Buddhist *vihâra*, known as the Ghaṭôtkacha cave, near Gulwâḍâ in the neighbourhood of Ajaṇṭâ (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 139, 140) ; and as Valûraka, or probably more correctly Vallûraka (for Vellûraka), in a Buddhist inscription at the *chaitya*-cave at Kârlê (*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 33 ; I differ from the translation given there, and take the record to mean that the village of Karajika was granted to some members of the community of the ascetics "whose permanent abode was in the cave-temples at Vallûraka," and who had come to pass the rainy season at Kârlê). These two records are much older than the Râshṭrakûṭa

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this reign that the feudatory nobles of the 'Silâhâra family were first brought to the front, by Krishṇa I. entrusting Saṇaphulla, the founder of the southern Koṅkaṇ branch, with the government of a territory lying between the ocean and the Sahya or Sahyâdri mountains, *i.e.* the Western Ghauts.[1]

Kakkarâja I., Dhruvarâjadêva, Gôvindarâja, and Kakkarâja II., of Gujarât.

We have no records that distinctly refer themselves to the reign of Krishṇa I. But it is to his time, probably, that we must allot a copper-plate grant from the Surat District,[2] which gives the earliest indication of branches of the Râshṭrakûṭa family in Gujarât. This record mentions—(1) a Râshṭrakûṭa prince named Kakkarâja I.; (2) his son, Dhruvarâjadêva; (3) his son, Gôvindarâja, whose wife was a daughter of Nâgavarman; and (4) his son, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja, Paramêśvara,* and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* Kakkarâja II.,—described also as a *paramamâhêśvara*, or most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara ('Siva),—who granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Sthâvarapallikâ in the Kâśakûla *vishaya*. The grant was made at the autumnal equinox, on the seventh *tithi* in the bright fortnight of the month Âśvayuja, 'Saka-Saṁvat 679 (expired); and the corresponding English date is the 24th September, A. D. 757.[3] It has already been noted that the Kâśakûla or Kâśâkûla *vishaya* was evidently the country on the northern bank of the Taptî.[4] And Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji pointed out that Sthâvarapallikâ is the modern Chhârôlî itself, where the plates were obtained. Both the names, and the device of a Garuḍa on the seal, tend to indicate that the persons who are mentioned in this record were of the same branch with the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ. But the place in the genealogy to which they may be referred, is not apparent.[5] And the record is chiefly of interest in shewing that, contemporaneously with Dantidurga and Krishṇa I., there was another Râshṭrakûṭa paramount sovereign in the more northern part of the country. It seems possible that this Kakkarâja II. is the Râhapa, Râhappa, or Râhapya, by the defeat of whom Krishṇa I. extended his

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period. They, and the passage in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, give the ancient vernacular name of the place. The form Êlûrâ or Ellôrâ is naturally derived from it. And Êlâpura is, in my opinion, only a Sanskṛitised form of the latter. Verûḷ is, I suppose, a corruption of Vellûr, chiefly by metathesis; and Yeruḷâ, of Verûḷ.—There may, quite possibly, be a reference to Ellôrâ, and to the number of the cave-temples there, in the expression *dvâtriṁśad-vêlâpura*, which occurs in the Buddhist inscription of A.D. 1095 at Ḍambaḷ (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 186, line 29), and in other inscriptions (not Buddhist) in the Kanarese country.—Dr. Bühler (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 89) has suggested that Êlâpura "may possibly have been on the hill above the Êlûrâ caves, on which, beyond the modern town of Rôzah, are the remains of an old Hindû city." The Musalmân town of Rôzah itself seemed to me to have been largely constructed from Hindû remains. But I think there is no necessity for locating Vellûra, Vellûraka, or Êlâpura, otherwise than where the present village of Verûḷ is.

[1] See chapter VIII. below.

[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 105.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 55.—This record gives the first authentic instance (see also *ibid.* p. 91) of the use of the 'Saka era in Gujarât, in a date the details of which can be tested by calculation. It also gives a rather exceptionally late instance of the use of numerical symbols, in expressing the date.

[4] Page 359 above.

[5] In editing the record, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji suggested that Kakka or Karka I. may have had, besides Indra II. and Krishṇa I., another son named Dhruvarâjadêva.

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kingdom. And, as Chhârôlî is in the Lâṭa country it may be taken for certain that he was one of the lords of Lâṭa, whose territory was subsequently given, as a feudatory province, by Gôvinda III. to his younger brother Indrarâja of Gujarât. The intermediate history of the Lâṭa country has not yet been worked out. But there appears to be, in the records of the brothers Karkarâja and Gôvindarâja, sons of the same Indrarâja, a reference to descendants of Kakkarâja II., who may have continued to hold the province for another thirty years or so, until they were dispossessed by Gôvinda III.

Gôvinda II.

Krishṇa I. left two sons,—Gôvinda II., and Dhruva. As regards the elder of them, to whose name some of the records attach the epithet *vallabha*,[1] the most probable conclusion is that he did not succeed to the throne. Dr. Bühler, indeed, has held the opinion that he did reign, but not for long,—being dethroned by his younger brother, Dhruva.[2] And the statement in the Dêôli grant of A. D. 940, that "sensual pleasures "made him careless of the kingdom, and, entrusting fully the universal "sovereignty to his younger brother, he allowed his position as sovereign "to become loose," might perhaps be quoted in support of this view. But the earlier records distinctly say that Dhruva attained the sovereignty "by jumping over his elder brother,"[3] which points plainly to an act of complete supersession; and, in support of this view, it is to be noted that some of the subsequent records pass Gôvinda II. over quite unnoticed. That he made an attempt to secure the succession, is, indeed, shewn by the statement in the Paiṭhaṇ grant, of A. D. 796, that he called to his assistance even the hostile kings of Mâlava, Kâñchî, and Veṅgî, and of the Gaṅga country. This, however, seems to only emphasise the real fact that is disclosed by the pointed expression used in respect of Dhruva.[4]

Dhruva.

Kṛishṇa I., then, was succeeded by his younger son Dhruva, "the constant or immovable one," whose name appears also in the Prâkṛit form of Dhôra. He had the *birudas* of Dhârâvarsha, "the heavy rainer," Kalivallabha, "the favourite of the Kali age," which appears in his Paṭṭadadal inscription in the Prâkṛit form of Kaliballaha, and Nirupama, "the unequalled one," and the epithet of *śrîpṛithivîvallabha*; and he used the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭâra*.[5] He imprisoned a Gaṅga king,—took elephants from a Pallava king, whom he compelled to bow down before him,—and drove Vatsarâja, who had seized the kingdom of Gauḍa (in Bengal), into the deserts of Maru (Mârwâr), and despoiled him of the two white umbrellas of sovereignty which he had taken from the king of Gauḍa: this person is Vatsarâja, king of Ujjain, for whom we have, just after

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[1] The Kaḍab grant would give him the *biruda* of Prabhûtavarsha. As regards this record, however, see page 399 below, note 7.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 62.

[3] *Jyêshṭh-ôllaṅghana*; *ibid.* p. 69.

[4] As regards an extraneous passage, which has been taken as meaning that he did reign, and was on the throne in A.D. 783-84, see page 395 below, note 1.

[5] See page 368 above, and note 1. In the Sanskṛit records of his son and successor, *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* is substituted.

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Dhruva's time, the date of A. D. 783-84, when he was contemporaneous with Dhruva's son Gôvinda III.;[1] probably he had then re-established himself at Ujjain. His successor's records shew that Dhruva invested Gôvinda III. with the *kaṇṭhikâ* or necklet that was indicative of appointment as *Yuvarâja*; and they also imply that he contemplated abdicating in Gôvinda's favour, but was dissuaded from doing so.

Of the time of Dhruva, we have only one published record,—the stone inscription at the temple of Lôkêśvara-(Virûpâksha) at Paṭṭadakal, in the Bijâpur District,[2] which mentions grants that were made to the temple by the harlot Bâdipoḍḍi or Bâlipoḍḍi; the record is not dated.[3]

Gôvinda III.

Dhruva was succeeded by his son, Gôvinda III., who, as we have just seen, was invested with the office and authority of *Yuvarâja* during his father's reign: a later record says that he was specially selected for the succession, from among several brothers, on account of his superior virtues;[4] and this seems to imply that he was not the eldest son: but it is convenient, in the genealogical table, to enter him as senior at any rate to Indrarâja of Gujarât, though, as no distinct assertion either way is made in any of the records as yet available, the latter may very possibly have been really the elder. His special *birudas* were Prabhûtavarsha, "the abundant rainer;" 'Srîvallabha, "the favourite of fortune," which appears in the Prâkrit form of 'Srîballaha in a Kanarese record at Lakshmêshwar;[5] and Jagattuṅga, "prominent in the world:" but he was also known as Janavallabha, "the favourite of people,"[6] and as Kîrti-Nârâyaṇa, "a very Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu) in respect of fame;"[7] and he may perhaps be mentioned, by another *biruda*, as Parabala, the father of Raṇṇâdêvî who was the wife of a king of Bengal named Dharmapâla.[8] His own records couple with his name the epithets of *prithivîvallabha*, *śrîprithivîvallabha*, *śrîvallabhanarêndra*, and *śrîvallabhanarêndradêva*, and the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, *Bhaṭâra*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*. And his Kanarese record of A. D. 804 gives his name in the Prâkrit form of Gôyinda, and tells us that his *mahâdêvî*, or queen-consort, was Gâmuṇḍabbe.[9] Until recently, the earliest absolutely certain date for him was A. D. 804, furnished by that record. But the Paiṭhaṇ grant, which has come to notice lately, gives an earlier date, in A. D. 794. And he is further carried back to A. D. 783-84 by a passage in the Jain *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasêna, which, mentioning him as 'Srîvallabha, tells us that he was reigning over the south, or the Dekkan, in 'Saka-Saṁvat

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[1] See page 395 below.
[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 124.
[3] I have also a record of his time, again without date, from Narêgal in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr District, which mentions a feudatory of his, named Mârakka, who was governing the Banavâsi twelve thousand.
[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 56.—On the subject of selection, see page 361 above, and note 3.
[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 156.—In the case of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi, this word was a generic epithet. From now onwards, however, it seems to have been used as a *biruda*, rather than as an epithet.
[6] *id.* Vol. V. p. 147, verse 23; and Vol. XIII. p. 67, verse 13.
[7] *id.* Vol. XII. p. 218, line 5.
[8] *id.* Vol. XXI. p. 254.
[9] *id.* Vol. XI. p. 127.

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705 (expired), and that his contemporaries were — in the north, a certain Indrâyudha, son of a king named Krishṇa; in the east, Vatsarâja, king of Avanti (Ujjain), who is evidently identical with the Vatsarâja whom Dhruva drove into the deserts of Mârwâḍ; and in the west, Varâha, who was ruling over the country of the Sauryas.[1] In the other direction, the latest certain recorded date that we have for him is A. D. 812, given in the Tôrkhêḍê grant. But there is no reason to suppose that he ceased to reign before A. D. 814 or 815, in one of which years commenced the reign of his son, Amôghavarsha I.[2]

The manner in which some of the records [3] say that, on the birth of Gôvinda III., the Râshtrakûta family became invincible to its foes, indicates that it was he who first placed the power of his dynasty on a really firm and wide footing. But his accession appears to have been attended by opposition; for, the passage which mentions his being invested by his father with the *kanṭhikâ* of *Yuvarâja*-ship is followed immediately by one which relates how, on his father's death, he had to contend against a confederacy of twelve kings, who had combined together to acquire the possession of the whole earth, and who apparently were led by a person named Stambha.[4] This opposition, however, he quickly, and without extraneous aid, put down. The context of the same passages next describes him as releasing from long captivity, and sending back to his own country, a Gaṅga king,— evidently the one who had been conquered (and imprisoned) by his father,— but as being shortly compelled to reconquer him and put him in fetters again; as marching against the Gurjara king, who fled before him; as receiving the submission of the lord of Mâlava, who was too politic to attempt to resist him; and as marching to the Vindhya mountains, and there reducing a prince named Mârâśarva, who gained his goodwill by presenting his choicest heir-looms. And after this, it says, Gôvinda III. spent the rainy season at a place named Śrîbhavana, which has not yet been identified, and then marched with his army to the Tuṅgabhadrâ, where he acquired still more wealth from the previously subjugated Pallavas; and it is perhaps in connection with this expedition that we have to take the Kanarese record, which mentions a grant that was made by him when, having conquered Dantiga, king of Kâñchî, and having gone to levy tribute from him, his encampments were on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrâ. Up to this time, the seat of the Râshtrakûta

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 142.— In publishing this passage, Mr. K. B. Pathak connected the words "son of king Krishṇa" with the name of Śrîvallabha; and I added a note that the person might perhaps be Gôvinda II., the son of Krishṇa I. But I feel convinced now that Gôvinda II. did not reign (see page 393 above). And consequently, as the position of the words "son of king Krishṇa" is such that they may be connected at least equally well (if even not better) with the name of Indrâyudha, I prefer construing them in that way and taking Śrîvallabha to denote Gôvinda III.

[2] Dr. Bühler has said (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 64) that the manner in which the Barôda grant of his nephew, Karkarâja of Gujarât, speaks of him, with the use of the past tense, indicates that he was dead at the time of its issue, in April, A. D. 811 or 812. But this is disposed of by the fact that he is spoken of, as the paramount sovereign, at the beginning of the Tôrkhêḍe grant of Gôvindarâja of Gujarât which was issued later, in December, A. D. 812.

[3] *e. g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 161.

[4] *id.* Vol. V. p. 150; Vol. VI. pp. 62, 70; Vol. XI. p. 161.

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power would seem to have been somewhere in the direction of the Nâsik District, and very probably at Nâsik itself; for, both the charters of A. D. 807, which record the above occurrences, were issued from Mayûrakhaṇḍî, which is the modern Mârkiṇḍa, a hill-fort in the range of hills on the south of the Kaḷwaṇ tâluka, Nâsik District.[1] But it appears that Gôvinda III. transferred, or took measures with a view to transferring, the seat of government. For, one of the same records tells us that he sent a brief peremptory order to the lord of Veṅgî, and made him come and construct the outer wall round a city, which was apparently in course of construction or fortification as a capital. This seems to have been done just before the setting in of the rainy season of A. D. 807; for, while it is mentioned in the Râdhanpur charter that was issued in August of that year, it is not referred to in the Waṇî charter of the preceding April. If so, the lord of Veṅgî must be the Eastern Chalukya king Narêndramṛigarâja-Vijayâditya II., who was on the throne of Veṅgî from A. D. 799 to 843, and is described, in the records of his family, as having fought, during twelve years, by day and by night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Gaṅgas and the Râshṭrakûṭas.[2] And there seems little doubt that the city, thus referred to, is the Mânyakhêṭa of subsequent records, and the modern Mâlkhêḍ in the Nizâm's Dominions, about ninety miles in a south-easterly direction from Shôlâpur,[3] the importance of which place, with a view to resisting attacks from the east, will be apparent at once if a map is consulted. The record of A. D. 811-12 tells us that Gôvinda III. took from his enemies the (emblems of the) rivers Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ, charming with their waves, and acquired, at the same time, that supreme position of lordship (which was indicated) by the form of a visible sign of those two rivers;[4] this was doubtless done in his wars with the Eastern Chalukya Vijayâditya II. And a later record, of A. D. 866, claims that he conquered the Kêraḷas, the Mâlavas, the 'Sautas, the Gurjaras, and those who dwelt at the hill-fort of Chitrakûta, *i. e.*, this place being apparently Chitrakôṭ or Chatarkôṭ in Bundêlkhaṇḍ, the Kalachuris of Central India. His dominions thus extended from the western coast far across towards the east, and from the neighbourhood of the Vindhya mountains and Mâlava in the north to at least the Tuṅgabhadrâ in the south; and his power and influence were spread over even a greater area. It was, doubtless, in consequence

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[1] Lat. 20° 23′, long. 73° 58′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 38,—'Markinda.' The identification was pointed out by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 64). — The real name of the place is undoubtedly Môrkhaṇḍi. Its actual name is a corruption, due to a legend connecting it with the sage Mârkaṇḍêya (see the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVI., Nasik, p. 357).

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 101.

[3] Lat. 17° 10′, long. 77° 13′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 57,—'Mulkaid.'—The identification of Mânyakhêṭa with Mâlkhêḍ was first suggested by Prof. H. H. Wilson (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. II. p. 393; at any rate, by "Mankhera in the Hyderabad country," he seems to mean Mâlkhêḍ); and it was ratified by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 64).— The literary reference, in the *Kathâkôśa*, to a 'Subhatuṅga at Mânyakhêṭa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 215; and see page 410 below, note 2), must be connected with Kṛishṇa II. or III.; at any rate not with Kṛishṇa I.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 163.— For the meaning of the statement, see page 338 above, note 7.

of the wide extent of his kingdom, and in connection with the design of locating the capital at Mâlkhêḍ, that he gave to his brother Indrarâja of Gujarât the feudatory government of the Lâṭa country or province of the lords of Lâṭa.

Of the time of Gôvinda III., we have the following published records:[1]—

(1) A copper-plate grant from the well-known Paiṭhaṇ, in the Nizâm's Dominions,[2] which records that, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon *tithi* of the month Vaiśâkha, Śaka-Saṁvat 716 (expired); when his victorious camp was located outside Pratishṭhâna, he granted, to some Brâhmaṇs, a village named Limbârâmikâ, in the circle of villages known as the Sârâkachchha twelve which was in the Pratishṭhâna *bhukti*, *i. e.* in a territorial division that took its name from Pratishṭhâna, which is Paiṭhaṇ itself. The corresponding English date is the 4th May, A. D. 794, on which day there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible right across India.[3]

(2) A copper-plate grant from somewhere in the Kanarese country,[4] which records that, on Thursday, the fifth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha of the Subhânu *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 726 (expired), when, having conquered Dantiga, the ruler of Kâñchî, and having gone to levy tribute from him, his encampments were on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrâ, he had good sport with wild boars at the Râmêśvara *tîrtha*,[5] and he gave to the *Gorava*, or Śaiva priest of the place, a grant which the Western Chalukya king Kîrtivarman II. had given

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[1] In addition to those enumerated here, I am much inclined to include No. 24 in Mr. Rice's *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, which gives us the name of the *Mahâmahâsâmantâdhipati* Raṇâvalôka-Kambaiya (I quote the correct *biruda* from an ink-impression received from Dr. Hultzsch), son of the *Paramêśvara* and *Mahârâja* Śrîvallabha. The characters of the record allow very well of its being referred to the time of Gôvinda III. The title *Mahârâja* is rather peculiar for his period; but the other title *Paramêśvara* proves that the Śrîvallabha of the record was a paramount sovereign. The authentic existence of any other sovereign with that *biruda*, in the same period, has not been established. And the *biruda* Raṇâvalôka is curiously analogous to Khaḍgâvalôka, the *biruda* of Dantidurga. The exceptional title *Mahâmahâsâmantâdhipati*, and the regal expression *prithivî-râjyaṁ-geyye*, 'reigning over the earth,' indicate someone superior to any *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*; and they might well be applied to a king's son, who, though not appointed *Yuvarâja*, was nevertheless entrusted with high and extensive authority, and may have been a younger brother of the chosen successor of Gôvinda III. I refrain, however, from at once deciding the point as I feel inclined, and entering Kambaiya now in the table as another son of Gôvinda III.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 103.

[3] In connection with the Hindû calendar, it is to be noted that, in contrast to the result stated on page 356 above, and in note 3, the result here is obtained by using the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, and this record gives the first genuine instance of the use of the *amânta* arrangement in India proper.—In the preceding year, there was an annular eclipse of the sun on the 14th May, A.D. 793, which corresponds to the new-moon *tithi* of the *amânta* Vaiśâkha of Śaka-Saṁvat 716 current. But it was not visible in India. And it may be rejected in favour of the visible eclipse, which, as the Śaka year is not distinctly specified either as current or as expired, is equally admissible on general grounds, and preferentially so because of its visibility in India.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125.

[5] According to Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. lvii.), this is an island, a few miles below the junction of the Tuṅga and the Bhadrâ. In his map of ancient Mysore (*id.* p. lxxxiv.), it is placed in the position which, in modern maps, is occupied by 'Anavaree,'—lat. 14° 4', long. 75° 49'.

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to the god Paramêśvara ('Siva). The corresponding English date is Thursday, 4th April, A. D. 804.[1]

(3) A copper-plate grant from Waṇî in the Nâsik District,[2] which records that, at the time of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha in the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 730 (current), when residing at Mayûrakhaṇḍî, he granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Ambakagrâma in the Vaṭanagara *vishaya* in the Nâsika *dêśa*. The corresponding English date is the 25th April, A. D. 807; but there was no eclipse of the moon.[3]

(4) A copper-plate grant from Râdhanpur in Gujarât,[4] which records that, at the time of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month 'Srâvaṇa in the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 730 (current), when residing at Mayûrakhaṇḍî, he granted to Brâhmaṇs a village named Rattajjuṇa in the Râsiyana *bhukti*. The corresponding English date is the 7th August, A. D. 807; when there was a total eclipse of the sun, though it was not visible in India.[5] As was

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 141.—In connection with the calendar, it is to be noted that the *tithi* and the week-day can here be brought together only by the *pûrnimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights. This agrees with the result for the date of A.D. 612 (page 356 above); but differs from the result for the date of A. D. 796, given under No. 1 above. And the suggestion presents itself, that the *amânta* arrangement of the fortnights came down from the direction of Central India,— the use of the *pûrnimânta* arrangement lingering longer in the Kanarese country.— In connection with note 1 on page 349 above, it is to be noted that the *saṁvatsara* has to be determined by the mean-sign system; according to which it began on the 17th June, A. D. 803, in 'Saka-Saṁvat 726 current, and ended on the 12th June, A. D. 804, in 'S.-S. 727 current. According to the southern luni-solar system, the *saṁvatsara* coincided with 'S.-S. 726 current (A. D. 803-804); the given *tithi* would then fall in A. D. 803; and in that year it cannot be properly connected with a Thursday.

[2] *id.* Vol. XI. p. 156.

[3] Here, again, the *saṁvatsara* is determined by the mean-sign system. By the southern luni-solar system, Vyaya coincided with 'Saka-Saṁvat 729 current, and therefore cannot be connected with the figures 730. But, by the mean-sign system, it began on the 4th June, A. D. 806, in 'S.-S. 729 current, and ended on the 31st May, A. D. 807, in 'S.-S. 730 current.— The nearest lunar eclipses were on the 26th February and 21st August. And there was no lunar eclipse, on the given *tithi*, in either the preceding or the following year.— In connection with the absence of the eclipse (for which see Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, p. 356), it may be noted that Prof. Jacobi has indicated (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 155, note 12, and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 423) that, eclipses being particularly auspicious occasions of donation, they would probably be calculated beforehand, in order to have all the arrangements ready, instead of being taken from actual observation; that, within and near the limits of a possible eclipse, the Hindû tables and system might at any time predict an eclipse when none would occur, or *vice versâ*; that the Hindûs, placing implicit trust in their 'Sâstras, would not think it necessary to test a calculation by actual observation, especially as small eclipses, particularly of the sun, are apt to escape notice; and that the writer of an inscription would, therefore, mention an eclipse, irrespective of whether it was actually seen or not, if he found it predicted.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 59.

[5] Here the *tithi* is determined by the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.— The *saṁvatsara* may be determined by either the mean-sign system, or the southern luni-solar system. By the southern luni-solar system, Sarvajit coincided with 'Saka-Saṁvat 730 current (A. D. 807-808). And by the mean-sign system, it began on the 31st May, A. D. 807, in 'S.-S. 730 current, and ended on the 26th May, A. D. 808 in 'S.-S. 731 current.— For the eclipse, see Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 194, 195.—For another quotation of a solar eclipse, not visible in India, see page 356 above.

pointed out by Dr. Bühler,[1] Râsiyana may be identified with the modern Râśin or Râśîn in the Karjat tâluka, Ahmednagar District; and we have perhaps a mention of it, as Râsenanagara, in one of the records of the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya.[2]

(5) A copper-plate grant from Barôda,[3] which records that the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja of Gujarât, when settled at Siddhaśamî, granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Vaḍapadraka in the Aṅkoṭṭaka eighty-four. The grant was made on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha, 'Saka-Saṁvat 734; and the corresponding English date is, approximately, either the 12th April, A. D. 811, or the 30th April, A. D. 812, according as the 'Saka year is to be applied as current or as expired. Dr. Bühler has identified Aṅkoṭṭaka and Jambuvâvikâ, which is one of the villages mentioned in defining the position of Vaḍapadraka, with the modern Aṅkûṭ and Jâmbavâ, five or six miles to the south of Barôda.[4]

(6) A copper-plate grant from Tôrkhêḍe in the Khândêsh District,[5] which records that the *Mahâsâmanta* Buddhavarasa, of the 'Salukika family, a feudatory of Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarâja of Gujarât, granted to some Brâhmaṇs a village named Gôvaṭṭana in the Sîharakhî or Sîharakkhî twelve. The grant was made on the seventh *tithi*, called *vijaya-saptami*, of the bright fortnight of the month Pausha in the Nandana *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 735 (current); and the corresponding English date is the 14th December, A. D. 812.[6] Sîharakhî or Sîharakkhî is probably the modern Serkhi, somewhere close in the neighbourhood of Barôda.

(7) A copper-plate grant, of doubtful authenticity, from Kaḍab in Mysore.[7] This document refers itself to the reign of Gôvinda III. It mentions a Châlukya prince named Balavarman; his son, Yaśôvarman, who married a sister of Châkirâja, a ruler of the Gaṅga *maṇḍala*; and Yaśôvarman's son, Vimalâditya, who was governing the Kunuṅgil *déśa*. And it purports to record that, in order to ward off the evil

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 71, note.

[2] Page 371 above.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 156.

[4] *id.* Vol. V. p. 145.

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 53.

[6] Here, again, the *saṁvatsara* may be determined by either the mean-sign system, or the southern luni-solar system. By the latter, Nandana coincided with 'Saka-Saṁvat 735 current (A. D. 812-13); and, by the mean-sign system, it began on the 9th May, A. D. 812, in 'S.-S. 735 current, and ended on the 5th May, A. D. 813, in 'S.-S. 736 current.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 11.— The authenticity of this record is doubtful for the following reasons:— (1) It does not mention Dantidurga by his proper name; and it gives him the *biruda* of Vairamêgha, which is not borne out by any other record; (2) it speaks of Krishṇa I. as Akâlavarsha-Kannêśvara; and here Kannêśvara is a mistake for Kannara; (3) it mentions Gôvinda II., not by his proper name, but by the *biruda* of Prabhûtavarsha; and this is not borne out by any other record; and (4) the date does not work out correctly, and, moreover, is expressed in numerical words for a time when, apparently, that method of expressing dates had not come into use in epigraphic records.— The earliest epigraphic instance of the use of numerical words in expressing date, in India, is given by the Eastern Chalukya grant that records the date of the coronation of Amma II. in A. D. 945 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 18; see also *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 73, note 1, on the general question).

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The Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ.

influence of the planet Saturn from Vimalâditya, the *vallabhêndra, i.e.* Gôvinda III., when his victorious camp was at Mayûrakhaṇḍî, granted, at the request of Châkirâja, to a Jain teacher named Arkakîrti, the disciple's disciple of the *Âchârya* Kûvi whose feet were praised by the body of saints of Guptigupta,[1] and who belonged to the lineage of the *Âchârya* Kîrti in the Nandi-Saṁgha, the Punnâga-Vṛiksha, and the Mûla-Gaṇa, a village named Jâlamaṅgala in the Idigûr *vishaya*, for the purposes of a Jain temple at a town called Mânyapura. The grant purports to have been made on Monday, the tenth *tithi* in the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha, Saka-Saṁvat 735 expired: but these details do not work out correctly; for, the corresponding English date was, not a Monday, but Friday, 13th May, A. D. 813.

Indrarâja, Karkarâja, and Gôvindarâja, of Gujarât.

In connection with Krishṇa I. we have already met with a separate line of Râshṭrakûṭas, the last of whom, at least, was a paramount sovereign in Gujarât, or more particularly in the Lâṭa province of Gujarât. In a more or less independent form, the power of the members of this separate branch of the family must have continued on to the time of Gôvinda III.; for, as has been already mentioned, one of his acts was to give "the province of the lords of Lâṭa,"[2] or, as it was also called, "the Lâṭa province,"[3] to his brother Indrarâja, in whose person there was thus established another Gujarât branch of the family, feudatory to the kings of the main line, but perhaps not always maintaining a condition of very close and faithful obedience. Of Indrarâja himself, we have as yet no records. And all that we are told, is, that it was to him that Gôvinda III. gave the province; that he quickly put to flight the leader of the Gurjaras, who attempted to oppose the arrangement; that, apparently in opposition to his brother and sovereign, he gave protection to some chieftains of the south, whose possessions were taken away from them by Gôvinda III.;[4] and that he had for his friends a certain people named Mâna.[5] The record which mentions the last point, declares his feudatory position,— which is also clear enough from various other details,— by saying that the province of Lâṭa had been given to him by his "lord or master.[6]" Of both his sons, however, we have records, belonging to the time of Gôvinda III., which, with another record of Gôvindarâja, of the time of Amôghavarsha I., make the feudatory position of this branch of the family still clearer, if possible. The first of them is the Barôda grant, No. 5 in the list above. After the description of Indrarâja, it mentions his son Karkarâja, with the *biruda* of Suvarṇavarsha, "the rainer of gold," whom it styles Lâṭêśvara or "lord of Lâṭa," and who, it says, protected the king of Mâlava against a lord of the Gurjaras who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lords of Gauḍa and Vaṅga. It gives to Karkarâja the feudatory title of *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*; and it further emphasises his position by speaking of Gôvinda III. as

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 159, and note 8; and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV. p. 26.
[2] *Lâṭ-êśvara-maṇḍala*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160, text, line 31, and p. 163.
[3] *Lâṭiya maṇḍala*; *ibid.* pp. 180, 188.
[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 163.
[5] *id.* Vol. XII. p. 188.
[6] *Nija-svâmin.*

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his *svâmin* or master. And it furnishes for him a date either in April, A. D. 811, or in the same month of the following year. The other record is the Tôrkhêḍê grant, No. 6 in the list above. In the opening passages, it refers itself to the reign of Gôvinda III. It mentions Gôvindarâja as the younger brother of Karkarâja.[1] And it furnishes for him a date in December, A. D. 812. The later date for Gôvindarâja, in April, A. D. 826 or 827, —his *biruda* Prabhûtavarsha,— and his title *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*,— are supplied by a grant from Kâvî, which will be noticed more fully in connection with Amôghavarsha I.

Amôghavarsha I.

Gôvinda III. was succeeded, in A. D. 814 or 815, by a son who reigned for at least sixty-two years.[2] The records have not yet disclosed his real name; and he is best known, by one of his *birudas*, as Amôghavarsha, "the fruitful rainer, or he who rains not in vain."[3] He had also the special *birudas* of Nripatunga, "prominent among kings," and Mahârâja-'Sarva, "a very 'Sarva ('Siva or Vishṇu) among kings;"[4] and he was also styled Mahârâja-Shaṇḍa,[5] "a very bull among great kings," and Atiśayadhavala, "the excessively white one."[6] His

[1] The tables given by Dr. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 145, and Vol. VI. p. 72, make Gôvindarâja the son of Karkarâja. This, however, is only a clerical error, or a printer's mistake.

[2] By the 'Sirûr inscription, noticed in full further on, the new-moon day of the *amânta* Jyêshṭha, 'Saka-Saṁvat 789 current, fell in the fifty-second year of the reign of Amôghavarsha I. Consequently, the new-moon day of the *amânta* Jyêshṭha, 'S.-S. 738 current, fell in his first year; and his regnal years run from some date, still to be exactly determined, from Âshâḍha śukla 1 of 'S.-S. 737 current, in A. D. 814, up to the *amânta* Jyêshṭha krishṇa 30, the new-moon day, of 'S.-S. 738 current, in A.D. 815.— As regards the latest date for him, A. D. 877-78, the text distinctly gives 'S.-S. 799, in words, as well as in figures. And I myself have a record from Rôṇ, in the Dhârwâr District, which gives for him a date in the Jaya *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 796 (expired), in A.D. 874, within three years of the above.— On the grounds that "it is very improbable that a prince should reign for such a long period," Dr. Bhandarkar has suggested (*Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, Supplement, p. ii.) that "there must be a mistake somewhere." But, as regards the 'Sirûr record at any rate, the suggestion is quite gratuitous: the text is perfectly preserved and legible; and there is no mistake, except that, in my published translation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 219), I carelessly gave the 'Saka year as 787, instead of 788 as it is in the text.

[3] But, from the way in which, in the 'Sirûr inscription, he is called *Lakshmî-vallabhêndra*, "a chief of favourites of Lakshmî, or a high favourite of Lakshmî," and his sovereignty is compared with the sovereignty of "the great Vishṇu," I am much inclined to think that his name either was Vishṇu or else began with that word.

[4] It has been assumed that his name was 'Sarva; the expression being taken to mean "the *Mahârâja* 'Sarva." But if it were intended in that way, the expression ought properly to be *mahârâja-śrî-'Sarva*, whereas the text always has *śrî-mahârâja-'Sarva* (*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 95; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 183, Vol. XIII. p. 67, and Vol. XIV. p. 199). It seems to me that the texts give simply a *biruda*, exactly analogous to the Râja-Pitâmaha, Râya-Nârâyaṇa, Nripati-Trinêtra, &c., of other records (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 230).— I do not overlook the fact that, according to the published text, one of the Kaṇheri inscriptions appears to style him "the glorious Amôghavarsha, the glorious *Mahârâja*,"—without any use of the word *'Sarva* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. pp. 136, 137).

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 52.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 219, 220.— The Nausârî grants of Indra III., of A.D. 915, seem to speak of him also by the *biruda* of 'Srîvallabha. But this is an isolated instance. And the word does not occur there under circumstances which render its acceptance as a formal *biruda* compulsory.— Again, the Bhadâna grant of the Koṅkaṇ 'Silâhâra prince Aparâjita, of A.D. 997, would give him the *biruda* of Durlabha, "hard to be obtained, precious;" but this is not borne out by any other records.

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records give him the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, *Bhaṭâra*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, and the epithets of *prithivîvallabha* and *śrîprithivîvallabha*. And the Śirûr inscription describes him as having three white umbrellas of (sovereignty), the *śaṅkha* or conch-shell, the *pâḷidhvaja*-banner, and the *ôkâ-kêtu* or (?) bird-ensign; as being born in the Raṭṭa race;[1] as having the crest of a Garuḍa; as being heralded in public by the sounds of the musical instrument called *tiviḷi*; and as having the hereditary title of "supreme lord of the town of Lattalûra."[2] The spurious Western Gaṅga grant from Sûḍî[3] would allot to him a daughter named Abbalabbe, who, it says, was married to Guṇaduttaraṅga-Bûtuga, the great-grandfather of the Permanaḍi-Bûtuga who was a contemporary of Krishṇa III. The statement may be correct; but, until it is authenticated by some genuine record, we may abstain from accepting it so far as to include the name of Abbalabbe in the genealogical table of the dynasty.

It would seem that the accession of Amôghavarsha I., again, was disputed; and that he owed it in great measure to assistance rendered by his cousin, Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja of Gujarât: for, the records say that Amôghavarsha destroyed his enemies and reconquered his kingdom, which had fallen off or tottered;[4] and, more explicitly, that Karkarâja "vanquished the tributary Râshṭrakûṭas who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army," and "speedily placed Amôghavarsha on his throne."[5] But, when once established on the throne, he probably enjoyed fully the same extent of dominions as did his father, and carried his successes quite as far and wide. The Śirûr inscription claims that worship was done to him by the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha, Mâlava, and Veṅgî. As regards Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Magadha, — places which lay very far to the east, in the direction of Bengal, — the assertion is doubtless hyperbolical. But no particular objection need be raised in the case of Mâlava; and none at all in respect of Veṅgî. During the whole of this period there were constant wars, with varying success on both sides, between the Râshṭrakûṭas and the Eastern Chalukyas of Veṅgî. We have already seen that Gôvinda III. made the lord of Veṅgî, *i. e.* Narêndramṛigarâja-Vijayâditya II., come and help to fortify a town. And the Sâṅglî grant, of A. D. 933, states that Amôghavarsha I. conquered the Châlukyas,— *i. e.* the Veṅgî branch of the family, — at a place named Viṅgavalli; and the Kardâ grant, of A. D. 972, describes him as having been "a fire of destruction to the Châlukyas." The latter record, and the Dêôlî grant of A. D. 940, say also that it was he

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[1] See page 384 above.
[2] See page 384 above.
[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III.
[4] *id.* Vol. I. p. 53.
[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 201.— This latter statement has been interpreted as referring to a rebellion raised by Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarâja of Gujarât, who is supposed to have usurped the feudatory authority that properly belonged to his elder brother. But I am rather inclined to think that it indicates an attempt on the part of some descendants of the first Gujarât branch, to oust the Mâlkhêḍ line and recover the sovereignty for themselves, at least in the more northern provinces of the kingdom.

who made the city of Mânyakhêṭa, which is the modern Mâlkhêḍ in the Nizâm's Dominions, about ninety miles towards the south-east from Shôlâpur;[1] and, as this appears to be the town round which Gôvinda III. caused the Eastern Chalukya king to build a wall for him, the text seems to mean that Amôghavarsha I. completed the fortification of the place, and made it the capital of his dynasty. The published records, noted further on, give a certain amount of information as to the extent of his dominions and as to his principal feudatories. And some further details for the southern provinces are furnished by an unpublished inscription at Niḍagundi in the Dhârwâr District, which mentions a feudatory of his, named Bankeyarasa, of the Chellakêtana family,[2] who had the government of the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Belgali three-hundred, the Kundarage seventy, the Kundûr five-hundred, and the Purigere three-hundred. A verse which allots to an Amôghavarsha, who can hardly be any but the present king, the composition of a Jain work named *Ratnamâlikâ* or *Praśnôttaramâlâ*, tells us that "he laid aside the sovereignty through discrimination."[3] It appears, therefore, that eventually, in consequence of extreme old age and waning strength, he abdicated in favour of his son Krishṇa II., who, as we shall see further on, was associated in the administration with him, as *Yuvarâja*.

Of the time of Amôghavarsha I., we have the following published records:—

(1) A copper-plate grant from Kâvî in the Broach District,[4] which records that, while residing at Bharukachchha, *i. e.* Broach, the *Mahâ-*

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[1] See page 396 above, and note 3.

[2] It was this person who gave his name to the town of Bankâpur in Dhârwâr (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 217, and note 23).— Mr. K. B. Pathak has said (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII., p. 223) that the word *chella-kêtana* means 'cloth-bannered.' But I do not find the authority for this in the paper (in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 104) to which he refers as furnishing it.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 218; see also Vol. XIX. p. 378 f.— In connection with this verse, I have elsewhere (*id.* Vol. XX. p. 114) interpreted a short record at Aihoḷe, in the Bijâpur District, as shewing that at some point in his long reign there was a definite break, which might be attributable to a defeat at the hands of the Eastern Chalukya king. On fuller consideration, however, I think that the expression, which is an ambiguous one (*nava-rajyam-geye*), is not to be taken in that way, *viz.* "reigning again." Dr. Hultzsch tells me that, as the Tamil Dictionary enumerates nine *khaṇḍas* or divisions of the known continent, *viz.* the eight principal points of the compass and the *madhyama-khaṇḍa* or central division, and as Reeve and Sanderson's Kanarese Dictionary gives *nava-khaṇḍa-prithivî* as meaning 'the earth, as composed of nine parts,' he is inclined to take the expression as simply equivalent to the ordinary *prithivî-râjyam-geye*. And this may be correct. At the same time, the expression, in this meaning, would be an exceptional one. And I am more inclined to take it as referring to some nine kingdoms, which it was customary to group together. What the nine kingdoms were, I am not at present able to determine. But possibly some of them were Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kôsala, Trikûṭa, Lâṭa, and Andhra, according to the names that are extant in the Vâkâṭaka inscription at Ajaṇṭâ (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 127). Or the whole list may perhaps be found in the inscription at the Daśâvatâra-cave at Ellôrâ, in which Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji read the eight names of Sandhubhûpa or Sandhukûpa, Kâñchî, Kalinga, Kôsala, Śrîśaila, Mâlava, Lâṭa, and Ṭanka (*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 96), and in which I am inclined to find also a ninth name, that of the Śêshas, meaning possibly the Nâgas.— It may be noted that the Śilâhâra chieftain Gûhala is described,— hyperbolically, in either sense,— as *navarâjya-samuddharana*, "the support of the nine kingdoms, or of the earth" (*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 102, text, line 15-16.)

[4] *id.* Vol. V. p. 144.

sâmantâdhipati Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarâja of Gujarât bathed in the Narmadâ, and presented a village named Thûrṇavi to a temple of the sun under the name of Jayâditya, "the sun of victory," at Kôṭipura which was included in Kâpikâ. The grant was made on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha, Saka-Saṁvat 749; and the corresponding English date is, approximately, either the 26th April, A. D. 826, or the 15th April, A. D. 827, according as the Saka year is to be applied as current or as expired. Kâpikâ is the modern Kâvî itself, close to the south bank of the Mahî; and Thûrṇavi is Thanavi or Thânawa, a few miles to the south of Kâvî.[1]

(2) A copper-plate grant from Barôda,[2] which records that the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Dhârâvarsha-Nirupama-Dhruvarâja, son of Karkarâja of Gujarât, while residing at Sarvamaṅgalâsattâ outside Khêṭaka or Srîkhêṭaka, gave to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Pûsilâvilli in the Kâśahrada *dêśa*. The grant was made on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika, Sâka-Saṁvat 757; and the corresponding English date is, approximately, either the 22nd October, A. D. 834, or the 11th October, A. D. 835, according as the Sâka year is to be applied as current or as expired. Khêṭaka, or Srîkhêṭaka, is the modern Kaira; and the Kâśahrada *dêśa* must be some territorial division in that neighbourhood.

(3) An inscription at the Daśâvatâra cave at Ellôrâ in the Nizâm's Dominions.[3] That this record belongs actually to the time of Amôghavarsha, cannot be declared with absolute certainty; because it was left unfinished. But, mentioning him as Mahârâja-Sarva, it takes the genealogy as far as him, and breaks off abruptly in one of the verses descriptive of him. The extant portion does not contain a date.

(4) An inscription on the architrave over the verandah of the Kaṇheri Cave No. 78 in the island of Salsette, Thâṇa District,[4] which records that, in the reign of Amôghavarsha, and during the rule of the *Mahâsâmanta* Pullaśakti, of the northern Koṅkaṇ branch of the Silâhâra family, who was governing the whole of the Koṅkaṇ, headed by the city of Purî, which he held through the favour of Amôghavarsha, Pullaśakti's old minister, Vishṇu. . . . , having done obeisance to the Buddhist community at the mount Krishṇagiri, gave certain grants of coins called *drammas*, for the purpose of making repairs and providing clothes and books. The record is dated Saka-Saṁvat 765, without any further details; and the corresponding Christian year is A. D. 843-44, if the Saka year is taken as expired. As regards the places mentioned in this record,— Krishṇagirî is, of course, Kaṇheri itself; and reference has already been made to Purî, in connection with the Mauryas of the Koṅkaṇ.[5]

(5) Another inscription at Kaṇheri, on the architrave of the verandah of Cave No. 10, the Darbâr or Mahârâja's cave,[6] which re-

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 145.
2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 196.
3 *Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 92. The text was subsequently reproduced by Dr. Bühler in *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 87.
4 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 136, No. 43 B.
5 Page 283 above.
6 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 134, No. 15.

cords that, in the reign of Amôghavarsha, and during the rule of the *Mahâsâmanta*[1] Kapardin II., son and successor of the *Mahâsâmanta* Pullaśakti mentioned above, a Buddhist named Avighnâkara, who had come from the Gauḍa country, had some caves, suitable for meditation, made at Krishṇagiri, and gave a perpetual endowment of one hundred *drammas*, from the interest on which, after his death, the monks were to be provided with clothes.[2] The record is dated on Wednesday, the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Âśvina in the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 775, which, though the year is given both in words and in figures, is a mistake for 773 (expired) or 774 (current); and the corresponding English date is Wednesday, 16th September, A.D. 851.[3]

(6) A stone inscription at 'Sirûr in the Dhârwâr District,[4] which records that, in the fifty-second year of the reign of Amôghavarsha and in the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 788 (expired), an officer of his, named Dêvaṇayya, who was governing the Beḷvola three-hundred at Aṇṇigere, made a grant, or remitted a tax, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Sunday, the new-moon-day of the month Jyaishṭha. Here, the corresponding English date is Sunday, 16th June, A. D. 866; on which day there was a total eclipse of the sun, which was visible right across India.[5]

(7) A copper-plate grant from Bagumrâ in the Nausârî District in the Barôda territory,[6] which records that the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Dhârâvarsha-Nirupama-Dhruvarâja of Gujarât,— the second of that name, the son of Akâlavarsha-'Subhatuṅga,— bathed in the Narmadâ at the Mûlasthâna *tîrtha* at Bhrigukachchha (Broach), and granted to

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1 In both places in this record, and in No. 8 below, the original text has *mahâsâmanta śêkhara*. It is possible that the whole word is intended to be a title, equivalent to the *mahâsâmantâdhipati* of other records. But, on the other hand, such a title is not known to me from any other sources; and, in No. 4 above, Pullaśakti is styled simply *Mahâsâmanta*: and I am inclined to think that the word *śêkhara* is not used in a technical sense, and that the intended meaning is simply, 'a very excellent *Mahâsâmanta*.'

2 For similar endowments, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 33, 262, and probably also pp. 38, 39, 40, 41, 265.

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 421.— The mistake in the year is shewn, partly by the name of the *saṁvatsara*, and partly by the fact that the *tithi* did not fall on a Wednesday in the specified year, either as a current or as an expired year.— The *saṁvatsara* may be determined, either by the mean-sign system, according to which it commenced on the 26th November, A.D. 850, in 'Saka-Saṁvat 773 current, and ended on the 22nd November, A. D. 851, in 'S.-S. 774 current; or by the southern luni-solar system, according to which it coincided with 'S.-S. 774 current (A.D. 851-52).— The *tithi* and the week-day are determined by the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights; for, the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pûrṇimânta* Âśvina ended on Monday, 17th August. And this point is of interest in connection with the calendar, by way of contrast with the results for the dates in A.D. 612 (page 356 above, and note 3), and A. D. 804 (page 398 above, and note 1).

4 *id.* Vol. XII. p. 215.

5 *id.* Vol. XVII. p. 142.— Here, again, it may be noted, in connection with note 3 above, on the date in A.D. 851, that the *tithi* and the week-day are determined by the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.— As in the date just referred to, the *saṁvatsara* may be determined, either by the mean-sign system, according to which it commenced on the 23rd September, A.D. 865, in 'Saka-Saṁvat 788 current, and ended on the 20th September, A.D. 866, in 'S.-S. 789 current; or by the southern luni-solar system, according to which it coincided with 'S.-S. 789 current (A.D. 866-67).

6 *id.* Vol. XII. p. 179.

a Brâhmaṇ a village named Pârâhaṇaka, which was included in the one hundred and sixteen villages that were connected with the town of Karmântapura. The grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Jyaishṭha, Śaka-Saṁvat 789; and the corresponding English date is the 16th June, A. D. 866, or the 6th June, A. D. 867, according as the Śaka year is taken as current or as expired: on each of these days there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible in India.[1] The village of Pârâhaṇaka is the modern 'Parona' in the Surat District.[2]

(8) Another inscription at Kaṇheri,[3] in the same position with No. 4 above, which records that, in the reign of Amôghavarsha, and during the rule of the *Mahâsâmanta* Kapardin II., mentioned above, a person named Vishṇu gave one hundred *drammas* to the monks of the Buddhist community at Kṛishṇagiri, and caused a cave, suitable for meditation, to be constructed, in which the monks should receive clothes and other gifts. The record is dated Śaka-Saṁvat 799, without any details; and the corresponding Christian year is A. D. 877-78, if the Śaka year is applied as expired.[4]

Three of the records mentioned just above are of special interest, in shewing that Buddhism was still, in the ninth century A. D., a living religion, favoured by the authorities, in Western India.[5] At the same time, however, a sudden development, of a very marked kind, was being accomplished by its chief rival, Jainism, which was eventually to do more than any other form of belief towards its downfall. The writer Jinasêna, who has been referred to above in connection with Gôvinda III., was one of a series of celebrated Digambara Jain authors, who came to the front, propagating their religion, and increasing the power of their sect as they did so, during the earlier part of the Râshṭrakûṭa period.[6] The first of these authors was Samantabhadra, whose "appearance in Southern India marks an epoch, not "only in the annals of Digambara Jainism, but in the history of "Sanskrit literature;" and whose chief work, the *Âptamîmâṁsâ*, "is "regarded as the most authoritative exposition of the *syâdvâda*-doc-"trine and of the Jain notion of an omniscient being, and passes in

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 56, and Vol. XXIII. p. 131, No. 109.— Here, again, the *tithi* is determined by the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

[2] *id.* Vol. XVI. p. 100.

[3] *id.* Vol. XIII. p. 135, No. 43 A.

[4] At Konnûr in the Nawalgund tâluka, Dhârwâr District, there is a spurious inscription,— in characters of about the eleventh century A. D.,— which purports to be a record of Amôghavarsha I., and to be dated at the time of a total eclipse of the moon on the full-moon-day of the month Âśvayuja of the Vikrama *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 782 expired and 783 current (the expired and current years are both given).

[5] Another epigraphic trace of it, as late as the end of the eleventh century, is furnished by the Ḍambaḷ inscription which records grants made to *vihâras* of Buddha and Ârya-Târâdêvî at that town in A. D. 1095 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 185). And the statement that Êkântada-Râmayya, who started the revival of Śaivism about the middle of the twelfth century (see chapter V. below, under the account of Bijjala), was deputed to overthrow both the Jains and the Buddhists, implies that even then Buddhism had by no means sunk into insignificance in this part of the country.

[6] I take these details from a paper by Mr. K. B. Pathak, entitled "Bhartṛihari and Kumârila," in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 213 ff.

"review all the contemporary schools of philosophy, including the *brah-*"*mâdraita* doctrine :"[1] this person is mentioned, with a good deal of flourish, in the 'Sravaṇa-Belgola epitaph of Mallishêṇa,[2] which represents him as professing, to a prince of Karahâṭaka (Karâḍ, in the Sâtârâ District), that he had made a missionary tour to Pâṭaliputra (Paṭna in Behâr), Mâlwa, Sindh, Ṭhakka (the Pañjâb), Kâñchî, and Vaidisa (Bêsnagar). After him came Akalaṅka, Akalaṅkadêva, or Akalaṅkachandra, who wrote the *Ashṭaśatî*, the earliest commentary on the *Âptamîmâṁsâ*; the 'Sravaṇa-Belgola epitaph mentions him specially, as defeating the Buddhists in disputation. Then came Vidyânanda, apparently known also as Pâtrakês'arin, who wrote the *Âptamîmâṁsâlaṁkâra* or *Ashṭasahasrî*, the second and more exhaustive commentary on the *Aptamîmâṁsâ*, and who tells us that he followed the *Ashṭaśatî* as his guide. Then followed Mâṇikyanandin, author of the *Parîkshâmukha*, in which he mentions Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka, and Vidyânanda. After him came Prabhâchandra, author of the *Pramêyakamalamârtaṇḍa*, which is the earliest commentary on Mâṇikyanandin's *Parîkshâmukha*, and of the *Nyâyakumudachandrôdaya*, which is a commentary on the *Laghîyastraya* of Akalaṅka: he tells us that Akalaṅka was his teacher; and his epitaph is at 'Sravaṇa-Belgola.[3] After him came Jinasêna, author of the Jain *Harivaṁśa*, of which a first recension was completed in A. D. 783-84, in the time of Gôvinda III., and of a portion of the *Âdi-Purâṇa*, which was part of the Jain *Mahâ-Purâṇa*: in his *Âdi-Purâṇa*, he mentions Akalaṅka, Prabhâchandra, and Pâtrakêsari-(Vidyânanda); and in another of his works, the *Pârśvâbhyudaya*, he describes himself as the *Paramaguru* or chief preceptor of Amôghavarsha I.,[4] whom, in the same passage, he mentions with the paramount title of *Paramêśvara*,—thus shewing that he lived on into the actual reign of that king, *i.e.* until, at any rate, A. D. 814-15.[5] And finally there came Jinasêna's pupil, Guṇabhadra, who completed the *Âdi-Purâṇa* and wrote the *Uttara-Purâṇa*, or second part of the *Mahâ-Purâṇa*, which he finished in A. D. 897, in the reign of Amôghavarsha's successor, Krishṇa II. As regards the period of these writers, —their latest limit is deter-

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1 *loc. cit.* pp. 218, 219.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. pp. 186, 199.

3 *id.* Vol. IV. p. 22.

4 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 224. — To much the same purport, a passage in the *praśasti* of the *Uttara-Purâṇa* says that Amôghavarsha I. bowed down at the feet of Jinasêna, and considered himself to be purified thereby.— The same *praśasti* tells us that Jinasêna's teacher was Vîrasênabhaṭṭâraka, belonging to the Sêna *anvaya*, or succession of teachers and disciples, in the Mûla-Saṁgha.

5 Mr K. B. Pathak would make him live on till A. D. 838-39. For, stamping the Jain *Harivaṁśa* as a work of his youth and the *Âdi-Purâṇa* as a highly-finished composition of much later date, and quoting a work named *Jayadhavala ṭîkâ*, which mentions Amôghavarsha I. and Jinasêna and gives the date of its own completion as 'Saka-Saṁvat 759 expired, = A. D. 837-38, he says that, from this, "we may safely accept "'Saka 760 as the date of the *Âdi-Purâṇa*; for, at this time, Jinasêna must have been "very old, as he wrote his first work, the *Harivaṁśa*, in 'Saka 705" (*loc. cit.* pp. 224 to 227). The reasoning, however, on which 'Saka-Saṁvat 760 (expired), = A. D. 838-39, is thus taken to be "the date" of the writing of Jinasêna's portion of the *Âdi-Purâṇa* is not apparent.—The passage containing the date of the *Jayadhavala ṭîkâ* is worth quoting in connection with the nomenclature and origin of the 'Saka era; it runs—*êkânna-shashṭi-samadhika-sapta-śat-âbdêshu 'Saka-narêndrya samatîtêshu.*

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The Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ.

mined by the dates mentioned above for Jinasêna and Guṇabhadra. And, except in the cases of Samantabhadra and Akalaṅka, their earlier limit is fixed by the facts, that both Vidyânanda and Prabhâchandra quote the Sanskrit grammarian Bhartṛihari, author of the *Vâkyapadîya*, — Prabhâchandra also mentioning Kumârila, who again quotes Bhartṛihari, — and that, according to the statement of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, Bhartṛihari died in A. D. 650.[1]

Gôvindarâja, Dhruvarâja, Akâlavarsha-Subhatuṅga, and another Dhruvarâja, of Gujarât

The first, second, and seventh of the above records give further information about the feudatory branch of the family in Gujarât. No. 1, the Kâvî grant, furnishes the later date for Gôvindarâja, in April A. D. 826 or 827. And a peculiar point about it is that, for some reason which is not disclosed, it takes the genealogy of the main line only as far as Gôvinda III., and makes no reference of any kind to Amôghavarsha I., though the latter was then the reigning king. The explanation of this may possibly be that, when this charter was issued, Gôvindarâja was in rebellion against his sovereign. At the same time, it duly gives to him simply his feudatory title of *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*. No. 2, the Barôdâ grant, on the other hand, takes the genealogy of the main line as far as Amôghavarsha I., whom it mentions by his *biruda* of Mahârâja-'Sarva. It then mentions Indrarâja of Gujarât; and then his son Karkarâja, of whom it says,— referring, probably, to some descendants of Kakkarâja II., the contemporary of Krishṇa I.,[2]— that "he vanquished the tributary Râshṭrakûṭas, who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army; and he speedily placed Amôghavarsha on his throne."[3] And then, apparently without any reference to Gôvindarâja, it introduces Karkarâja's son, the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Dhârâvarsha-Nirupama-Dhruvarâja, for whom it furnishes a date in October, A. D. 834 or 835. No. 7, the Bagumrâ grant, again takes the genealogy of the main line as far as Amôghavarsha I., whom it mentions both as Mahârâja-'Sarva and as Amôghavarsha. It then takes up the genealogy of the feudatory branch. In connection with Indrarâja, it tells us that he had some devoted followers in the Mâna tribe, skilled in the use of the bow. In the account of Karkarâja,— whose name it gives in the form of Kakkarâja,— it repeats the statement about his conquering the rebellious tributary Râshṭrakûṭas and placing Amôghavarsha I. on the throne. And then, certainly with no mention of Gôvindarâja, it passes on to Karkarâja's son Dhruvarâja, who, it says, lost his life in battle with the forces of a certain Vallabha.[4] Dhruvarâja was succeeded

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[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* p. 213. — The epitaph of Prabhâchandra (see page 407 above, note 3) is, unfortunately, not dated. Palæographic considerations place it approximately in the seventh century A. D. And it may be placed in the first half of the eighth century. But it cannot, I consider, be referred to any later time than A.D. 750.

[2] The expression "who had voluntarily promised obedience" seems too pointed to denote simply some members of the second Gujarât branch, who were naturally feudatory.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 201.

[4] This person has been taken, by Dr. Bühler and Dr. Hultzsch (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 181), to be the reigning king Amôghavarsha I., who "may have had difficulties in obtaining the tribute from Gujarât, or have had other reasons for interfering in the affairs of the province." But the subsequent statements point to some persistent attacks, which indicate, I think, further attempts by descendants of Kakkarâja II., the contemporary of Krishṇa I.

by a son, whose proper name is not given, but who had the *birudas* of Akâlavarsha and 'Subhatuṅga; and of this person we are told that, though his servants were disloyal, he quickly recovered his paternal kingdom, which had been attacked by the army of Vallabha. He was succeeded by his son, another *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Dhruvarâja, who, like his grandfather of the same name, had the *birudas* of Dhârâvarsha and Nirupama, and for whom the record furnishes a date in June, A. D. 866. In connection with him, the record tells us that, though attacked on one side by the host of the powerful Gurjaras,[1] and on another by the hostile Vallabha, and though hampered by seditious kinsmen and the treachery of an unnamed younger brother, he quieted all disturbances; that, unaided, he easily put to flight the very strong army of the Gurjaras, which had been reinforced by his kinsmen; and that he defeated a powerful king called Mihira. In addition to the treacherous unnamed younger brother, spoken of above, the record mentions, at the end, another younger brother of Dhruvarâja, named Gôvindarâja.

From the fact that, in the Bagumrâ grant certainly, and probably also in the Barôda record, there is no mention of Gôvindarâja, and from the statement in the Barôda grant, that Karkarâja reduced to obedience some rebellious tributary Râshṭrakuṭas, it has been held that Gôvindarâja was an usurper.[2] This was at a time when only one date was known for him,— that of A.D. 826 or 827, furnished by the Kâvî grant. And, while it seems more likely that at that time, if anything was wrong, he was in rebellion against his sovereign Amôghavarsha I., the earlier date, in A. D. 812, furnished by the Tôrkhêḍê grant, does seem to shew that there was then some action on his part, temporarily successful, hostile to his elder brother. If Gôvindarâja succeeded regularly to the local government, and was in his turn regularly succeeded by the first Dhruvarâja, Karkarâja must have died before December A. D. 812, and consequently before the accession of Amôghavarsha I. in A. D. 814 or 815. But, that he survived longer is distinctly proved by the statement that he placed Amôghavarsha I. on the throne. It appears plain, therefore, that, towards the end of the reign of Gôvinda III., Gôvindarâja did engage in some enterprise which was hostile to the government of his elder brother, and which afterwards developed into an attempt to prevent the accession of Amôghavarsha I. himself. And, from the reference to tributary Râshṭrakûṭas who rebelled after having voluntarily promised obedience, it further seems probable that what he did was to join in an attempt to secure succession to the throne of the main line for some descendant of Kakkarâja II., the contemporary of Krishṇa I. Later on, having become reconciled and loyal again, he may have naturally succeeded Karkarâja in the local government; and then, in A. D. 826 or 827, he may have fallen into some fresh act of rebellion against Amôghavarsha I., which ended in the local administration being taken out of his hands and made over to his nephew Dhruvarâja.

[1] Taken by Dr. Bühler and Dr. Hultzsch (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 181) to be the Châuḍâs or Châpôtkaṭas of Anhilwâḍ, probably under the leadership of Kshêmarâja, who, according to the *Ratnamâlâ* of Krishṇajî, reigned at Aṇhilwâḍ from A. D. 841 to 856.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 180, and Vol. XIV. p. 197.

Chapter III.

The Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ.

Krishṇa II.

Amôghavarsha I. was succeeded by his son Krishṇa II., whose name appears also in the Prâkrit form of Kannara.[1] This king had the *birudas* of Akâlavarsha and 'Subhatuṅga,[2] and the usual titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*. In formal passages, the customary epithet of *śrîprithivîvallabha* is connected with those titles: but, also, *vallabha* was sometimes attached to his name, which then appears as Krishṇavallabha;[3] and in one instance the epithet *vallabharâja*, "king of favourites," is connected with his *biruda* Akâlavarsha.[4] His wife was a younger sister of 'Saṅkuka, and a daughter of Kokkala or Kokkalla, elsewhere also called Kôkalla, king of Chêdî, who is said in the Kardâ grant of A. D. 972 to be of the Haihaya family,[5] and in the Sâṅglî grant of A. D. 933 to be of the lineage of Sahasrârjuna, *i. e.* of Kârtavîrya, or Sahasrabâhu-Arjuna, prince of the Haihayas; this Kokkala or Kokkalla, king of Chêdî, is, therefore, the first of that name, in General Sir Alexander Cuningham's list of the Kalachuri kings of Tripurî or Têwar near Jabalpur.[6] The earliest synchronous date that we have for Krishṇa II. is in April, A. D. 888, furnished by the Bagumrâ grant (if it is genuine) which is mentioned further on, and failing that, by an unpublished inscription at Betgere in the Dhârwâr District, which is a few days later in actual date: but he must have succeeded to the throne very soon after A. D. 878, at the latest; for his father had then been reigning for sixty-four years. The latest certain

1 *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 222.— Kannara, Kanhara, Kaṇhâra, Kandhara, and Kandhâra, all occur as the names of kings whose names are given in Sanskrit as Krishṇa.— Analogous epigraphic instances are, Biṭṭa, = Vishṇuvardhana I., Eastern Chalukya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX., pp. 333, 305); Biṭṭi and Biṭṭiga, = Vishṇuvardhana, Hoysaḷa (chapter VI. below); Dêsiṅga, = Jayasiṁha II., Western Châlukya (chapter IV., below); Gojjiga, = Gôvinda IV., Râshṭrakûṭa (page 416 below); Katta, = Kârtavîrya I., Raṭṭa of Saundaṭṭi (chapter VIII. below); Râjiga, = Rajêndra, Chôḷa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 276, 281, 282); Sattiga, = Satyâśraya, Western Châlukya (chapter IV. below); and Vikkala, = Vikramâditya VI., Western Châlukya (Dr. Hultzsch's report, dated the 30th June, 1892, pp. 3, 6). — And similar instances of the present day are, Antâji and Antû (Marâṭhî), and Antappa (Kanarese), = Ananta; Bâlkû and Bâlkôbâ (M.), = Bâlakṛishṇa; Chintû and Chintopant (M.), and Chintappa (K.), = Chintâmaṇi; Dâmû (M.), = Dâmôdara; Datû (M.), and Dattappa (K.), = Dattâtrêya; Gaṇû (M.), and Gaṇappa (K.), = Gaṇapati; Janû and Janobâ (M.), = Janârdana; Kuśâ and Kuśâbâ (M.), = Kṛishṇa; Lakhû, Lakshyâ, and Lakhyâ (M.), and Lachappa (K.), = Lakshmaṇa; Mallû and Malhârpant (M.), and Mallappa (K.), = Malhâri; Nârô (M.), and Nârappa (K.), = Nârâyaṇa; Narasû and Narasô (M.), and Narasappa (K.), = Narasiṁha; Nilû and Nilobâ (M.), = Nîlakaṇṭha; Parasû and Parasyâ (M.), and Parasappa (K.), = Paraśurâma; 'Sinû (M.), and 'Sinappa (K.), = 'Srînivâsa; Timâjî (M.), and Timappa (K.) = Tryambaka; Vâsû (M.) and Vâsappa (K.), = Vâsudêva; Visû, Visobâ and Visâji (M.), = Viśvanâtha; and Viṭhû and Viṭhobâ (M.), and Viṭhappa (K.) = Viṭṭhala.— I am told that the custom is to give the full Sanskṛit name at the name-giving ceremony, and to introduce the Prâkṛit form afterwards. And, this being so, my suggestion (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 25; see also note 9) that Biṭṭa was expanded into its Sanskṛit form when Vishṇuvardhana I. was installed as *Yuvarâja*, is perhaps untenable.

2 The literary reference, in the *Kathâkôśa* of a modern writer named Brahmanêmidatta, to a 'Subhatuṅga at Mânyakhêṭa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 215; in the text, as there given, for *bhavati* read *Bhâratî*, as intimated by Mr. K. B. Pathak in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 222, note 21), must be connected either with this king, or with Kṛishṇa III. At any rate, it cannot apply to Kṛishṇa I., as I originally thought; for everything points to the foundation of Mânyakhêṭa having not been commenced till the time of Gôvinda III., and to the city having, in all probability, not been made the capital until the time of Amôghavarsha I.

3 *e.g.*, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. 192.

4 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 55.

5 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 268.

6 *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 85, 'Saṅkuka, however, is not shewn there.

date that we have for him, is A. D. 911-12. A Sanskrit commentary on Guṇabhadra's *Âtmânuśâsana*, describing that person as the preceptor of Krishṇa II. while the latter was *Yuvarâja*, indicates that, before his actual accession to the throne, he had been formally associated with his father in the administration; and the date of A. D. 875-76 for him, as *Yuvarâja*, is perhaps supplied by one of the later records of the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti.[1] It was during his reign, and in the Piṅgala *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 820 (current), with a date falling in A. D. 897,[2] that Guṇabhadra finished his *Uttara-Purâṇa*; and the *praśasti* of that work mentions, in the passage that gives that date, a certain Lôkâditya, of the Chellapatâka or Chellakêtana family, who, as a feudatory of Krishṇa II., was then governing the Banavâsi province at the town of Vaṅkâpura, which is the modern Baṅkâpur in the Dhârwâr District.[3] Though the Râshṭrakûṭa records themselves contain no allusion to the fact, the wars with the Eastern Chalukyas continued in this reign also. It is claimed for Guṇaka-Vijayâditya III. (A. D. 844 to 888) that "challenged by the lord of the Raṭṭas, he conquered the unequalled Gaṅgas, cut off the head of Maṅgi in battle, and frightened 'the fire-brand' Krishṇa (II.), and

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1 The passage in question, in an inscription at Saundatti in the Belgaum District (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 194), is concerned primarily with a person named Pṛithvîrâma. In lines 8 to 15, the record mentions this person as a religious student and a servant at the feet of a king named Krishṇarâjadêva, and says that in the Manmatha *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 797 expired (A. D. 875-76), a Jain temple was built at Saundatti, and was endowed, by a person who, as far as this passage goes, might be either Pṛithvîrâma or Krishṇarâjadêva. And in lines 15 to 18 it mentions Pṛithvîrâma as a *Mahâsâmanta*; feudatory to Krishṇarâjadêva, and explains that it was Pṛithvîrâma who, as chieftain, built and endowed the temple.—In connection with Pṛithvîrâma, the date seems to be not authentic. For, we have for his grandson Śântivarman a date (*ibid.* pp. 210, 211) falling in December, A. D. 980, of the Vikrama *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 902 (expired); and the interval of a hundred and five years seems too great,—considering that the founder and endower of a temple could hardly be a young child.—Now, the record, at least as it stands, is not a synchronous one. The mention of a chieftain named Kanna in the first four lines, proves that all the earlier part of it, including the statements and date in question, was put on the stone at any rate not much before A. D. 1050; and the whole of it may have been put together as late as A. D. 1096, which date is given by lines 39, 40. And, on reconsideration of this record, my opinion is (1) that it makes a confusion between Krishṇa II. and his descendant Krishṇa III.; (2) that the real patron and sovereign of Pṛithvîrâma,—and the Krishṇa from whom, in other records, the Raṭṭas claim to be actually descended,—must be Krishṇa III., whose earlier known date, A. D. 940, is in quite sufficient agreement with the period of a person (Pṛithvîrâma) whose grandson (Śântivarman) was a grown-up person, ruling as chieftain, in A. D. 980; and (3) that, in the first mention of Krishṇa III. and Pṛithvîrâma, there has been erroneously connected with them a date, taken probably from some archive of the sect to which Pṛithvîrâma belonged, appertaining in reality to Krishṇa II., for whom, as *Yuvarâja*, it is quite admissible.

2 For the full details of the date, and for Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's determination of the corresponding English date as the 23rd June, A. D. 897, see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on Sanskṛit Manuscripts for 1883-84*, pp. 429, 430.—The *tithi*, Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 5, is determined by the *amânta* arrangement.—The *saṁvatsara* is determined by the southern luni-solar system; according to which it coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 820 current. By the mean-sign system, it began on the 15th May, A. D. 896, in Ś.-S. 819 current, and ended on the 11th May, A. D. 899, in Ś.-S. 820 current.

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 217.—Under the names of Lôkade and Lôkadeyarasa, the same person described as a *Mahâsâmanta* and as governing the Banavâsi twelve thousand, is mentioned in an inscription at Kuṇimallihaḷḷi, near Baṅkâpur, dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 815, and in another at Âḍûr, in the same neighbourhood, dated in the Raktâkshin *saṁvatsara* coupled with Ś.-S. 826 (expired).

completely burnt his city (Mâlkhêḍ);" and also that Krishṇa II. did honour to his arms.[1] But, on the other hand, the subsequent Eastern Chalukya records admit that, later on, the land of Vengî was overrun by the Râshṭrakûṭas under Krishṇa II., and had to be reconquered by Châlukya-Bhîma I. (A. D. 888 to 918).[2] The Kalachuri records claim that Krishṇa's father-in-law, Kôkalla I., gave some support to his rule;[3] and this may well have been on the occasion when he suffered disaster at the hands of Vijayâditya III.

Of the time of Krishṇa II., we have five published records:—

(1) A copper-plate grant, of doubtful authenticity, from Bagumrâ in the Barôda territory,[4] which purports to record that the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Akâlavarsha-Krishṇarâja of Gujarât, when resident at Aṅkûlêśvara, bathed in the Narmadâ at the Bhagavat *tîrtha*, and granted to two Brâhmaṇs a village named Kaviṭhasâḍhi in the Variavi hundred-and-sixteen which was in the Koṅkaṇa *vishaya*. The grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Chaitra, 'Saka-Saṁvat 810 (expired); and the equivalent English date is the 15th April, A. D. 888, on which day there was a total annular eclipse of the sun, visible in India.[5] Of the places mentioned, Aṅkûlêśvara is the modern Aṅkulêśwar or Aṅklêśwar, the chief town of the tâluka of the same name in the Broach District; Variavi is the modern Wariâo, on the Taptî, in the Barôda territory, three or four miles north of Surat; and Kaviṭhasâḍhi is the modern Kôsâḍ, close by, in the Ôlpâḍ tâluka of the Surat District.[6]

(2) A stone inscription at Nandwâḍige in the Bijâpur District,[7] which refers itself expressly to the reign of Krishṇa II., and records a grant made by the villagers on Thursday, the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Mâgha in the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 822, by mistake for 824 (expired) or 825 (current). The corresponding English date is Thursday, 6th January, A. D. 903.[8]

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 102, 103.

[2] *ibid.* p. 103.

[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 252.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 65.—Dr. Hultzsch, who edited it, remarked that "the numerous omissions and general inaccuracy of the grant might lead one to consider it a forgery," but accepted it as genuine because a distinctly visible solar eclipse did occur on the day given in the passage containing the date. This, however, is not as conclusive a reason as he thought, for admitting the document as authentic; and my own opinion is that it is spurious. At the same time, it is quite possible that the new names, and the details given in connection with them, are genuine. And therefore while marking them as open to question, I have, in the absence of actual disproof, included in the table opposite page 386 above such of the names as belong there.

[5] See *id.* Vol. XVIII. p. 90.—If this record is genuine, it is of interest in connection with the calendar, in furnishing the earliest instance of the use of the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights in Gujarât. Failing it, the earliest such instance is that which is furnished by the Surat grant of Trilôchanapâla of Lâṭadêśa, dated in A. D. 1051 (see *ibid.* p. 91).

[6] *id.* Vol. XVI. pp. 100, 101.

[7] *id.* Vol. XII. p. 220.

[8] The Dundubhi *saṁvatsara* cannot be connected with 'Saka-Saṁvat 822 at all. By the mean-sign system, it began on the 24th April, A. D. 901, in 'S.-S 824 current, and ended on the 20th April, A. D. 902, in 'S.-S. 825 current; and during this

(3). A stone-inscription at Mulgund in the Dhárwár District,[1] which, again, expressly refers itself to his reign, and records a grant made by a Jain named Arakârya to a temple which his father Chîkârya had caused to be built. The record is dated in the Dundubhi *samvatsara*, Saka-Samvat 824 expired (A. D. 902-903), without any further details.[2]

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(4) A copper-plate grant from Kâpaḍwaṇaj in the Kaira District.[3] It takes the genealogy of the main line from Krishṇa I. as far as Krishṇa II. It then mentions a feudatory of his, the *Mahâsâmanta* Prachaṇḍa, son of Dhavalappa, of the Brahmavaka family; and a *Daṇḍanâyaka*, or leader of the forces, of Dhavalappa, named Chandragupta. And it proceeds to record that Krishṇa II. granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Vyâghrâsa, and also called Vallurikâ, in the Rúriddhâ ten, which was in the Karpaṭavâṇijya eighty-four, which, again, was in the Harshapura or Srîharshapura seven-hundred-and-fifty. The grant was made, or the record was written, on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha, Saka-Samvat 832; and the corresponding English date is, approximately, the 8th April, A. D. 909, or the 27th April, A. D. 910, according as the Saka year is taken as current or as expired. Of the places mentioned above, Karpaṭavâṇijya is, of course, Kâpaḍwaṇaj itself; and Vyâghrâsa has been identified by Dr. Hultzsch, in editing the record, with the modern Waghâs, on the east of Kâpaḍwaṇaj. The record also mentions Khêṭaka or Srîkhêṭaka, Harshapura and Kâśahrada, as leading towns of the seven-hundred-and-fifty district that is referred to; and the first of these seems undoubtedly, as was held by Dr. Hultzsch, to be the modern Kaira.

(5) A stone inscription at Aihoḷe in the Bijâpur District,[4] which again, expressly refers itself to the reign of Krishṇa II., and records the building or opening of an ascetic's abode. This record is simply dated in the Prajâpati *samvatsara*, Saka-Samvat 831, by mistake for 833 (expired) or 834 (current) (A. D. 911-912), without any further details.[5]

Dantivarman, and Krishṇarâja of Gujarât.

Accepting the historical details as authentic, from the first of the above records we obtain certain additions to our knowledge of the

period Mâgha śukla 5 ended on Sunday, 17th January, A.D. 902, and cannot be connected with a Thursday at all. By the southern luni-solar system, however, the *samvatsara* coincided with S.-S. 825 current (824 expired); and in this year the given *tithi* ended on Thursday, 6th January, A. D. 903. There is, therefore, a mistake in respect of the Saka year; in spite of its being expressed in words.—This and the next record, dated in the same year, give the earliest certain instance, as yet obtained, of the use of the luni-solar system of the cycle in Southern India. The Sirûr inscription, dated in A.D. 866, possibly gives an earlier instance; but the point is not certain in that case.

[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X. pp. 167, 190.

[2] For any date from Chaitra śukla 1 to approximately Vaiśâkha śukla 7, the Dundubhi *samvatsara* could be quoted with Saka-Samvat 824 expired, according to the mean-sign system. But, in view of the result for the preceding record, there can be no doubt that what was intended is the Dundubhi *samvatsara* which coincided with the whole of S.-S. 824 expired, according to the southern luni-solar system.

[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 52.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. 222.

[5] Here, again, in spite of the date being expressed in words there is a distinct mistake in respect of the Saka year.—In taking the *samvatsara* as coinciding with A.D. 911-912, I follow the southern luni-solar system of the cycle; in accordance with the result for the date in A. D. 903 (page 412 above).

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Gujarât branch of the family. Agreeing in all essential poins with the Bagumrâ grant of A. D. 866, as far as the latter goes, it takes us, in much the same way, to the verse which, in the latter grant, gives the name of the first Dhârâvarsha-Nirupama-Dhruvarâja of Gujarât; but the verse is left incomplete. It then, in another incomplete verse, mentions a person named Dantivarman, but without explaining his connection with the family; and all that can be said is, that he must be placed closely after the second Dhârâvarsha-Nirupama-Dhruvarâja, for whom we have the date of A. D. 866: whether he was his son, or what the relationship was; is not known. And it then mentions the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Akâlavarsha-Krishṇarâja, as a son of this Dantivarman; and it tells us that "he conquered his enemies in Ujjayinî before the eyes of the *vallabha*-king or of king Vallabha," *i.e.*, probably, of Krishṇa II. of the main line. For this person, the record gives us a date in April, A. D. 888.

Jagattuṅga II.

Krishṇa II. had a son, whose proper name has not yet been disclosed by the records, and who is known only by the *biruda* of Jagattuṅga. The Dêôlî grant of A. D. 940 tells us that he died without obtaining the sovereignty.[1] And all else that we know about him is derived from the Sâṅglî grant of A. D. 933 and the Kardâ grant of A. D. 972. The former tells us that he married Lakshmî, a daughter of Raṇavigraha, who was a son of Kokkala, *i.e.* of the Kalachuri king of Chêdî who was the father-in-law of Krishṇa II.; and that by her he had a son Indra III.[2] The Kardâ grant gives the same names, Lakshmî and Indra for his wife and son. But it states that Lakshmî was a daughter of 'Saṁkaragaṇa, lord of Chêdî. And it adds that, not being contented with the hostile territories that had been acquired by his father, Jagattuṅga went forth to make the whole earth subject to his father's sway; and that then, in Chêdî, he married Gôvindâmbâ, a daughter of his maternal uncle 'Saṁkaragaṇa, and had by her another son, Amôghavarsha-(Vaddiga).[3] These accounts are to be reconciled by taking Raṇavigraha and 'Saṁkaragaṇa to be one and the same person,—the latter appellation being his real name, and the former a *biruda*,—and to be a brother of the daughter of Kokkala whom Krishṇa II. took to wife: in this way Lakshmî and Gôvindâmba would be sisters;[4] and Raṇavigraha-'Saṁkaragaṇa would really be the maternal uncle, as well as the father-in-law, of Jagattuṅga II.[5]

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[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 250.—An extraneous authority for this part of the genealogy is the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 292) which was issued in A. D. 1008 by the 'Silâhâra chieftain Raṭṭarâja, a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Irivabedaṅga-Satyâśraya. It gives the Râshṭrakûṭa genealogy, from Dantidurga to Kakka II. At the point at which we now are, it takes the succession direct from Krishṇa II. to Indra III. And it mentions Jagattuṅga II. only further on, as the father of Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga.—Another extraneous authority is the Bhadâna grant, issued in A.D. 997, of the 'Silâhâra chieftain Aparâjita (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III., p. 267). It indicates distinctly that Jagattuṅga II. did not reign.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 253.

[3] *ibid.* p. 268.

[4] Compare the exactly analogous instance of the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya II. marrying two uterine sisters, Lôkamahâdêvî and Trailôkyamahâdêvî, and, as it happens, of the same stock,—the Haihaya race (page 374 above).

[5] Dr. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkaṇ*, 1884, p. 53, and note 4, and Supplement pp. ii., iii.) has taken exception to this interpretation of the Sâṅglî and Kardâ grants;

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Indra III.

Krishṇa II., then, was succeeded by his grandson, Indra III., who had the *biruda* of Nityavarsha, "the perpetual rainer,"—the customary titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, —and the usual epithet of *śrîprithivîvallabha*. The Nausârî grants specify the 24th February, A. D. 915, as the day of his coronation. And the other record of his time gives a date for him in A. D. 916-17. All else that we know about him is, that his wife was Vijâmbâ, a daughter of Ammaṇadêva, son of Arjuna, who was a son of Kokkala of the Haihaya race,[1] *i. e.* of Kokkala I., king of Chêdî, who has already been mentioned in connection with Krishṇa II. and Jagattuṅga II.

Of the time of Indra III., we have three published records :—

(1) A copper-plate grant from Nausârî in the Barôda territory,[2] which records that he had come from the capital of Mânyakhêṭa to a village named Kurundaka, for the *paṭṭabandh-ôtsava* or festival of his coronation; and that, on the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Phâlguna of the Yuvan *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 836 (expired),— corresponding to the 24th February, A. D. 915,[3]— on the completion of the ceremony, he had himself weighed against gold, and then, while still in the scales, granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Tenna, in the neighbourhood of Kammaṇijja in the Lâṭa *dêśa*.

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but he has done so unnecessarily. He seems to object primarily to the name Gôvindâmbâ which he styles 'unique,' 'queer,' and 'absurd.' He then corrects the *Amôghavarshô Gôvindâmb-âbhidhânâyâm* of the Kardâ grant into *Amôghavarshô Gôvindô = Mbâmb-âbhidhânâyâm*. And, finding in the passage, thus corrected, two sons, Amôghavarsha and Gôvinda, of a lady named Ambâ, he identifies this Ambâ with Vijâmbâ, the wife of Indra III., and the two sons with Amôghavarsha II. and Gôvinda IV., the real sons of the same person. Also, he relies on the Sâṅgli grant making no mention of the marriage of Jagattuṅga II. with Gôvindâmbâ; and to the Kardâ grant omitting to mention the sons of Indra III.— Now, his objection to the name Gôvindâmbâ is capricious and unsustainable. It is the exact Sanskrit correlation of Gôvindavva,—(to be looked for as Gôvindabbe or Gôvindabbe in any Kanarese inscription),— which occurs freely in the Kanarese country in the Nâmdâr-Raḍḍêr, Dâsar or Kabbêr, and Waḍḍêr castes, and especially in the former of these, in which it seems to be rather a favourite (as analogous names, I may quote 'Sivavva, Rudravva, Basavva, 'Sivabasavva, and Channabasavva). And, as regards his other objections, as the Sâṅglî grant is a record of Gôvinda IV., it naturally does not mention the succession after him, and consequently it had no occasion to mention the second wife of Jagattuṅga II. to whose son the succession then went; and the reason why the Kardâ grant, which does mention Indra IV., omits to mention his sons, is fully explained by the fact that Amôghavarsha II. did not reign, and by the statement in the Wardhâ grant, that Gôvinda IV. alienated the affections of his people, and that the kingdom was restored by Amôghavarsha (Vaddiga), the son of Jagattuṅga II. There is no need to assume any needless repetition, or any omissions, in the Kardâ grant, as Dr. Bhandarkar did; or to alter the text in any way whatever.— While differing from Dr. Bhandarkar on this point, I recognise, and endorse certain valid corrections, which he has pointed out, in the subsequent steps of the genealogy as previously given by me.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 253.

[2] *Jour. German Or. Soc.* Vol. XL. pp. 322, 329; and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 253, 257.

[3] By the southern luni-solar system, the Yuvan *saṁvatsara* coincided with 'Saka-Saṁvat 838 current, and cannot be connected with the given year, 836, at all. It has therefore to be determined by the mean-sign system, according to which it began on the 1st March, A.D. 914, in 'S.-S. 937 current (assuming that either that day, according to the entry in Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, or the preceding day, was the first day of the 'Saka year), and ended on the 25th February, A.D. 915, in the same 'Saka year.

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(2) Another copper-plate grant from Nausârî,[1] which records that, on the same date, and under the same circumstances, he granted to another Brâhmaṇ a village named Umbarâ, also in the neighbourhood of Kammaṇijja in the Lâṭa *dêśa*.

(3) A stone inscription at Hattî-Mattûr in the Dhârwâr District,[2] which records the grant of a village by the *Mahâsâmanta* Leṇḍeva-rasa, who was governing the Purigeṛe three-hundred, in the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 838 (expired), = A. D. 916-17.[3]

Amôghavarsha II.

Indra III. had two sons. The proper name of the elder of them has not been disclosed by the records; and he is only known, by a *biruda*, as Amôghavarsha II.[4] He appears to have survived his father; for, the Sâṅglî grant speaks of Gôvinda IV. as displaying no forbidden cruelty towards his elder brother, though he had the power to do so. But he did not reign.[5] And it seems, therefore, that Gôvinda IV. quietly set him aside, and usurped the sovereignty.[6]

Gôvinda IV.

The succession, then, went from Indra III. to his second son Gôvinda IV., whose name appears also in the Prâkrit form of Gojjiga.[7] This king had the special *birudas* of Prabhûtavarsha, Suvarṇavarsha, and Nripatuṅga; and, among other miscellaneous ones, also those of Vîra-Nârâyaṇa, "a very Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu) among brave men,"—Raṭṭa-Kandarpa, "the Raṭṭa god of love,"—Sâhasâṅka, "characterised by daring,"—and Nripati-Triṇêtra, "a very Triṇêtra (Śiva) among kings." His titles were the customary ones of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*. And he had the epithets of *prithivîvallabha* and *vallabhanarêndradêva*; also, in the Kalas inscription, *vallabha* is attached to his name, which there appears as Gojjigavallabha. His Sâṅglî grant speaks of the rivers Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ as doing service at his palace,[8] and mentions Mânyakhêṭa (Mâlkhêḍ) as his permanent capital. His two published records give dates for him in December, A. D. 918, and August, A. D. 933. And a slightly later date is furnished by an inscription at Kalasâpur in the Gadag tâluka, Dhârwâr

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[1] *Jour. German Or. Soc.* Vol. XL. pp. 322, 335; and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII., pp. 253, 261.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 224.

[3] Here I quote the equivalent of the *saṁvatsara* and Saka year by the southern luni-solar system. No details are given by which the date can be fixed more closely.

[4] In the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 292) the *biruda* appears in the mistaken form of Amôghavarshya. It is given correctly in the Dêôlî grant.

[5] The Bhadâna grant of the Silâhâra chieftain Aparâjita, of A. D. 997 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 267), asserts that he reigned for one year. But, that he really did not ascend the throne, is shewn by the way in which the Sâṅglî grant describes Gôvinda III. as meditating on the feet, not of Amôghavarsha II., but of Nityavarsha, *i.e.* of his father Indra III. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 254).

[6] At Waḍgaon, in the Kôlhâpur State, there is a spurious grant which purports to record a grant that was made by Amôghavarsha II., as reigning king, on Thursday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika in the Bahudhânya *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 720 expired (A. D. 789-99), in connection with a great sacrifice that was being made, on the occasion of a total eclipse of the sun, on account of a victory over the Draviḷa Râjêndra-Chôḍa.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 249.—He seems to be the person who is mentioned as (Gujjiga or) Gojjiga by the poet Pampa, in the *praśasti* of the *Vikramârjunavijaya* or *Pampa-Bharata* (see page 381 above).

[8] See page 338 above, and note 7.

District;[1] the details are Pausha śukla 8, Sunday, of the Vijaya *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 855 (expired), corresponding probably to the 29th December, A. D 933. In this reign, again, there was war between the Râshtrakûtas and the Eastern Chalukyas. One of the Eastern Chalukya records tells us that Amma I. (A. D. 918 to 925) used his sword against some feudatory relatives who had joined the party of his natural adversaries, and won over to himself the subjects and the army of his father and his grandfather;[2] the meaning being that some of the members of his family had entered into a conspiracy with the Râshtrakûtas to prevent his accession to the throne of Vengî. And another tells us that Châlukya-Bhîma II. (A. D. 934 to 945) destroyed a great army that was sent against him by Gôvinda IV.[3] The Dêôlî grant of A. D. 940 says that Gôvinda IV. took to vicious courses, by which he alienated the affections of his people, ruined his own constitution, and weakened the government; and that thus he met with destruction.[4]

Of the time of Gôvinda IV., we have two published records:[5]—

(1) A stone inscription at Daṇḍâpur in the Dhârwâr District,[6] which records certain private grants that were made in the Pramâthin *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 840 (expired), on an unspecified *tithi* in the month Pausha, when the sun came to the Makara-saṁkrânti or winter solstice. The corresponding English date is the 23rd December, A. D. 918.[7]

(2) A copper-plate grant from Sâṅglî, the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country,[8] which records that, while permanently settled at his capital of Mânyakhêṭa, Gôvinda IV. granted to a Brâhman a village named Lôhagrâma in the Râmapurî seven-hundred. The grant was made on Thursday, the full-moon day of the month 'Srâvaṇa in the Vijaya *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat

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[1] At the temple of Sômêśvara. I quote from an ink impression, which, however, though the record appears worth editing, suffices, owing to the damaged state of the original, to show but little except the *biruda* Suvarṇavarsha and the date.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 266.—With the peculiar expression that is used (*prakṛiti-sapatna*), compare the description of the Pallava king as the natural enemy (*prakṛity-amitra*) of the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya II. (page 316 above).

[3] *id.* Vol. XII. p. 249; and Vol, XX. p. 270.

[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 251.

[5] To the period of this reign, or the next, belongs also the Mahâkûṭa inscription, dated on Kârttika śukla 5, Wednesday, of the Jaya *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 856 (expired) corresponding to the 15th October, A. D. 934, of the *Mahâsâmanta* Bappuvarasa, "who was, on a minor scale, a very Bhairava ('Siva, in one of his most terrific forms) to the assemblage of the enemies of the brave Gôpâla" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 104; for the date, see *id.* Vol. XVIII. p. 316). But the identity of the Gôpâla who is mentioned in it, has not yet been established.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 222; the record is there wrongly allotted to Jagattuṅga II.

[7] The *saṁvatsara* is determined here by the mean-sign system. By the southern luni-solar system, it coincided with 'Saka-Saṁvat 842 current, and cannot be connected with the year 840 at all. But, by the mean-sign system, it commenced on the 12th February A. D. 918, in 'S.-S. 840 current, and ended on the 8th February, A. D. 919, in 'S.-S. 841 current. The Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred on the 23rd December, A. D. 918, in 'S.-S. 841 current (840 expired). And the corresponding *tithi* is the third of the dark fortnight of the *amanta* Pausha.

[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 247.

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Vaddiga.

855 (expired). And the corresponding English date is Thursday, 8th August, A.D. 933.[1]

From Gôvinda IV., the sovereignty passed to his paternal uncle Vaddiga, the son of Jagattuṅga II. by his second wife Gôvindâmbâ. We have as yet no records that can with certainty be allotted to his time.[2] But, that he actually did reign, is proved, partly by the explicit statement of the Dêôlî grant, that, at the request of the feudatory chiefs, he ascended the throne in order to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Raṭṭas,[3] and partly by the manner in which the same record couples with his *biruda* of Amôghavarsha the titles of *Mahârâjâdhiraja, Paramêśvara,* and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka,* and describes Krishṇa III. as meditating at his feet; so, also, the Âtakûr inscription of A. D. 949-50 couples with his *biruda* two of the above paramount titles and the epithet of *śrîprithivîvallabha,* and describes Krishṇa III. as a bee at the water-lilies that were his feet. He is spoken of by only his *biruda* of Amôghavarsha in the above two records, in the Sâlôṭgi inscription of A. D. 945, and in the Kardâ grant of A. D. 972; his proper name appears, in Prâkrit forms, as Vaddiga in the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant, and as Baddega in records from the Kanarese country.[4] The Kardâ grant tells us that his wife was Kundakadêvî, a daughter of Yuvarâja,[5] who may safely be identified, as was done by General Sir Alexander Cunningham, with Yuvarâja I. of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripura.[6] From the Hebbâḷ inscription,[7] we learn that a daughter of his was married to the Western Gaṅga prince Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi-Bûtuga, who received, as her dowry, the districts known as the Puligeṛe or Purigeṛe three-hundred, the Belvola three-hundred, the Kisukâḍ seventy, and the Bâge, Bâgenâḍ, or Bâgaḍage seventy.

Krishṇa III.

The successor of Vaddiga was his eldest son Krishṇa III., whose name appears also in the Prâkrit form of Kannara:[8] in one passage he is mentioned as "the dear or favourite son" of his father;[9] and in another he is spoken of as a *paramamâhêśvara* or most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (Śiva).[10] He had the *biruda* of Akâlavar-

[1] The *saṁvatsara* is determined here by the southern luni-solar system; according to which it coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 856 current.—In this year, the month Śrâvaṇa was intercalary. And the English date corresponds to the full-moon *tithi* of the second Śrâvaṇa.

[2] I have some Kanarese inscriptions, which may be so referred. But it remains to be decided definitely, whether they belong to him, or to his ancestor Amôghavarsha I.

[3] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 251.

[4] Vaddiga is perhaps the nearer form to whatever the Sanskrit name may be; and therefore I give this form in the table of the dynasty.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 268.

[6] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 80, 104.

[7] See page 304 above, and note 5.

[8] See, *e. g., Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. II. p. 172, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 258.—An inscription at Tâḷgund, in Mysore (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 213: the date of this record is illegible; but the type of the characters shews it to be a record of Krishṇa III.,—rather than of Krishṇa II., as I originally thought), appears to mention him as Khandaraballaha, with a mistake, in the first component of the name, for either Kandara or Kannarâ.

[9] *Priya-suta*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 209. See page 361 above, and note 3.

[10] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 252.

sha,[1] — the usual titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, — and the epithets of *prithivîvallabha*, *śrîprithivîvallabha*, and *samastabhuvanâśraya*.[2] Later records of the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti, of the thirteenth century A. D., speak of him as Krishṇa-Kandhara and Krishṇa-Kandhâra, with the title of *Kandhârapuravar-âdhîśvara* or "supreme lord of Kandhârapura, the best of towns," — a place, however, which is otherwise unknown;[3] and one of them would give him the name or *biruda* of Tuliga.[4] Mânyakhêṭa (Mâlkhêḍ) continued to be his capital. The earliest date that we have for him is in April, A. D. 940. The latest date, furnished by his published records, is in November A. D. 951. But an inscription at Âlûr in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr District, mentions him as still reigning in May, A. D. 956. The Vellore inscription[5] shews that he reigned for at least twenty-six years. And the date of A. D. 968-69 may perhaps be furnished by the Lakshmêshwar inscription of the Western Gaṅga prince Satyavâkya-Koṅgunivarma-Mârasiṁha,[6] who was then, or had been, a feudatory of his; but the record does not make it clear whether Krishṇa III. was at that time still alive or not. An important event of this reign was the war with the Chôla king Râjâditya. This is specially referred to in the Âtakûr inscription, which tells us that in or just before A. D. 949-50, Krishṇa III. fought and killed Râjâditya at a place named Takkôla; that the actual slayer of the Chôla king was the Western Gaṅga prince Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi-Bûtuga, who killed him treacherously, while they were out together, taking the air;[7] and that, in recognition of this, Krishṇa III. gave to Bûtuga the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province, the Purigeṛe three-hundred, the Beḷvola three-hundred, the Kisukâḍ seventy, and the Bâgenâḍ seventy. The Bûtuga who is mentioned here had acquired the Gaṅgavâḍi province by killing Râchamalla, son of Ereyappa; and the Dêôlî grant indicates that, in doing this, he received material assistance from Krishṇa III. The spurious Sûḍî grant speaks of Bûtuga as besieging Tañjore;[8] and this appears to be borne out by the Tirukkalukkunṟam inscriptions, which describe Krishṇa III. as the taker of Kâñchî and Tañjore. The Dêôlî record states that

[1] The Dêôlî grant might be taken as giving him also the *biruda* of 'Srîvallabha. But this is not supported by any other record. And the word is not used there under circumstances which render its acceptance as a *biruda* compulsory; there is nothing to prevent its being taken as an ordinary epithet, and being so translated.

[2] The last epithet occurs in an inscription at Rôṇ in the Dhârwâr District. It is met with in earlier times in connection with the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya (page 370 above). Krishṇa III. probably obtained it through contact with the Eastern Chalukyas, among whom it belonged to his contemporary Amma II.

[3] See, more fully, in chapter VIII. below.

[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 251. I originally took all these passages to refer to Krishṇa II.; but see now page 411 above, note 1.

[5] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 76.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 101.

[7] The defeat, but not the killing, of Râjâditya is also mentioned in the spurious Sûḍî grant, which adds that Bûtuga laid siege to Tañjâpurî, and burned Nâḷkôṭe and other hill-forts, and presented to Krishṇa III. elephants and horses and a great store of wealth (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 183).

[8] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 183.

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Krishṇa III. slew two kings named Dantiga and Vappuka; that he subdued many hostile Gaṅgas; and that he overcame a Pallava king whose name is real as Aṇṭhiga: and it also implies that he protected the Kalachuris of Central India from an attack by the Gurjaras, *i.e.* doubtless, the followers of the Chaulukya king Mûlarâja of Aṇhilwâḍ, who had entertained the idea of seizing the hill-forts of Kâlañjara and Chitrakûṭa. Also, the Lakshmêshwar record speaks of a campaign to the north, in which the Gurjara king was conquered by Mârasiṁha under the orders of Krishṇa: this campaign is mentioned again in one of the 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa inscriptions;[1] and the Lakshmêshwar record, speaking of Krishna III. as "the king who was a very Antaka (Death) to the Chôḷa," shews that it must have taken place after A. D. 949-50. Other records of interest in connection with this reign are—two inscriptions at Kyâsanûr in the Dhârwâr District, dated in A. D. 945-46, which tell us that the government of the Banavâsi province was then in the hands of the *Mahâsâmanta* Kali-Viṭṭa, of the Chellakêtana family, as a feudatory of Krishṇa III.; and some later records of the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti which shew that it was he who brought that family to the front, by raising a religious student named Prithvirâma to the rank and authority of a *Mahâsâmanta* and also claim that the Raṭṭas were descended from him.[2] Another feudatory of his was Vaṅdiga or Vaddiga, of the Yâdava family of Sêuṇadêśa.[3]

Of the time of Krishṇa III. we have seven published records:—

(1) A copper-plate grant from Dêôlî in the Wardhâ District, Central Provinces,[4] which records that, to increase the religious merit of his most beloved younger brother Jagattuṅga III., he granted to a Kanarese Brâhman a village named Tâlapuruṁshaka in the Nâgapura-Nandivardhana district. The grant was made at the capital of Mânyakhêṭa, on the fifth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha of the 'Sârvarin *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 862 (expired); and the corresponding English date is, approximately, the 30th April, A. D. 940.[5] Among the boundaries of the village that was granted, there are mentioned—on the south, the river Kandanâ, Kanhanâ, or Kandavâ; on the west, the village of Môhamagrâma; and on the north, the village of Vadhrirâ: and these have been identified by Dr. Bhandarkar with the river Kanhana which has a course from the north-west of Nâgpur to the south-east,—the modern Môhgaon in the Chhindwâra District, about fifty miles to the north-west of Nâgpur,—and the modern Berdi, in the vicinity of Môhgaon.

(2) A stone inscription from Sâlôtgi in the Bijâpur District,[6] which records certain grants that were made for the support of

[1] *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 38.
[2] See, more fully, in chapter VIII. below. And, for the identity of the king Krishna who is thus mentioned in the Raṭṭa records, see page 411 above, note 1.
[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 214-15; and see chapter VII. below.
[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 239.
[5] That is, taking the *amânta* month, and the southern luni-solar system of the cycle.
[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 205. The original now stand in the village *chauḍi* at Indi.

the Brâhmans residing at a college at the village of Pâviṭṭage in the Karṇapurî *vishaya*. The grants were made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, on Tuesday, the new-moon day of the month Bhâdrapada in the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 867 (expired); and the corresponding English date is Tuesday, the 9th September, A.D. 945: on this day there was an annular eclipse of the sun, which was visible over probably the whole of India.[1]

(3) A stone inscription at Âtakûr in Mysore,[2] which records that, in recognition of his having killed the Chôla king Râjâditya, Krishṇa III. gave to the Western Gaṅga prince Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi-Bûtuga the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Beḷvola three-hundred, the Purigeṛe three-hundred, the Kisukâḍ seventy, and the Bâgenâḍ seventy; and that Bûtuga granted some land to a temple of the god 'Siva, under the name of Challêśvara, at Âtakûr, and also granted to a follower of his, named Maṇalarata, the group of villages known as the Âtakûr twelve, and the village of Kôṭeyûr of the Beḷvola country. The record is dated in simply the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, coupled with 'Saka-Saṁvat 872 (current), = A. D. 949-50, without any further details.[3]

(4) A stone inscription at Soraṭûr in the Dhârwâr District,[4] which records certain grants that were made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on Sunday the full-moon *tithi* of the month Mârgaśira in the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 873 (expired). The corresponding English date is Sunday, 16th November, A. D. 951, on which day there was an eclipse of the moon.[5]

(5) and (6) Two inscriptions at Tirukkaḷukunṛam in the Chingleput District, Madras Presidency,[6] which record grants made by private persons to the Mûlasthâna temple, in the seventeenth and nineteenth years of his reign.

(7) An inscription on a rock at the top of the Bavâji hill near Vellore in the North Arcot District, Madras Presidency,[7] which records that, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, a member of the Pallava race named Tribhuvanadhîra-Nuḷamba, with the *biruda* of

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1 The *tithi* is determined by the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.— As regards the *saṁvatsara*, there is a difficulty. By the southern luni-solar system, Plavaṁga coincided with 'Saka-Saṁvat 870 current; and thus it cannot be connected with the year 867 at all. And by the mean-sign system, it began on the 17th October, A.D. 945, in 'S.-S. 868 current (867 expired), and ended on the 13th October, A.D. 946, in 'S.-S. 869 current; and the month Bhâdrapada of the *saṁvatsara* fell in A. D. 946, and cannot be connected with 'S.-S. 867 at all. The Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, however, commences when Jupiter enters Mithuna (Gemini). And Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit tells me that,— though, by no authority known to him, did the *saṁvatsara* begin, according to the mean-sign system, on or before the 9th September, A.D. 945,— Jupiter's apparent longitude on the day in question was 72° 55′; and thus he was in Mithuna.— This result indicates, therefore, that there may also have been an apparent-sign system of the cycle.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 167.

3 The *saṁvatsara* is determined by the southern luni-solar system.

4 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 256.

5 The *saṁvatsara* is determined by the southern luni-solar system.

6 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 282.

7 *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 76.

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Pallava-Murâri, granted the village of Vêlûrppâḍi to a temple of 'Siva under the name of Pannappêśvara.

Jagattuṅga III.

Jagattuṅga III. is known only from the Dêôlî charter of A. D. 940, the grant-recorded in which was made by Krishṇa III. for his spiritual benefit. He is described in it as the best beloved younger brother of Krishṇa III.; and, his exact order of seniority being not further determined, it is convenient to place him in the table next after Krishṇa III. As he did not succeed to the throne, he must have died before Krishṇa III.; and so also must have died Krishṇa's son, not mentioned by name, who was the father of Indra IV.

Khoṭṭiga.

The successor of Krishṇa III. was another younger brother whose name appears in the Prâkrit forms of Khoṭṭiga, Khôṭika, and Koṭṭiga.[1] He had the special *biruda* of Nityavarsha; and, among other minor ones, also that of Raṭṭa-Kandarpa, "the Raṭṭa god of love." And the record of his time, which describes him as reigning over the whole earth bounded by the four oceans, gives him the usual titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, and the customary epithet of *śrîprithivîvallabha*. The only date that we have for him, as yet, is in October, A. D. 971. Sîyaka-Harsha, one of the Paramâra kings of Mâlwa, claims to have taken the wealth of Khoṭṭiga in battle; and it appears that Mâlkhêḍ itself was plundered, either by that king, or by his successor Muñja.[2]

Of the time of Khoṭṭiga, we have one published record.[3] It is a stone inscription at Âdaraguñchi in the Dhârwâr District,[4] which refers to certain private grants that were made while his feudatory, Permanaḍi-Mârasiṁha,— *i.e.* the Western Gaṅga prince Mârasiṁha, who has been mentioned above in connection with Krishṇa III.,— was governing the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand, the Purigere three-hundred, and the Beḷvola three-hundred. The

[1] See, respectively, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 268; the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 256.— Which of the three forms is the more correct one, and what Sanskrit name they represent, are points that remain to be determined. I use the form that is given by the earlier of the two Sanskrit records.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. pp. 225, 226.

[3] At the temple of Nâgârjuna at Nâgâvi in the Gadag tâluka, Dhârwâr District, there is an inscription which is dated at the time of an eclipse of the moon, under the Mriga'ira *nakshatra*, on Friday, the full-moon day of the month Mârga'ira of the 'Sukla *saṁvatsara*, Saka-'Saṁvat 891 (expired), corresponding probably to Friday, 26th November, A. D. 969, when there was a lunar eclipse. It is probably a record of the reign of Khoṭṭiga. But the original is much damaged; the passage containing the king's *biruda* or name, at the commencement, is broken away and lost; and the ink-impression of the remainder does not suffice to supply the requisite information.— At the temple of Kannûra-Basappa, at the same village, there is an inscription the preamble of which refers it to the reign of Khoṭṭiga, who is mentioned as Nityavarsha-Khoṭṭigadêva. The original is much damaged. But it appears, from the ink-impression, not to be dated.— At Hirê-Handigôḷ in the same tâluka, on the back of a stone on which there is an image of the goddess Udachavva, there is a dated inscription which refers itself to the reign of Nityavarsha-Koṭṭigadêva. But the date is hopelessly illegible in the ink-impression. The remainder of the record is too much damaged to be edited from the ink-impression.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 255.

grants were made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Sunday, the new-moon day of the month Âśvayuja of the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 893 (expired); and the corresponding English date is Sunday, 22nd October, A.D. 971: on this day there was an annular eclipse of the sun, which was visible right across India.[1]

Nirupama.

Khoṭṭiga had a younger brother, who is mentioned only by the *biruda* of Nirupama.[2] As he did not succeed to the throne, he probably predeceased Khoṭṭiga. And he is referred to only as being the father of Khoṭṭiga's successor.

Kakka II.

The successor of Khoṭṭiga was Nirupama's son Kakka II., whose name appears in the family records in the forms of Kakka and Kakkala,[3] and elsewhere as Karkara[4] and Kakkara.[5] He had the special *birudas* of Amôghavarsha and Nṛipatuṅga; and the minor ones of Vîra-Nârayaṇa, "a very Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu) among heroes," and Râja-Triṇêtra, "a very Triṇêtra ('Siva) among kings." His titles were the customary ones of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*. And his epithets were *pṛithivîvallabha* and *vallabhanarêndradêva*. The Kardâ grant describes him as a *paramamâhêśvara* or most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara ('Siva); and it mentions Mâlkhêḍ as his permanent capital. The same record also claims that he conquered the Gurjaras, the Chôḷas, the Hûṇas, and the Pâṇḍyas. The recorded dates that we have for him are in September, A. D. 972, and June, A. D. 973.

Of the time of Kakka II. we have two published records:—

(1) A copper-plate grant from Kardâ, apparently in the Khândêsh District,[6] which records that, at Mânyakhêṭa, he granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Paṅgarikâ in the Vavvulatalla twelve, which was in the Uppalikâ three-hundred. The grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on Wednesday, the full-moon day of the month Âśvayuja of the Aṅgiras *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 894 (expired); and the corresponding English date is Wednesday, 25th September, A. D. 972, when there was a visible lunar eclipse.[7]

(2) A stone inscription at Guṇḍûr in the Dhârwâr District,[8] which mentions the Western Gaṅga prince Permanaḍi-Mârasiṁha as his feudatory, and records some grants of land that were made on a Sunday, at the *dakshiṇâyana* or summer solstice

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[1] The *saṁvatsara* is determined by the southern luni-solar system.

[2] Prof. Kielhorn has suggested (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 215) that there are grounds for believing that his proper name was Dhruva.

[3] See, respectively, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 268; and *ibid.* pp. 269, 271.

[4] In the Kauṭhêṁ grant of A. D. 1009 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 18).

[5] In an inscription of A. D. 1142-43 at Managôḷi in the Bijâpur District. In *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 747, the transcript wrongly gives 'Kaṁkara.'

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 263.

[7] The *saṁvatsara* is determined by the southern luni-solar system; and the *tithi* by the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 270.

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in the month Âshâḍha of the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 896 (current). Here, the corresponding English date seems to be either Sunday, 22nd June, or Tuesday, 24th June, A. D. 973.[1]

The downfall of the Râshṭrakûṭas.

Kakka II. was the last king of the Mâlkhêḍ dynasty. In A.D. 973-74, he was overthrown by the Western Châlukya Taila II.; and the dominions of the Râshṭrakûṭas then passed into the hands of descendants of the same stock to which belonged the kings from whom they themselves had acquired them. The exact time is fixed by a verse which tells us that, having plucked up and destroyed the Raṭṭas,— having killed a king named Muñja,— having taken the head of Pañchala in battle,— and having possessed himself of the regal dignity of the Châlukyas,— Taila II. reigned for twenty-four years, beginning with the year Śrîmukha.[2] As we have already seen, the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara* was Śaka-Saṁvat 896 current, *i.e.* A. D. 973-74. And the success of Taila II. is probably to be placed soon after the end of June, A. D. 973, in which month falls apparently one of the recorded dates for Kakka II.

Indra IV.

One of the Śravana-Belgoḷa inscriptions, indeed, discloses the fact that, after the expulsion of Kakka II. from Mâlkhêḍ, an attempt was made by the Western Gaṅga prince Permanaḍi-Mârasiṁha to continue the sovereignty by crowning Indra IV., the grandson of Krishṇa III.[3] This is plainly to be attributed to the close connection between the two families: Permanaḍi-Bûtuga, the father of Mârasiṁha, was a brother-in-law of Krishṇa III.;[4] and Indra IV. was the son of a daughter of Bûtuga.[5] As Mârasiṁha himself appears to have died before the month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A. D. 974, of the Bhâva *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 896 (expired),[6] the attempt was made between June, A. D. 973, and the same month in the following year. Indra IV. lived on for some nine years or so. But there is nothing in the Western Châlukya records

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[1] By the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, the Aṅgiras *saṁvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 896 current (A.D. 973-74). But the summer solstice, as represented by the Karka-saṁkrânti or passage of the sun into Cancer, occurred, not on a Sunday, but on Tuesday, 24th June, A. D. 973, corresponding, approximately, to the *amânta* Âshâḍha krishṇa 5. And, unless an authority can be found for celebrating rites connected with the solstice two days before the time of its occurrence, we have, apparently, to assume a mistake in the record, in respect of the week-day.— By the mean-sign system, Śrîmukha commenced on the 29th June, A. D. 971, in Ś.-S. 894 current, and ended on the 24th June, A.D. 972, in Ś.-S. 895 current. It cannot be connected with the given year, unless 896 is a mistake for 895 (current). And the summer solstice, which occurred on the 24th June, A. D. 972, while Śrîmukha was still current, took place on a Monday, instead of a Sunday.— In A. D. 971, the summer solstice occurred on Sunday, 25th June. But this was four days before the commencement of Śrîmukha, even by the mean-sign system. And this result would, moreover, be inconsistent with the recorded date for Khoṭṭiga, *viz.* the 22nd October, A. D. 971.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 167.

[3] Mr. Rice's *Inscriptions at Śravana-Belgoḷa*, No. 38;— *Mânyakhêṭa-pravâsita-chakravarti-kata . . . . vikrama . . . . śrîmad-Indrarâja-paṭṭabandh-ôtsavasya.*

[4] See page 304 above.

[5] *Inscriptions at Śravana-Belgoḷa*, No. 57. His father is mentioned as simply "a son of Krishṇarâjêndra;" his name is not given.

[6] *Id.* Introd. p. 18, note 7.

or elsewhere, to shew that the attempt that was made in connection with him was even temporarily successful. And he ultimately died on the 20th March, A. D. 982.[1]

Other Râshṭrakûṭa names.

As will be seen in chapter VIII. below, the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ left an impress of their dominion in the Kanarese districts, which long survived themselves, in the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti. And a few other names are forthcoming which shew that, though the Mâlkhêḍ dynasty was overthrown, the family or tribe, or other branches of it, continued to exist and did not fall altogether into obscurity. Taila II. himself married Jâkavve or Jâkaladêvî, a daughter of king Bhammaha, the Raṭṭa, the ornament of the family of the Râshṭrakûṭas.[2] An inscription of the time of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., dated in A. D. 1087-88, at Sîtâbaldî in the Central Provinces,[3] mentions, as his feudatory, the *Mahâsâmanta* Dhâḍîbhaḍaka or Dhâḍîbhaṇḍaka, who was born in the "great" Râshṭrakûṭa family, and had emigrated from the town of Latalaura. And the name of the Râshṭrakûṭa *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Golhaṇadêva, a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Gayâkarṇa, is mentioned in an inscription at 'Bahuriband' in the Jabalpur District, Central Provinces, which belongs to about the first quarter of the twelfth century A. D.[4] Also, there are two earlier references which cannot at present be allocated in detail. From the syllables *śrî-râshṭra*, which are extant in line 5, it seems likely that there was a notice of the Râshṭrakûṭa family in the same part of the country, to be referred to about the eighth or ninth century A. D., in one of the inscriptions of Śivagupta, son of Harshagupta, at Sirpur in the Râypur District.[5] And the *Mahâsâmanta* Bhillama II., of the Yâdava family of Sêuṇadêśa, whose date was about A. D. 1000, married Lasthiyavvâ or Lakshmî, the daughter of a Râshṭrakûṭa named Jhañjha, who probably belonged to some northern offshoot of the Râshṭrakûṭa stock, perhaps in Central India.[6]

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 35.— I have there wrongly spoken of him as being possibly a son of Kakka III.; *i. e.* of Kakka II. of my revised table.

2 *id.* Vol. XVI. p. 19.—I previously took Jâkavva to be a daughter of Kakka I.; and it may be that she was so. But I was guided then by my rendering, on imperfect materials which were before me for the construction of the text of the Miraj grant of A. D. 1024 and the Yêûr inscription of A. D. 1077, of a verse which has since been presented in unmistakable shape in the Kauthêṁ grant. The question depends upon whether Bhammaha is the proper name of another person, or whether it is only another *biruda* of Kakka II.

3 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 304.

4 *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 40.

5 *id.* Vol. XVII. Plate xix. C.

6 See under the account of Bhillama II., in chapter VII. below.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WESTERN CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI.

Of the overthrow of the Râshtrakûṭas by Taila II., we have a variety of records. The Nîlgund inscription of his own time, dated in A.D. 982, claims that, by acquiring the royal fortunes of the Râshṭrakûṭas, he brought the whole earth under the single umbrella of sole sovereignty. The Bhadâna grant of the Śilâhâra prince Aparâjita, of A. D. 997, also belonging to his own time, says that Kakkala was overthrown by him "as a light is extinguished by a fierce wind, and of the once flourish-"ing Raṭṭa rule there remained only the memory."[1] The Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of the Śilâhâra prince Raṭṭarâja, of A.D. 1008, belonging to the time of his successor Iṛivabedaṅga-Satyâśraya, states that he conquered Kakkala in war, and so became king. The Kauthêm grant of Vikramâditya V., of A. D. 1009, tells us that he "easily cut asunder, "in the field of battle, the two pillars of victory in war of Karkara; con-"nected with the sovereignty of the family of the Râshṭrakûṭas, which "verily resembled the two feet of the evil deity Kali stretched out with "vigour in the act of striding, and which were like shoots, formidable, "of compact substance, and having enmity against spiritual preceptors "for their young sprouts, of the creeper, now at length cut down after "the lapse of a long time, of the fortunes of the Râshṭrakûṭa family."[2] And the time of the event is fixed by a verse in some somewhat later records, which informs us that he plucked up and destroyed the Raṭṭas, killed the valiant Muñja, took the head of Pañchala in battle, and possessed himself of the regal dignity of the Châlukyas, and then reigned for twenty-four years, beginning with the year Śrîmukha.[3] As we have already seen, the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara* was Saka-Saṁvat 896 current, = A.D. 973-74. And the success of Taila II. is probably to be placed soon after the end of June, A. D. 973, which is the latest of the known dates for Kakka II. The way to success was doubtless paved for him by the victory of Sîyaka-Harsha of Mâlwa over Khoṭṭiga, the predecessor of Kakka II., and by the plundering of Mâlkhêḍ itself which appears to have been effected either by the same king or by his successor Muñja.[4]

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 269.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 18.—For a description of two actually existing colossal *raṇastambhas* or pillars of victory in war, set up at Mandasôr in Mâlwa by king Yaśôdharman early in the sixth century A.D., see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 253 ff., and *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 142 ff. The condition of one of them shews that it was deliberately broken by the insertion of wedges.

[3] *id.* Vol. XXI. p. 167. I take the verse from an inscription of the time of Vikramâditya VI., dated in A.D. 1098, at the temple of Vîra-Nârâyaṇa at Gadag in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 370; I quote, however, from an ink-impression).

[4] See page 422 above.

There was thus established a dynasty, the members of which are called, in their records, Châlukyas, or occasionally, in metrical passages, Chalukyas, and are represented as direct lineal descendants of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi. The traditional connection is shewn in the table on page 379 above. But it gives only seven generations to fill the interval of two hundred and forty years, from Vijayâditya to Taila II. This yields an average perceptibly in excess of the twenty-five years which are usually accepted as representing a Hindû generation. And there can, thus, be but little doubt, either that some steps are wanting in the pedigree here, or that Taila II. belonged to some side-branch of the Chalukya stock, which could not in reality claim the direct lineal descent that is allotted to it: the difference of name already noted,— the invariable use, in the records of Taila II. and his successors, of the form "Châlukya," with the long vowel *â* in the first syllable, except under metrical necessity;[1] whereas this form does not once occur in the records of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi,— is rather suggestive evidence in favour of the latter view. Where the break in the genealogy comes in, on the assumption of direct descent, — or, on the other view, who is to be looked upon as the first historical personage in the branch of the family which Taila II. raised to power, — is not certain. Ayyaṇa I. was very possibly, as we have seen,[2] an authentic Chalukya prince, with a date that would well accord with the assertion that he was the grandfather of Taila II. But it may at least be taken as fairly certain that the records are correct in stating that Taila's father was Vikramâditya IV., whose wife was Bonthâdêvî, a daughter of Lakshmaṇa of the Kalachuri family of Central India. And this person is, therefore, placed at the head of the annexed table of those who may conveniently be called the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi. Their capital, indeed, is not specified until the time of Sômêśvara I.; and very possibly it was at first Mâlkhêḍ. But Kalyâṇa or Kalyâṇapura, which is the modern Kalyâṇi in the Nizâm's Dominions,[3] was made the capital by

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[1] Whether intentionally or accidentally, this distinction is rather curiously preserved in a record of A.D. 1184-85 at the temple of Vîrabhadra at Aṇṇigere in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 37, where it is said to be at the temple of Puradappa), which states (I quote from an ink-impression) that first the Chalukyas reigned over the land of Kuntala, then the Raṭṭas, then the Châlukyas, then the Kalachuris (*sic*), and then Vîra-Châlukya-Sôma, whose position was secured for him by (his general) Brahma.

[2] Page 379 above; but see also note 2.

[3] Lat. 17° 51′, long. 77°; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 57,—'Kulliannee.'— This is in accordance with the identification made by Sir Walter Elliot, which, though there may be no direct evidence in support of it, there are no grounds for questioning. For an account of the place, which shews that there are now no ancient remains at it, see *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 23.— There has been an idea that Kalyâṇa was a place of importance in earlier times, and was in fact the capital of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi: in accordance with which, Mr. Rice, in translating the Vakkalêri grant of Kîrtivarman II. of A. D. 757, suggested (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 27) that the epithet *Kârttikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-paramparâ*, which occurs in the formal preambles of other Western Chalukya records also, might be understood as applying to the succession to (the throne of the city of) Kalyâṇa; and Mr. Sh. P. Pandit, in translating the Sâlôtgi inscription of Kṛishṇa III. of A.D. 945, rendered (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 209) *pravardhamâna-parama-kalyâṇa-vijay-ôdyama* by "engaged in reducing the prosperous and great Kalyâṇa." But, as already remarked (page 335 above, note 1), Kalyâṇa is nowhere mentioned in the records of the earlier Chalukya

Sômêśvara I., and is mentioned as such in one of his inscriptions, dated in A.D. 1053; and it continued to be the capital of all his successors, and of the Kalachuryas after them.

Taila II., then, overthrew the Râshṭrakûṭas,— established the Western Châlukya dynasty, — and reigned for twenty-four years, commencing with the 'Srîmukha *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 896 current = A. D. 973-74. His name appears also as Tailapa, Tailapayya, Tailappa, and Nûrmaḍi-Taila; and he had the *biruda* of Âhavamalla, "the wrestler in war." His regal titles were *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*; and he had the epithets of *samastabhuvanâśraya*, *śrîprithivîvallabha*, *Satyâśraya-kula-tilaka* or "forehead-ornament or glory of the family of Satyâśraya," and *Châluky-âbharaṇa* or "ornament of the Châlukyas:" and this string of epithets and titles was uniformly used, with occasional additions, by all his successors. The Sogal inscription also styles him *Bhujabala-Chakravartin*, "the powerful emperor," or "an universal emperor by the strength of his arm." His wife was Jâkavve or Jakkaladêvî, daughter of a Râshṭrakûṭa named Bhammaha.[1] Only four records of his time, distinctly naming him as the reigning sovereign, are as yet known: they are,— an inscription at Sogal in the Belgaum District,[2] dated in the month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A. D. 980, of the Vikrama *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 902 (expired), which mentions his feudatory Kârtavîrya I., of the family of the Raṭṭas at Saundatti, as the lord of the Kûṇḍi country; an inscription at Saundatti in the same district,[3] dated six months later in the same year, which mentions another feudatory, the *Mahâsâmanta* 'Sântivarman, of the same family, who was ruling at Saundatti;[4] an inscription

period, nor even in those of the Râshṭrakûṭa period. And the idea in question is nothing but a pure mistake.

[1] Her parentage (as regards which, see page 425 above, and note 2) is stated in the Kauthêṁ grant, where her name is given as Jâkavva or Jâkavvâ, which stands for the Kanarese Jâkavve.— Her name occurs as Jakkalamâdêvî (for °mahâdêvî) in an inscription at the temple of Malkana at Ruddawâḍi in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêśa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 422).

[2] I quote from an ink-impression.

[3] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 204.

[4] I use three terms,— 'reign,' in the case of paramount sovereigns; 'rule,' in the case of some of the leading feudatory nobles; and 'govern,' in the case of ordinary officials and feudatory nobles of less prominence,— intentionally, with the object of representing, as closely as possible, certain gradations of rank and authority which are plainly indicated by the different expressions used in the records themselves.— The earliest technical expression for paramount sovereignty appears to have been *prithivî-râjyam-gêyu*, "to reign over the (whole) earth," which occurs, for instance, in the Baḷagâṁve inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 144, text lines 1, 2). It was eventually superseded by *vijaya-râjyam uttar-ôttar-âbhivṛiddhi-pravardhamânam â-chand-ârka-târaṁ baraṁ sale*, or *saluttam-ire*, "the victorious reign, augmenting with perpetual increase, being current so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars may last," which (after some rudimentary attempts, illustrated in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 219, text lines 14, 15, p. 221, text line 1, and p. 256, text lines 6, 7) appears in the Hattî-Mattûr inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Indra III. (*ibid.* p. 224, text lines 2, 3).— The technical term for purely subordinate government was *âḷu*, "to govern," which sometimes appears alone (*e. g.*, in connection with the government of the Sêndraka *Mahârâja* Pogilli under Vinayâditya, in lines 4, 5 of the Baḷagâṁve inscription mentioned above), but is often amplified into *dushṭa-nigraha-viśishṭa-pratipâlanadim âḷu*, "to govern with punishment of the wicked and

(To face page 4

THE WESTERN CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI.

- Vikramâditya IV.; married Bonthâdêvî.
  - (1) Âhavamalla-Nûrmaḍi-Taila II.; married Jakkaladêvî. (A.D. 973-74 to 996-97.)
    - (2) Akalaṅkacharita-Iṛivabeḍaṅga-Satyâśraya. (A.D. 997 and 1008.)
      - A daughter; married to the Pallava Iṛiva-Noḷambâdhirâja.
    - Daśavarman, or Yaśôvarman; married Bhâgaladêvî.
      - (3) Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramâditya V. (A.D. 1009 and 1011.)
      - Ayyaṇa II.
      - Akkâdêvî; married to one of the Kâdambas of Hângal. (A.D. 1021-22 and 1050.)
      - (4) Jagadêkamalla Jayasiṁha II.; married Suggaladêvî. (A.D. 1018 and 1042.)
        - (5) Trailôkyamalla-Âhavamalla-Sômêśvara I.; married Bâchaladêvî, Chandrikâdêvî, Maiḷaladêvî, and Kêtaladêvî. (A.D. 1044 and 1068.)
          - (6) Bhuvanaikamalla-Sômêśvara II. (A.D. 1053 and 1069 to 1076.)
          - (7) Tribhuvanamalla-Permâḍi-Vikramâditya VI.; married Sâvaladêvî, Lakshmâdêvî, Jakkaladêvî, Malleyamadêvî, Chandaladêvî, and Mâḷaladêvî. (A.D. 1055-56, and 1076 to 1126.)
            - Jayakarṇa. (A.D. 1102 and 1121.)
            - (8) Bhûlôkamalla-Sômêśvara III. (A.D. 1126 to 1138-39.)
              - (9) Perma-Jagadêkamalla II. (A.D. 1138-39 to 1149.)
              - (10) Trailôkyamalla-Nûrmaḍi-Taila III. (A.D. 1150 to 1161-63.)
                - (11) Tribhuvanamalla-Vîra-Sômêśvara IV. (A.D. 1183 and 1189.)
            - Maiḷaladêvî; married to the Kâdamba Jayakêśin II. of Goa.
          - Jayasiṁha III. (A.D. 1064 and 1081-82.)
          - Vishṇuvardha[na]-Vijayâditya (A.D. 1064 and 10[…]
        - Hammâ or Avvaladêvî; married to Bhillama III. of the Yâdavas of Sêuṇadêśa.

Chapte

The W
Chaluk
Kalyá

at Nîlgund in the Dhârwâr District, dated in the month Bhâdrapada (Aug.-Sept.), falling in A. D. 982, of the Chitrabhânu *saṁvat-*

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protection of the good," which occurs, for instance, in connection with Gaṅgapermanaḍi-Bhuvanaikavîra-Udayâditya, a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 209, text lines 23, 24).— There was also an expression, *sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôdadiṁ râjyaṁ-gêyu*, or, in Sanskrit, *sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôdêna râjyaṁ kri*, which was affected specially by the more powerful *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras* or feudatory nobles, who, while acknowledging the authority of paramount sovereigns, evidently enjoyed a certain amount of independence, and frequently omitted, in their records, to mention, or make any allusion to, their paramount masters. This expression was plainly of intermediate purport. Mr. Rice has rendered it by "ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom" (*e. g., Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 2, and note). And I have rendered it by "governing with the recreation of pleasing conversations" (*e.g., Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 18). Now, however, I should prefer to render it by "ruling with the pleasure of an agreeable or friendly interchange of communications (with the paramount sovereign);" this seems, not only to convey the idea that is intended, but also to be as close a literal translation as is possible.— Among the feudatory nobles or princes, this expression is found, in records of the Śilâhâras of Karâḍ (*e. g., Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 210, text lines 15, 16), the Raṭṭas of Saundatti (*e. g., Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 268, text line 64), of the Kâdambas of Hângal (*e. g., Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 252, text lines 31, 32), of the Kâdambas of Goa (*e. g., Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 297, text line 17), of the Sindas of Yelburga (*e. g., id.* Vol. XI. p. 228, text line 40), of the Guttas of Guttal (*e.g., P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 109, line 69), of the Pâṇḍyas of Noḷambavâḍi (*e. g., id.* No. 172, lines 32, 33), and of the Hoysaḷas of Dôrasamudra, before the time when they attained paramount sovereignty (*e. g., id.* No. 18, seventh side, lines 8, 9.) It will not be found always where I have used the word "ruling" in connection with these princes in the pages of this account,— for the reason that in many of the records the construction renders unnecessary the use of any such expression at all; but it occurs with sufficient frequency to shew that it was the expression that would be used on any occasion on which it might be sought to define exactly their position and authority.—I have fourteen verified instances in which the same expression occurs, very exceptionally, in connection with paramount sovereigns; in the cases of Jayasiṁha II., Vikramâditya VI., Bijjala, Sôvidêva, Vîra-Ballâḷa II., Narasiṁha II., and Narasiṁha III. (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* Nos. 155, 163, 164, 168, 171, 175, 186, 185, 147, 200, 233, 123, and 148; *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 146, 130, 163, 81, 139, 176, 169, 110, 7, 106, 217, 33, and 11; and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 234, text line 52). The reason for the use of it in these cases is not apparent.—It occurs sometimes in connection with the wives of paramount sovereigns; for instance, in the case of Lakshmâdêvî, one of the queens of Vikramâditya VI. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 186, text lines 9, 10).—And it also occurs in the case of *Yuvarâjas* (see, for instance, page 449 below, note 10, in the case of Jayasiṁha III.); and in the case of sons of paramount sovereigns, who without being formally appointed *Yuvarâjas*, were administering portions of the kingdom (for instance, in the case of Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayâditya, son of Sômêśvara I.;) (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 136; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 19).— The only instances that I have been able to trace, of the use of the whole expression, including *râjyaṁ-gêyu*, in connection with any feudatory or official who was not a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, are in the cases of the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Antaḥpura-vergaḍe*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kêśimayya, an officer of the Kaḷachurya king Âhavamalla, who was thus ruling the Banavâsi province in A.D. 1181 (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 191; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 138), and of the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Armaṭivala, a minister of Vîra-Ballâḷa II., who was thus ruling at Sâtarûr in A.D. 1195 (*Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. TN. 31; the record applies the same expression to also Vîra-Ballâḷa himself). The term *sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôda* occurs, however,—though not with *râjyaṁ-gêyu*, but with *âḷu*, 'to govern,' and *pratipâlisu*, 'to protect,'—in the cases of an exceptionally high official of Vikramâditya VI., the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Bâṇasa-veggaḍe*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Anantapâlayya, who was thus ruling the Banavâsi province and the Beḷvola and Puligere districts, and managing the *pannâya*-tax of the seven-and-a-half-lâkh country, in A.D. 1102-1103, and of a subordinate of his, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Gôvindarasa, who, at the same time, was thus managing the *mêlvatteya-vaḍḍarâvuḷa*, *eraḍu-bilkoḍe*, and *perjuṅka* taxes (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* Nos. 168, 171; *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 79, 80, 139): in the case of Anantâpâlayya, the use of the term is in accordance with the fact that he was also styled *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*, which was of much the same purport with *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*; in the case of Gôvindarasa, the justification for its use is not so apparent. And it occasionally occurs in connection with simply

sara, 'S.-S. 904 expired;[1] and an inscription at Tâlgund in Mysore,[2] dated either in Vaiśâkha (April-May) or Âśvayuja (Sept.-Oct.), falling in A. D. 997, of the Hêmalambin *saṁvatsara*, 'S-S. 919 (expired), which records that his feudatory Bhîmarasa, also called Tailapana-aṅkakâra or "the warrior or champion of Tailapa,"[3] was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Sântaḷige thousand, in Mysore, and the Kisukâḍ seventy or the country round Paṭṭadakal in the Bijâpur District. Where his capital was, is not certain; though, as suggested above, it may very possibly have been Mâlkhêḍ. But the localities named in the records mentioned above, shew that he established his sway over the whole of the southern part of the territories that had been held by the Râshṭrakûṭas. The pointed and regretful way in which the Bhadâna grant of the feudatory *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Aparâjita, of the 'Silâhâra family, issued in June, A. D. 997, and evidently within the period of his reign, speaks of his having overthrown Kakka II., indicates plainly that his supremacy was admitted in the territory of the northern branch of the 'Silâhâra family in the Koṅkaṇ. And the statement in the Saṅgamnêr grant of A. D. 1000, that it was the *Mahâsâmanta* Bhillama II., of the Yâdava family of Sêuṇadêśa, who actually defeated Muñja,[4] shews that this feudatory prince also, whose province lay in the direction of Auraṅgâbâd, Nâsik, and Khândêsh, recognised his suzerainty in the more northern parts of the Râshṭrakûṭa dominions to the east of the Western Ghauts. On the other hand, he cannot have acquired any of the Gujarât provinces: for, not only have we dates ranging from A. D. 941-42 to 996-97 for the Chaulukya king Mûlarâja of Aṇhilwâḍ,[5] whose successors, moreover, maintained the sovereignty for the next four centuries, but, also, somewhere about A. D. 975, amidst the events which attended the downfall of the Râshṭrakûṭas, a Chaulukya prince named Bârappa,— evidently some connection of Mûlarâja,— seized the Lâṭa country, which remained in the possession of his family until at

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iru, 'to be'; *e. g.*, in the case of Gaṅgapermanaḍi-Bhuvanaikavîra-Udayâditya, mentioned above, who is described as governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Sântaḷige thousand, the Maṇḍali thousand, and the eighteen *agrahâras*, with punishment of the wicked and protection of the good, and being at the capital of Baḷḷigâve with the pleasure of an agreeable or friendly interchange of communications (with his paramount sovereign).—The expression, in any of its forms, does not necessarily occur in connection with all *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras*; *e. g.*, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Châvuṇḍarâya is described as simply governing the Banavâsi province (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 179, text line 11).

[1] *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 85; where, however, as I find from an ink-impression, the 'Saka year is not given completely, — the *saṁvatsara* is wrongly given as Târaṇa, — and, through gratuitously reading *Trailôkyamalla* instead of *Âhavamalla*, in line 5, the record is mistakenly referred to Sômêśvara I.

[2] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 214; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 186.

[3] As used in this and similar *birudas*, *aṅka* seems,— as the Kanarese affix *kâṛa* is used, — to be intended to be applied in its meaning of 'a military show, or sham-fight; war, battle.' But *aṅkakâṛa* may also represent the Sanskrit *aṅkakâra*, 'an arithmetician;' and there may be some such implication as that by which the prefix of the name of the Eastern Chalukya king Guṇaka-Vijayâditya III. is explained by the statement (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 102) that he was "a thorough arithmetician (*aṅkakâraḥ sâkshât*)."

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 214-15.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 213.

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any rate the time of Trilôchanapâla in A.D. 1051.[1] Some of the later records assert that, in addition to subverting the power of the Râshṭrakûṭas, he overcame the king of Chêdi, the Utkalas or people of Orissa, and the kings of Chôḷa and Nêpâla, and subjugated the whole of the Kuntala country. The alleged conquest of Nêpâl is, of course, an invention of the poets; and probably the statements about Chêdi, the Chôḷas, and Orissa, are no more substantial, except in being perhaps based, in the first two cases, on some successful resistance of attempts at invasion. The subjugation of the whole of the Kuntala country, however, is a fact, which is amply borne out by the localities mentioned above, and by all the subsequent records, in some of which the Western Châlukyas are emphatically described as "the lords of Kuntala." The specific limits of this country are not yet known. But the statements in epigraphic records shew that it covered at least the whole of the Kanarese districts. On the south, it included Banawâsi in North Kanara, Baḷagâmve and Harihar in Mysore, and Hampe or Vijayanagara in the Bellâry District; to the north of these places, Hângal, Lakshmêshwar, Lakkuṇḍi, and Gadag, in the Dhârwâr District; further to the north, Belgaum, Saundatti, Manôḷi, and Koṇṇûr, in the Belgaum District, and Paṭṭadakal and Aihoḷe in the Bijâpur District; and still more to the north, Têrdâḷ in the Sâṅglî State, Bijâpur itself, and doubtless Kalyâṇi. And some of the principal and best-known divisions of the country were the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Pânuṁgal or Hâṅgal five-hundred, the Puligere or Lakshmêshwar three-hundred, the Belvoḷa three-hundred, the Kûṇḍi three-thousand, the Vêṇugrâma or Belgaum seventy, the Toragale or Torgal six-thousand, the Keḷavâḍi three-hundred near Bâdâmi, the Kisukâḍ seventy, of which Paṭṭadakal was the chief town, the Bâgaḍage or Bâgalkôṭ seventy, and the Tardavâḍi thousand, which was the country in the neighbourhood of Bijâpur.[2] It is to be understood, in fact, that Taila II. acquired the whole of the Râshṭrakûṭa kingdom, with the exception of the Gujarât provinces: and in the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of A. D. 1008, the territory that was held by his immediate successor Iṛivabedaṅga-Satyâśraya, is specifically called Raṭṭapâṭî or "the country of the Raṭṭas or Râshṭrakûṭas;" while in some of the Chôḷa records it is called the Raṭṭapâḍi seven-and-a-half-lâkh country.[3] The Muñja whom he slew, as stated in the verse that is referred to

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 196 ff.—The *Rasmâlâ* asserts that Bârappa was a general of Taila II., and attacked Mûlarâja; and perhaps some other works imply the same: but no epigraphic evidence has been obtained, supporting this statement; and it is intrinsically improbable, because Bârappa was a Chaulukya, like Mûlarâja of Aṇhilwâḍ and his descendants,—not a Châlukya, like Taila II. On the other hand, the *Sukṛita-saṁkîrtana* represents Bârappa as the general of a king of Kanauj.

[2] It is rather surprising that the name of Kuntala does not occur in the records of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi; for, it is carried back to the sixth century A. D. by the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ* of Varâhamihira (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 182), and it is also mentioned, as a principal territorial division, in an inscription at Ajaṇṭâ, of not much later date, which, in fact, seems to indicate that Ajaṇṭâ itself was in Kuntala (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 126, 127); and further, it is, in my opinion, the real country, in Mahârâshṭra, which Hiuen Tsiang, representing Nâsik as its capital, described under the name of Mahârâshṭra, the kingdom of Pulikêśin II. (see page 355 above, note 3; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 115).

[3] *e. g.*, *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 63, 65.

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on page 426 above, is the Paramâra king Vâkpati-Muñja of Mâlwa, the successor of Sîyaka-Harsha who has been mentioned in connection with the Râshṭrakûṭa king Khoṭṭiga. This event, however, is not to be made synchronous, — even if the verse in question intends it,— with the overthrow of the Râshṭrakûṭas; for we have, for Muñja, as late a date as A. D. 979.[1] It is claimed for Muñja that he conquered Taila II. no less than sixteen times,[2] before he met his fate at Taila's hands. And he eventually lost his life under the following circumstances. He made his final expedition into Taila's country, against the advice of his minister Rudrâditya. Crossing the Gôdâvarî, which is said to have formed the northern boundary of Taila's kingdom, he was defeated and taken captive. After a protracted imprisonment, he made a futile attempt to escape. And then, being imprisoned again, he was at first treated with great indignity, and finally was executed.[3] The killing of Pañchala, also, was not really synchronous with the commencement of Taila's reign; for that person, a Western Gaṅga prince, is described, in a fragmentary record at Mulgund in the Dhârwâr District, as reigning in A. D. 974 or 975 over the whole country bounded by the eastern, the western, and the southern oceans.[4]

Iṛivabedaṅga Satyâśraya.

Taila II. was succeeded, probably towards the end of A. D. 997, by his eldest son Satyâśraya, whose name appears also as Sattiga[5] and Sattima,[6] and who had the *birudas* of Akalaṅkacharita, "of spotless behaviour," and Iṛivabedaṅga or Iṛivabedeṅga, "a wonder among those who pierce (their foes)." Of his time, we have nine records. Eight of them expressly mention him as the reigning king; and these are, — an inscription at Gadag in the Dhârwâr District,[7] dated in the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A. D. 1002, of the Subhakrit *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Saka-Saṁvat 924 (expired),[8] while his feudatory, the *Mahâsâmanta* Sôbhanarasa, was governing the Belvola three-hundred,— which was the country round Gadag, Aṇṇigere, Kurtakôṭi, and Nargund in Dhârwâr, Hûli in Belgaum, and Kukkanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions, — together with the Puligere or Lakshmêshwar three-hundred, the Kundûr five-hundred, and the Kukkanûr thirty; an inscription at Tumbige in the Bijâpur District,[9] dated in the Krôdhin *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 926 (expired),=A. D. 1004-

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 223.
[2] *ibid.* p. 227.
[3] *ibid.* p. 228; see also *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884), p. 59.
[4] See page 307 above.
[5] *e. g., P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 178, line 6, and No. 219, line 14 (*Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 87, 189). — In connection with this Prâkṛit form of the name, see page 410 above, note 1.
[6] See *id.* No. 116, line 17 (in *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 68, 'Sattimanta' is wrongly given).
[7] At the temple of Trikûṭêśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 39; and see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 297, No. 3: I quote now, however, from an ink-impression which makes the year clear).
[8] According to General Sir Alexander Cunningham's list of the *saṁvatsaras* (*Indian Eras*, p. 25), Subhakṛit should be coupled with Saka-Saṁvat 925 expired, and S.-S. 924 expired should be coupled with Sôbhakṛit. But the table in Mr. C. P. Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, pp. 11-19, places Subhakṛit before Sôbhakṛit, and is in accordance with this record and others also.
[9] *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 32. I quote, however, from an ink-impression

1005; two inscriptions at Kukkanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions and Yaḷawâḷ in Mysore,[1] the dates of which, partially illegible, may be anything from 'S.-S. 920 to 929; an inscription at Kannêshwar in the Dhârwâr District,[2] dated in the Viśvâvasu *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 927 (expired),= A. D. 1005-1006, while his feudatory, the *Mahâsâmanta* Bhimarâja, also called Tailapana-aṅkakâra, was still governing, as under Taila II., the Banavâsi, Sântaḷige, and Kisukâḍ districts; an inscription at Hoṭṭûr in the Dhârwâr District, dated, without full details, in the Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 929 (expired), = A.D. 1007-1008;[3] a copper-plate grant from Khârêpâṭaṇ in the Ratnâgiri District,[4] dated in Jyêshṭha (May-June), falling in A. D. 1008, of the Kîlaka *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 930 (expired), which describes Satyâśraya himself as reigning over Râṭṭapâṭi or the country of the Raṭṭas, *i.e.* the Râshṭrakûṭas,[5] and records a grant that was made by his feudatory, the *Maṇḍalika* Raṭṭarâja, of the southern branch of the 'Silâhâras of the Koṅkaṇ; and an inscription at Munawaḷḷi in the Dhârwâr District,[6] dated in 'Srâvaṇa (July-Aug.) of the same *saṁvatsara*, falling also in A.D. 1008. The ninth is a copper-plate grant from Saṅgamnêr in the Ahmednagar District,[7] dated in the month Bhâdrapada (Aug.-Sept.), falling in A. D. 1000, of the 'Sârvarin *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 922 (expired): this record, containing a charter issued by the Yâdava prince Bhillama II., who was then ruling the Sêuṇa country, does not mention Satyâśraya, or, indeed, any paramount sovereign at all; but the connection between the Yâdavas of Sêuṇadêśa and the Western Châlukyas is shewn by the statement that it was Bhillama who killed Muñja, the enemy of Taila II.; and Bhillama can only have been ruling as a feudatory of the Western Châlukya kings with whom he was synchronous. From the Chôḷa records, we learn that Satyâśraya fought with the Chôḷa king Kô-Râjarâja-Râjakêsarivarman, who claims to have defeated him.[8] On the other hand, the Hoṭṭûr inscription, while admitting that the Chôḷa king,—here called Nûrmaḍi-Chôḷa, and apparently named as Râjêndra,[9]—having collected a force numbering nine hundred thousand, had pillaged the whole country, had slaughtered the women, the children, and the Brâhmaṇs, and, taking the girls to wife, had destroyed their caste, says that Satyâśraya put the Chôḷa to flight, and so acquired great stores of wealth and vehicles; and that, having thus conquered the southern country, he was then, in A. D. 1007-1008, reigning over the whole earth at Tâvareyaghaṭṭa or Tovareyaghaṭṭa, *i. e.* at the mountain-pass of Tâvare or Tovare,—which seems to be the place where the decisive battle was fought.

Daśavarman or Yaśôvarman.

The next name in the table is that of Daśavarman or Yaśôvarman, the younger brother of Iṛivabedaṅga-Satyâśraya. His name is almost invariably given as Daśavarman; in fact, there is as yet only one instance

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[1] *Carn.-Dêśa Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 30, 33. [2] *ibid.* p. 34.
[3] On a monumental slab in a field, Survey No. 47. I quote from an ink-impression.
[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 292. [5] See page 341 above, note 2.
[6] From an ink-impression. [7] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 212.
[8] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 51, 52, 63, 112; Vol. II. pp. 2, 13.
[9] *i. e.*, Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva, the successor of Râjakêsarivarman.

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to the contrary;— a passage in the Kauthêm grant of A. D. 1009,[1] in which it appears as Yaśôvarman; and the reason for the variation there is not apparent. His wife was Bhâgyavatî or Bhâgaladevî.[2] There are no records of his time. And his name is omitted in some of the subsequent records, which take the regal succession direct from Iṛivabeḍanga-Satyâśraya to Vikramâditya V.[3] It seems plain, therefore, that he did not reign. And none of the records state any history in connection with him.

Vikramâditya V.

The successor of Iṛivabeḍanga-Satyâśraya, then, was Daśavarman's eldest son Vikramâditya V., whose name appears sometimes as Vikramâditya and sometimes as simply Vikrama, and who had the *biruda* of Tribhuvanamalla, "the wrestler of the three worlds:" he probably succeeded to the throne in A. D. 1009. Of his reign we have four records,— a copper-plate grant from Kauthêm in the Miraj State,[4] dated in the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, coupled with 'Saka-Saṁvat 930 expired, by mistake for 931 expired or 932 current, with the mention of a lunar eclipse which falls in A.D. 1009;[5] an inscription at Sûḍi in the Dhârwâr District,[6] dated in the Sâdhâraṇa *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 932 (expired),= A.D. 1010-11; another at Âlûr in the Gadag tâluka of the same district,[7] dated in the same year, while his feudatory, Iṛiva-Noḷambâdhirâja, also called Ghaṭeya-aṅkakâra, of the Pallava family, whose wife was a daughter of Iṛivabeḍanga-Satyâśraya, was governing the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand, the Keṅgaḷi five-hundred, the Ballakuṇḍe three-

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 15.

[2] Her name appears as Bhâgyavatî in the Kauthêm grant.

[3] I said (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 19) that there is an inscription at Âlûr in the Gaḍag tâluka, which, if the copy (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 38) is correct, speaks of Vikramâditya V. as the son of Satyâśraya. The record is that of A.D. 1010-11, of the reign of Vikramâditya V. And I find, from an ink-impression, that the copy is not correct. The word used is *magaḷ*, 'daughter,' applying to the wife of Iṛiva-Noḷambâdhirâja; not *magaṁ*, 'son,' as given in the copy, applying to Vikramâditya V. But I find that the statement is certainly made in an inscription at Harihar (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 116; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 68), where the text (line 17) runs *ene śaury-ônnatan-âda Tailapan=apatyaṁ Sattimaṁ taṁ-nṛipâḷana putraṁ vibhu-Vikramaṁ tad-anujaṁ saṁd=Ayyaṇam*, &c. And there is also an inscription at the temple of 'Sambhu-Mahâdêva at Diggâvi in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 189), which seems to repeat the statement; the words, according to the transcript, are *ghaṇa-śaury-âgraṇi-Taila bhûbhuja-sutaṁ Satyâśrayaṁ tan-nṛipâḷana putraṁ vibhu-Vikramaṁ tad-anujaṁ sand=Ayyaṇaṁ, &c.*

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 15.

[5] The grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. But the month is not stated; so the precise date cannot be determined, as, in the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, there were two lunar eclipses, on the 12th April, A.D. 1009, and on the 6th October following (see Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, p. 359).— The Saumya *saṁvatsara* might, indeed, be coupled with 'Saka-Saṁvat 930 expired,— in which case there would be no mistake in the record,— by the southern Vikrama luni-solar system, if that system existed (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 222). And then,— bearing in mind that the date must be later than that of the Munawaḷḷi inscription, which, coupling Kîlaka with 'S.-S. 930 expired according to the usual southern luni-solar system, gives a date in July-August, A. D. 1008, for Iṛivabeḍanga-Satyâśraya,— the eclipse might be identified with that of the 17th October, A.D. 1008. But the existence of the southern Vikrama variety of the cycle remains to be proved. And it seems, on the whole, probable that there really is a mistake in respect of the 'Saka year that is given in the record.

[6] *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 37; verified from an ink-impression.

[7] *ibid.* p. 38; verified from an ink-impression.

hundred, the Kukkanûr thirty, and five towns in the Mâsiyavâḍi country; and another at Galagnâth in the same district,[1] which gives a date in Bhâdrapada (Aug.-Sept.), falling in A. D. 1011, of the Virôdhikrit *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 933 (expired). The records do not appear to state any history in connection with him.

Ayyaṇa II.

The next name in the table is that of Ayyaṇa II., a younger brother of Vikramâditya V. We have, however, no records that are referable to him; and he does not appear to have reigned.

Akkâdêvî.

The next name is that of Akkâdêvî, an elder sister of Jayasiṁha II., who is mentioned in several of the records, and appears to have been a personage of considerable reputation and importance. She was styled *guṇada-beḍaṅgi*, "a marvel of virtuous qualities," and *êkavâkye*, "she whose speech is single and uniform;" and she is described as "a very Bhairavî in battle and in destroying hostile kings." In A. D. 1021 or 1022, she was governing the Kisukâḍ seventy, under Jayasiṁha II.[2] And she continued in authority under Sômêśvara I.: for we find her described in a record of A. D. 1047 as having laid siege to the fort of Gôkâge, *i. e.* Gôkâk in the Belgaum District,—probably to quell some local insurrection;[3] in A. D. 1050 she was governing the Kisukâḍ seventy, the Toragare six, and the Mâsavâḍi hundred-and-forty;[4] and in A.D. 1053 she is mentioned again as governing the Kisukâḍ seventy, in a record which implies that the seat of her government was Vikramapura, which is the modern Arasîbîḍi in the Hungund tâluka, Bijâpur District.[5] A record of A.D. 1066 mentions her as the mother of the Kâdamba *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Tôyimadêva, who was then ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Pânuṁgal five-hundred.[6] Her husband, therefore, was one of the Kâdambas of Hângal; but his name has not yet been traced.

Jayasiṁha II.

The successor of Vikramâditya V. was his youngest brother Jayasiṁha II., who had the *biruda* of Jagadêkamalla, "the sole wrestler in the world." His wife was Suggaladêvî, who, in the *Channabasava-Purâṇa*, where his name appears in the form of Dêsiṅga, is called Suggale and is described as converting him from Jainism to the Śaiva faith.[7] And he had a daughter, named Hâmmâ or Avvalladêvî, who was married to the Yâdava prince Bhillama III. of Sêuṇadêśa.[8] Of his reign, we have the Miraj copper-plate grant,[9] and some two dozen inscriptions on stone,[10] which give dates ranging from the month

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[1] *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 40; verified from an ink-impression: the characters, however, seem of rather later date.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 275.

[3] An inscription at Arasîbîḍi in the Bijâpur District.

[4] An inscription at Sûḍi in the Dhârwâr District.

[5] Another inscription at Arasîbîḍi itself.

[6] An inscription at Hoṭṭûr in the Dhârwâr District.

[7] See page 437 below, note 5. Her name occurs in an inscription at Hippargi in the Sindagi tâluka, Bijâpur District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 53).

[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 122. [9] *id.* Vol. VIII. p. 10.

[10] For some which have been edited with the texts, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 15 (at Baḷagâṁve; A. D. 1019), Vol. XVIII. p. 270 (at Bêlûr; A.D. 1021, probably), Vol. IV. p. 278 (at Tâḷgund; A. D. 1028), and Vol. XIX. p. 161 (at Maṇṭûr; A.D., 1040, probably).—From this time, the records become too numerous to be noticed in detail.

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Vaiśâkha (April-May), falling in A. D. 1018, of the Kâlayukti *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 940 (expired),[1] to the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A. D. 1042, of the Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 964 (expired).[2] And among the records of this period we have also to count, though they do not expressly mention any paramount sovereign, the Kalas-Budrûkh grant of the *Mahâsâmanta* Bhillama III., of the Yâdava family of Sêuṇadêśa,[3] who was ruling his hereditary province in A. D. 1025, and the Bhâṇḍûp grant of the Śilâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chhittarâja,[4] who in A. D. 1026 was ruling the whole of the Koṅkaṇ; both these persons were, without doubt, vassals of Jayasiṁha II. The Balagâmve inscription of A. D. 1019 describes him as a moon to the water-lily that was king Bhôja, *i.e.* as taking away the glory of Bhôja, just as the moon causes the water-lilies that bloom in the daytime to close their flowers at night,— and as defeating the Chôḷas and Chêras, and putting to flight the confederacy of Mâlwa:[5] the Bhôja who is spoken of here, is the Paramâra king of Mâlwa,— the brother's son of Vâkpati-Muñja,—for whom we have the date of A. D. 1021-22, and who is said to have vanquished, among others, the Karṇâṭas, *i.e.* the Western Châlukyas.[6] Several of the other records mention Jayasiṁha II. as defeating the Chôḷa king. But none of them give details, except the Miraj charter, which records the grant of a village, in the Ededore two-thousand, that was made by him in A. D. 1024, on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha of the Raktâkshin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 946 (expired), when, having fought and subdued the mighty Chôḷa, the lord of the five Dramilas, and having appropriated all the possessions of the lords of the seven Koṅkaṇs, his victorious camp was pitched near Kôlhâpur in the course of a campaign for conquering the northern countries.[7] The Chôḷa king with whom he fought, was Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva, otherwise called Madhurântaka II. and Parakêsarivarman, who, in the usual manner, transfers all the successes to himself, and claims to have conquered the Iḍaiturai *nâḍ*, *i.e.* the Ededore district mentioned just above, which is to be identified with the country lying round Edatore, the head-quarters of a tâluka in Mysore,—to have penetrated as far as Banawâsi,—and even to have taken the whole of the Raṭṭapâḍi country from Jayasiṁha.[8] The principal feudatories and officials of Jayasiṁha II. were,—a certain Chaṭṭa, Chaṭṭayya, or Chaṭṭaladêva, who seems to be Shashṭhadêva I., of the

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[1] An inscription at the temple of Saṅgana-Basavêśvara at Hirûr in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 44).—At Guḍikaṭṭi in the Sampgaon tâluka, Belgaum District, there is an inscription of the Kâdambas of Goa, which purports to give for Jayasiṁha II. the date of the Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 928, by mistake for 929 (expired), = A. D. 1007-1008). He may have been *Yuvarâja* then. But the record was put on the stone in A.D. 1052-53; it does not describe him as *Yuvarâja*; and I am not satisfied that it gives an authentic date for him.

[2] An inscription at the temple of Tôraṇagal-Brahmadêva at Śirûr in the Gadag tâluka, Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 70); but I did not find this record among the ink-impressions brought to me from Śirûr.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 117.

[4] *id.* Vol. V. p. 276.

[5] *ibid.* p. 17.

[6] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. pp. 223, 230.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 18; and see *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 113.

[8] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 51, 52, 95, 96, 113.

family of the Kâdambas of Goa;[1] the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kuṇḍamarasa, also called Sattigana-Chaṭṭa, son of Iṟivabeḍaṅgadêva,[2] with the title of "supreme lord of Banavâsi, the best of towns," who, in A.D. 1019, at Balipura, *i.e.* Baḷagâṁve, was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Sântaḷige thousand, and the Hayve five-hundred, up to the shore of the western ocean;[3] the *Mahâsâmanta* Bhillama III., of the Yâdava family of Sêuṇadêśa, who in A. D. 1025 was ruling his hereditary province at Sindinagara, *i.e.* Sinnar in the Nâsik District; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras* Sêvya and Nâgâditya, of the Sinda family, who in A. D. 1033-34 were ruling the Bâgaḍage country; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mayûravarman II., of the family of the Kâdambas of Hângal, who in A. D. 1034-35 and 1038-39 was ruling the Pânuṁgal five-hundred; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Tôyimadêva, of the same family, a son of Akkâdêvî, who was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Pânuṁgal five-hundred in A. D. 1037; the *Mahâsâmanta* Iṟivabeḍaṅga-Mârasiṁha, apparently of the Maṇalûr family,[4] and the *Mahâsâmanta* Jayakêśin of that family,—each of them with the title of "lord of Purigeṟe, the best of towns,"— who in A. D. 1038-39 were holding the office of *Nâḍgâmuṇḍu* of the Purigeṟe three-hundred; the *Mahâsâmanta* Eṟeyamma or Eṟega, of the Raṭṭa family of Saundatti, who was ruling in A. D. 1040; and Noḷamba-Pallava-Bommaṇayya, of the Pallava lineage, who in A. D. 1040-41 and 1042-43 was governing five towns in the Mâsavâḍi country. Also, as already noted, in A. D. 1021 or 1022 his elder sister Akkâdêvî was governing the Kisukâḍ seventy. The records do not name the capital proper of Jayasiṁha II. himself. But they mention, as minor capitals, Baḷagâṁve and Poṭṭalakeṟe, which latter place is now represented by Daṇṇâyakana-kere in the Bellâry District,[5] and another place, named Koḷḷipâke, which has not yet been identified.[6]

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[1] But with a dubious date in A.D. 1007-1008 (see page 436 above, note 1).

[2] *i.e.*, quite possibly, of Iṟivabeḍaṅga-Satyâśraya. [3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 17, 18.

[4] Maṇalûr was a village on the Tuṅgabhadrâ (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 282).

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 162. This place is mentioned as Hoṭalakere in the *Basava-Purâṇa*, chap. ii., where we are told that it contained seven hundred *basadis* or Jain temples, and twenty thousand Jain saints; and a narration is given of how Dêvara-Dâsimayya, the *Guru* of Suggaladêvî the wife of king Dêsiṅga, despoiled the Śrâvakas or Jains, and induced Dêsiṅga to adopt the Śaiva or Liṅgâyat religion. The same story is epitomised in the *Channabasava-Purâṇa*, chap. lvii., 10, which says that Suggale, the wife of the *Jinabhakta* Dêsiṅga-Ballâḷa, caused her *Guru* Dêvara-Dâsa to dispute with the Jains, and then, transforming a serpent in a box into a *liṅga* made of the *chandrakânta* or moon-stone, she caused him to conquer, and induced her husband to become a *Śivabhakta*.— In calling Dêsiṅga a Ballâḷa, *i.e.* a Hoysaḷa, the *Channabasava-Purâṇa* makes an evident mistake. Dêsiṅga is a conception of Jayasiṁha, which name does not appear among the Hoysaḷas at all. And the coincident mention of Suggale or Suggaḷadêvî and Hoṭalakere, shews conclusively that the story really refers to the Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha II.

[6] See the Bhairanmaṭṭi inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 231).— No one has ever been able to tell me where the place is. But it should be a very well known, as it is the slightly differently spelt Koḷḷipâki which is mentioned in the *Râjaśêkharavilâsa*, I., 53-56, as the birthplace of Rêṇukêśa, Rêṇukâchârya, or Rêvaṇaprabhu. According to the poem, Rêṇukêśa was born from the *îśa* or *liṅga* at Koḷḷipâki, into which he was absorbed again, when he had begotten a son named Rudramunîśvara, and had initiated him and given him the office of *Guru*. In his introduction to his edition of the *Râjaśêkharavilâsa*, Gangadhar Madiwaleshwar Turmari stated that Rêṇukêśa was one of the *Pañchâchâryas* or five preceptors who established the Liṅgâyat religion, and that he founded a *maṭha* or religious college at Koḷḷipâki, and gave the *paṭṭâdhikâra* or

Chapter IV.

The Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi.

Sômêśvara I.

Jayasiṁha II. was succeeded by his son, Sômêśvara I., who had the double *biruda* of Trailôkyamalla-Âhavamalla. His wives were, — Bâchaladêvî, who was the mother of Sômêśvara II., Vikramâditya VI., and Jayasiṁha III., and was probably his first wife;[1] Chandalakabbe or Chandrikâdêvî, who had the title of *piriyarasi* or chief queen in A. D. 1047-48;[2] Mailaladêvî, who had the same title in A. D. 1053-54;[3] and Kêtaladêvî.[4] Of his reign we have some forty records,[5] which give dates ranging from the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A.D. 1044, of the Târaṇa *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 966 (expired),[6] to the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A. D. 1068, of the Kîlaka *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 990 (expired).[7] And they shew that his principal feudatories

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pontiffship of it to his son, Rudramunîśvara; that in Rudramunîśvara's lineage were born Uddânagaṇâdhîśvara, Annadânîśa, Rêvâṇasiddhêśvara, and Chikkavîradêva, who established a *maṭha* at Danugûr, south of Bangalore, and became the *Svâmis* or pontiffs of it; that in Chikkavîradêva's lineage was born the poet Shaḍakshari, the author of the *Râjasêkharavilâsa*, who became the *Paṭṭadasvâmi* of the Danugûr *maṭha* about A.D. 1631; that Shaḍakshari died at Yeḷendûr, in Mysore, where the people set up in memory of him a *linga* which they worship to this day; and that his descendants are still found at Koḷḷipâki, Danugûr, and Yeḷendûr. But he did not give any information as to where Koḷḷipâki is to be looked for. — As Koḷḷipâkkai, the place is also mentioned in the Chôḷa inscriptions (*e.g.*, *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 96, 99). And an inscription of A.D. 1131 at Drâkshârâm (*Elliot Telugu Sasanams*, p. 287) styles the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Yongiramârga (*sic*) "supreme lord of Koḷḷipâki the best of towns, lord of the six-thousand district on the south bank of the river Krishṇavêṇî; and found[ation]-pillar of the sovereignty of the Châlukyas of Vengi."—Mr. Kittel says (*Nâgavarma's Canarese Prosody*, Introd. pp. xlviii., lxviiii. note 19, lxix. note 2) that the *Guru* throne of the present Rêvaṇasiddha, the disciple-descendant of Rêṇukêśa, is at Bâḷehaḷḷi, which is called in Sanskrit Kadaḷîpura, near Honnûr in the Maledêśa or hill-country along the Western Ghauts. And the suggestion has been made to me, that Bâḷehaḷḷi may be Koḷḷipâke. But I know of nothing tending to prove this. — The Kaśâkûḍi Pallava grant (see page 323 above) mentions a village named Koḷḷipâkam, in the vicinity of Conjeeveram. But, whether this is the Koḷḷipâke of the other references, is doubtful.

[1] An inscription at the temple of Trikûṭêśvara at Gadag in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 410; and see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 297). — The record is dated in the Chitra[bhânu] *saṁvatsara*, the twenty-seventh year of the Châlukya-Vikrâma-kâla, on Sunday, the first (or ? twelfth) *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, falling in A. D. 1102. It is too much damaged to be edited as a whole; but the verse which mentions Bâchaladêvî runs (from an ink-impression) — Abhinuta-vikramâbharaṇa[n = Ahava]malla-nṛipaṅge [Kâ]minî-nibhey = ene saṁda pem ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ Bâchaladêvige puṭṭi[da]r = ssutar = vvibhu Bhuvanaikamalla-nṛipanuṁ ripu-râya-gharaṭṭan = unnataṁ Tribhuvanamalla-bhûbhu[ja]num = ujvaḷa-kîr[tti] Noḷambabhûpanuṁ. — The Gadag inscription of A.D. 1098 also names Bâchaladêvî as the mother of Sômêśvara I. and Vikramâditya VI.

[2] An inscription at the temple of Îśvara at Nimbargi in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 92).

[3] An inscription at Tiḷawaḷḷi in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 122; verified from an ink-impression).

[4] The Honwâḍ inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 268).

[5] For some which have been edited with the texts, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 179 (at Baḷagâṃve; of A.D. 1048), and Vol. XIX. p. 268 (at Honwâḍ; of A. D. 1054).

[6] An inscription in front of the temple of Hanumanta at Narêgal, in the Rôṇ tâluka, Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 84). — I have not been able to verify this date from an ink-impression. But, apparently, impressions have not been made of all the inscriptions at Narêgal. There is an inscription of the same year at the temple of Kallêśvara at Âḍûr in the Hângal tâluka (*ibid.* p. 80); but neither the copy nor the ink-impression shews the full details of the date.

[7] An inscription at Banawâsi (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 179; verified from an ink-impression).

and officials were,— the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mayûravarman II., of the family of the Kâdambas of Hângal, who in A. D. 1034-35 and 1044-45 was ruling the Pânuṁgal five-hundred; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Siṅgaṇadêvarasa, who in A. D. 1045 was ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy, the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, and the Sântaḷige thousand, up to the borders of the western ocean; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Châvuṇḍarâya, with the title of "supreme lord of Banavâsi, the best of towns," who in A. D. 1045-46 and 1062-63, at Baḷḷigâve, *i.e.* Baḷagâṁve, was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand; Kaliyammarasa, of the Jîmûtavâhana lineage and the Khachara race (apparently a branch of the 'Silâhâra stock), who in A. D. 1045-46 was governing the Bâsavura hundred-and-forty; the Hoysaḷa *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vinayâditya, who in A. D. 1048, or thereabouts, was ruling the territory included between the Koṅkaṇ, the Bhaḍadavayal province or district, Taḷakâḍ, and Sâvimale; the *Mahâsâmantas* Kârtavîrya I. and Aṅka, of the family of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, the latter of whom, in A. D. 1048-49, was ruling at Sugandhavarti, *i.e.* Saundatti, the chief town of the Kûṇḍi three-thousand; Jayakêśin I., of the family of the Kâdambas of Goa, who was ruling his hereditary part of the Koṅkaṇ in A. D. 1052-53;[1] the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Rêvarasa, with the title of "lord of Mâhishmatî, the best of towns," and described as belonging to the family of Kârtavîrya,[2] who in A. D. 1054-55 was governing in the neighbourhood of Kembhâvi in the Nizâm's Dominions; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Sôyimarasa, of the family of the Kâdambas of Hângal, who was ruling the Pânuṁgal five-hundred in A. D. 1067-68; and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kîrtivarman II., of the same family, who in A. D. 1068-69 was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand. And among the records of this reign we must reckon, though it does not name the paramount sovereign, the copper-plate grant of the 'Silâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mârasiṁha,[3] who in A. D. 1058-59, at Khiligiladurga or Kiligiḷadurga, was ruling the Karâḍ territory, undoubtedly as a feudatory of Sômêśvara I. Sômêśvara's aunt, Akkâdêvî, continued in authority under him: we find her mentioned in one of the Arasîbîḍi inscriptions, of A. D. 1047-48, as laying siege to the fort of Gôkâge, *i.e.* Gôkâk in the Belgaum District,— doubtless

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[1] An inscription at Guḍikaṭṭi in the Sampgaon tâluka, Belgaum District, dated in the Nandana *saṁvatsara*, coupled with 'Saka-Saṁvat 973, by mistake for 974 (expired). The 'Saka year is expressed partly in numerical words, by *nandi*, 'the nine treasures,' *saptan*, 'seven,' and *guna* 'the three qualities.' So also in the first part of this record, purporting to give the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, coupled with 'S.-S. 928, by mistake for 929 (expired), for Jayasiṁha II. (see page 436 above, note 1), the date is expressed by *nidhi*, 'the nine treasures,' *dvi*, 'two,' and *gaja*, 'the eight elephants of the points of the compass.' If this record is accepted as genuine, it furnishes the earliest authentic instance of the use of numerical words to express an epigraphic date in Western India. But the earliest absolutely reliable instance, known to me, is one of A. D. 1071, which is noted further on under Sômêśvara II.

[2] Some chieftains of "the lineage of Kṛitavîrya, the lord of Mâhishmatîpaṭṭana," are also mentioned in an inscription at the temple of 'Saṁbhu-Mahâdêva at Diggâvi in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 188). Elsewhere, the family is called the Ahihaya-kula, which looks much as if it were meant for 'Haihaya,'— if the transcript is correct.

[3] *Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 102.

to quell some local disturbance; and in A.D. 1050 she was still governing the Kisukâḍ seventy, with also the Toragare six and the Mâsavâḍi hundred-and-forty. In A. D. 1053-54, his wife Mailaladêvî was holding the government of the Banavâsi twelve-thousand.[1] In the Honwâḍ inscription of A.D. 1054, his wife Kêtaladêvî is described as governing or managing the Ponnavâḍa *agrahâra*, *i.e.* Honwâḍ in the Bijâpur District, according to the *tribhôg-âbhyantara-siddhi*, which means that she took one-third of the revenues, the other two-thirds going, in equal shares, to the gods and the Brâhmaṇs.[2] In A. D. 1053, his eldest son Sômêśvara II. was ruling the Beḷvola three-hundred and the Purigere three-hundred.[3] In A. D. 1055-56, his second son Vikramâditya VI. was ruling the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand and the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, with Harikêsarin, of the family of the Kâdambas of Hângal, as his subordinate in charge of the latter district.[4] In A.D. 1064, his third son Jayasiṁha III. was ruling the Tardavâḍi thousand, which was the territory lying round Bijâpur.[5] And, in A. D. 1064 and 1066, his fourth son Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayâditya was ruling the Nolambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand. It was in this reign that Kalyâṇa or Kalyâṇapura, which is the modern Kalyâṇi in the Nizâm's Dominions,[6] became the capital of the Western Châlukyas. Bilhaṇa distinctly tells us, in his *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, that Sômêśvara I. made the town, *i.e.* either founded it or developed it into the capital.[7] And, in perfect accordance with this, is the fact that the very earliest epigraphic mention of the place that has been traced, is in a record of A.D. 1053,[8] which speaks of it as the *nelevîḍu*

[1] An inscription at Tiḷawaḷḷi in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 122; verified by an ink-impression, which, however, does not include the date).

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 271.

[3] An inscription at Mulgund in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 125; verified by an ink-impression). The record speaks of him as the son of Sômêśvara I.; and it styles him *samadhigatapañchamahâśabda-mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*; *Veṅgî-puravar-êśvara* (Sir Walter Elliot's copyist has given *Bhôgipura°*), *kumâra-mârtaṇḍa*, *Ayyana-gandhavârana*, *Ayyana-malla*, and *Châlukya-chûḷâmaṇi.*—From this and the two records mentioned in the following two notes, one might easily infer, — and originally I did make such an inference,— that Sômêśvara II. was the son of a princess of the Eastern Chalukya family, Vikramâditya VI. the son of a Gaṅga princess, and Jayasimha III. the son of a Pallava princess. But the Gadag inscriptions say distinctly that they were utêrine brothers, born of one and the same mother (page 438 above, note 1). Bilhaṇa's account is to the same purport. And the attribution of particular titles in each instance is to be explained by the territorial administration which each of the brothers held. The fact, however, that, not only are Pallava titles given to Jayasiṁha III., but also he is distinctly described as *mahâ-Pallav-ânvaya*, "belonging to the great Pallava lineage" (see the next note but one), suggests that Bâchaladêvî was of the Pallava family.

[4] An inscription at Baṅkâpur in the Dhârwâr District (noticed in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 203). The record gives him the Western Gaṅga titles and epithets of Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarman, *Kuvaḷâḷa-puravar-êśvara*, *Nandagiri-nâtha*, *madagajêndra-lâñchhana*, Nanniya-Gaṅga, Jayaduttaraṅga, and Gaṅga-Permanaḍi; but the latter is qualified by the prefix Châlukya,— 'Châlukya-Gaṅga-Permanaḍi.'

[5] An inscription at Dêûr in the Bijâpur District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 173; verified by an ink-impression). The record styles him *samadhigata-pañchamahâśabda-mahâPallavânvaya-śrîprithvîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara*, *Kâñchî-puravar-êśvara*, Trailôkyamalla-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permanaḍi-Jayasiṁghadêva.

[6] See page 427 above, note 3.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 318; and *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*. And see page 335 above, note 1.

[8] An inscription near the temple of Siddhêśvara at Kembhâvi in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 117).

or "fixed place of abode," *i.e.* "capital," of this king.[1] The war with the Chôḷas, now under Kô-Parakêsarivarma-Râjêndradêva, continued in this reign. The Chôḷa records represent Râjêndradêva as conquering Sômêśvara I., at a place named Koppam, on the bank of the Pêrâru river, which is Koppa on the river Tuṅga, in the Kaḍûr District, Mysore.[2] But, on the other hand, a Western Châlukya inscription of A. D. 1071, at Aṇṇigere in the Dhârwâr District,[3] though admitting that the "wicked" Chôḷa, who had abandoned the religious observances of his family, penetrated into the Beḷvola country and burned the Jain temples which Gaṅga-Permâḍi, the lord of the Gaṅga *maṇḍala*,[4] while governing the Beḷvola province, had built in the Aṇṇigere *nâḍ*, states that the Chôḷa eventually yielded his head to Sômêśvara I. in battle, and thus, losing his life, broke the succession of his family.[5] And the date of the Châlukya victory is fixed, shortly before the 20th January, A. D. 1060, by an inscription at Sûḍi in the Dhârwâr District, which records that Sômêśvara I. granted a village named Sivuṇûr, in the Kisukâḍ seventy, to Nâgêśvarapaṇḍita and Sômêśvarapaṇḍita of the temple of Nagarêśvara at Sûḍi, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on Monday, the full-moon day of the month Mâgha of the Vikârin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 981 (expired), when, on his return from a conquest of the southern countries and of the Chôḷa, he was at Puḷiyappayaṇaviḍu in the Sindavâḍi *nâḍ*.[6] The war with the Chôḷas was duly chronicled by Bilhaṇa, who claims that Sômêśvara I. penetrated as far as Kâñchî, which was then the Chôḷa capital, and stormed that town and drove the ruler of it into the jungles.[7] Bilhaṇa asserts also that Sômêśvara I. stormed Dhârâ, the capital of the Paramâras in Mâlwâ, from which king Bhôja was driven out by him; and that he utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa, the Kalachuri king of Ḍâhala. As regards the events of the latter part of this reign, according to both the epigraphic records and the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, Sômêśvara I. had three sons, — Sômêśvara II., Vikramâditya VI., and Jayasiṁha III. And the poem tells us[8] that,

[1] As regards the meaning of *nelevîḍu*, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 110.

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 52, 134; Vol. II. p. 232.

[3] In the Jain temple (*Carn.-Dêśa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 216). The same account is also given in an inscription of the following year, in front of the temple of Dakshiṇa-Nârâyaṇa, at Gâwarawâḍ in the same district (*ibid.* p. 223).

[4] *i.e.*, probably, Permânaḍi-Bûtuga, the feudatory of Krishṇa III. (see pp. 304, 305, above).

[5] The record adds that the temples were subsequently restored by the *Maṇḍalika* Lakshmadêva.

[6] *Carn.-Dêśa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 144; I quote, however, from an ink-impression.— The copy in the *Carn.-Dêśa Inscrs.* gives, among other mistakes, the name of the camp as Pûliyapaiṇaviḍu. Sir Walter Elliot (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. IV. p. 13) gave it as Puliyappayana. And Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. lxiv.) turned it into Puliyarpaṭṇa, and identified the place with the modern Huliyar in the Chitaldurg District, Mysore. Also, both Sir Walter Elliot and Mr. Rice took the village that was granted to be the modern Savanûr, the chief town of the Native State of the same name within the limits of the Dhârwâr District. But Sivuṇûr has to be located in the immediate neighbourhood of Sûḍi and Paṭṭadakal,— far away from Savanûr. The Sindavâḍi-*nâḍ*, in which lay Puḷiyappayaṇaviḍu, either means the Kisukâḍ seventy, the Keḷavâḍi three-hundred, the Bâgaḍage seventy, and the Nareyaṁgal twelve, or else it lay still more to the north-east in the direction of Raichûr.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 318; and *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, Introd. p. 27.

[8] *ibid.* pp. 319, 320, and *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, Introd. pp. 29-32.

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as they grew up, Vikramâditya exhibited such marked capabilities that his father conceived the idea of appointing him *Yuvarâja* and passing the crown to him, to the supersession of his elder brother. The favour, however, was declined by Vikramâditya, on the grounds that it did not belong to him by right.[1] Sômêśvara II. was then appointed *Yuvarâja*. And, with his father's permission, Vikramâditya VI. set out on a series of military expeditions. He is said to have repeatedly defeated the Chôḷas and plundered Kâñchî; to have lent his assistance to the king of Mâlwa, who came to him for protection, to regain his kingdom; to have carried his arms as far as Bengal and Assam; to have attacked the king of Ceylon; to have destroyed the sandalwood forests of the Malaya hills; and to have slain the lord of Kêraḷa. And, finally, the poem says, he conquered Gâṅgakuṇḍa,— elsewhere called Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷapuram and Gaṅgâpurî,[2]— which was a Chôḷa city; Vengî, the capital of the Eastern Chalukyas, and Chakrakôṭa, which appears to have been a fortress in the Dhârâ territory of the Paramâra kings of Mâlwa.[3] This, however, closed the events of the reign of Sômêśvara I. For, the news reached Vikramâditya on the Krishṇa, on his return homewards after the above achievements, that his father, having been attacked by a malignant fever, for which no remedies were found to be of any avail, had proceeded to the Tuṅgabhadrâ, and there, reciting his confession of the Śaiva faith, had drowned himself in the sacred river. And, from Bilhaṇa's statements that he proceeded to Kalyâṇa to console Sômêśvara II., and that, for some time after, the two brothers lived in concord and friendship, it appears that Sômêśvara II. succeeded at once to the throne, without any attempt at opposition on the part of Vikramâditya VI.

Bhuvanaikamalla-Sômêśvara II.

Sômêśvara I. was thus succeeded by his eldest son Sômêśvara II., who had the *biruda* of Bhuvanaikamalla, "the sole wrestler in the world." We have already seen that in A. D. 1053, during his father's time, he was governing the Belvola three-hundred and the Purigere three-hundred. Of his own reign, which was apparently uneventful except for internal dissensions, we have some twenty records,[4] which give dates ranging from the month Śrâvaṇa, (July-Aug.), falling in A. D. 1069, of the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 991 (expired),[5] to the month Bhâdrapada (Aug.-Sept.) falling in

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[1] But an inscription of A.D. 1080, at the temple of Gargêśvara at Galagnâth in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 289), says that Vikramâditya defeated the Pallava king when he was *Yuvarâja*; and this can only refer to the time of Sômêśvara I.: the words (from an ink-impression) are—'*yuvarâja-padaviyoḷ Pallava-nṛipanaṁ nilisi.*.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 280.

[3] *id.* Vol. XIX. p. 340.— An inscription of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. states that he conquered the king of Dhârâ at Chakrakoṭṭa (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 234, note 9).

[4] For some which have been edited with the texts, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 119 (from Bassein; of A.D. 1069); *id.* Vol. X. p. 126 (at Bijâpur; of A.D. 1074); *id.* Vol. IV. p. 208 (at Baḷagâṁve; of A.D. 1075); *id.* Vol. I. p. 141, or *Archæol. Surv. West Ind.* Vol. I. p. 9 (at Kâdarôḷi; of the same date); and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 217 (at Saundatti; date lost).

[5] An inscription at Chiñchali in the Dhârwâr District (from an ink-impression).

A. D. 1076, of the Anala or Nala *samvatsara*, S.-S. 998 (expired).[1] And they name, as his principal feudatories and officials, the *Mahâmandalêśvara* Sêunachandra II., of the Yâdava family, who in A. D. 1069 was ruling the Sêuṇa province in the north of the kingdom; the *Mahâmandalêśvara* Lakshmarasa, who was governing the Belvola three-hundred and the Puligere three-hundred in A. D. 1071, and repaired the Jain temples which the Chôḷas had burnt in the reign of Sômêśvara I.;[2] the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Heri-Samdhivigrahin*,[3] *Manevergade*, and *Dandanâyaka* Udayâditya, who in A.D. 1071 was holding office at Bankâpur; the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Heri-Samdhivigrahin*, *Sênâdhipati*, *Kaditavergade* (?), and *Dandanâyaka* Baladêvayya, with the date of A. D. 1072; the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* and *Dandanâyaka* Nâkimayya, who in A. D. 1074 was governing the Tardavâḍi thousand, on the north of Bijâpur; Gangapermanaḍi-Bhuvanaikavira-Udayâditya, of the Western Ganga family, who in A. D. 1075 was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Sântalige thousand, the Maṇḍali thousand, and the eighteen *Agrahâras*;[4] the *Mahâsâmanta* Kaliyammarasa, of the Jîmûtavâhana lineage and the Khachara race, who, under Udayâditya, was governing the Bâsavura hundred-and-forty in the same year; the *Mahâmandalêśvara* Kârtavîrya II., of the Raṭṭa family, who, about the same time, was ruling the Kûṇḍi three-thousand, at Saundatti; the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*, *Dandanâyaka*, *Mahâpradhâna*, *Heri-Samdhivigrahin*, and *Manevergade* Sômêśvarabhaṭṭa, and the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* and *Dandanâyaka* Kêśavâdityadêva, with the date of A.D. 1075; and the *Mahâmandalêśvara* Singaṇa,— evidently Singa II. of the Sinda family,— who was ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy in A.D. 1076. Also, a record at the Jaṭinga-Râmêśvara hill in the Chitaldurg District, Mysore, shews that, in spite of the dissensions between Sômêśvara II. and his younger brothers, Jayasimha III. was entrusted with the government of apparently the Noḷambavâḍi province, which he held at any rate in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March), falling in A.D. 1072, of the Virôdhikrit *samvatsara*, Saka-Samvat 993 (expired), when, the record says, he was governing at the *poravidu* or camp outside Gondavâḍi.[5] And a record, unfortunately rather damaged,

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[1] An inscription at Niḍagundi in the Rôṇ tâluka, Dhârwâr District (from an ink-impression).

[2] The inscription in the Jain temple at Annigere in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 216); and the record of the following year, but giving also the same date, at Gâwarawâḍ in the same district (*ibid.* p. 223, and an ink-impression). The Saka year, 993 (expired), is expressed in numerical words, by *randhra*, 'the nine orifices of the body,' *labdha*, 'the nine units,' and *guna*, 'the three qualities.' On this point, see page 439 above, note 1.

[3] This title occurs, in the present case, in inscriptions at Baḷagâmve; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 159, line 10, and No. 160, line 11; *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 144, 164.— Mr. Rice, rendering the first component of it by 'senior,' seems either to have read *hiri*, or else, reading *heri*, to have taken it as equivalent to *hiri*. But in both places, and elsewhere, the originals have distinctly *heri* (or *hêri*); and the dictionaries do not give any such variant of *hiri*.

[4] The eighteen *agrahâras* appear to have been towns of religious importance, scattered over the kingdom. Hûli, in the Belgaum District, was one of them; Nargund, in the Dhârwâr District, was another; and perhaps Ḍambaḷ, in the same district, was a third (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 47).

[5] From an ink-impression, made by Mr. H. Krishnasastri, and sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch.

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at Nîralgi in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr District, dated in Âśvayuja (Sept.-Oct.), falling in A. D. 1074, of the Ânanda *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 996 (expired),— which records a grant that was made, on a request preferred to Sômêśvara II. at Baṅkâpur by the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vikramâditya and, apparently, Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayâditya,[1] by the three-hundred *Mahâjanas* of Nirilli,— seems to shew that Vikramâditya VI. was then entrusted with the government of the Banavâsi twelve-thousand.[2]

As regards the termination of the reign, the epigraphic records simply say that, after Sômêśvara II. had enjoyed the sovereignty for a time, he became intoxicated with pride, and neglected the sufferings of his subjects, whereupon Vikramâditya, being virtuously minded, punished or confined him, and became king ;[3] and that, by the strength of his own arm, Vikramâditya seized in battle the sovereignty of Sômêśvara while it was still of no long duration, and made himself emperor.[4] And, for details, we have to turn to the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*. Bilhana tells us[5] that, for a time, the two brothers lived in friendly fashion at Kalyâṇa ; the younger duly honouring the elder as the chief of his house and his king. Sômêśvara, however, fell into evil courses, and even tried to do harm to his brother. Thereupon Vikramâditya left Kalyâṇa, taking with him all his followers, and also his younger brother, Jayasiṁha III., who, he considered, could not be safely left near the king. Sômêśvara sent forces in pursuit, to bring the brothers back. But he was unsuccessful, and at last desisted from the attempt. Vikramâditya went on to the Tuṅgabhadrâ, on the banks of which river he rested his army for some time, with the intention of fighting the Chôḷa king. It appears, however, that for some unexplained reason, he deferred this project, in favour of making a triumphal progress through the southern and western parts of the kingdom ; for, the narrative goes on to say that, having spent some time in the Banavâsi province, he marched through the Malaya country,— that Jayakêśin, the lord of the Koṅkaṇ, *i.e.* the first Jayakêśin in the family of the Kâdambas of Goa, came to him, and brought presents,— and that the lord of Âlupa made submission, and received favours in return. It also implies that he visited Kêrala, and inflicted some reverse on the king of that country. He then seems to have taken some definite action against the Chôḷas. But it was stopped by the Chôḷa king, Râjakêsarivarman, otherwise called Vîra-Râjêndradêva I.,[6] making overtures of friendship,

[1] The person mentioned here is said, as Jayasiṁha III. is said in several of the records, to belong to the Pallava lineage, and to have the title of "lord of Kâñchî, the best of towns." But at any rate it is not Jayasiṁha III. who is mentioned. The impression shews *Bhuvanaikamalla-Pallava-Permânaḍi-Vi*, followed by just room for *shṇuvardhana-Vi*, and succeeded by *[ja]yâditya*.

[2] Vikramâditya VI. is perhaps also mentioned, with the rank and office of *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* and *Daṇḍanâyaka*, in an inscription of A.D. 1069 at Sûḍi in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 199 ; but I do not find the record among the impressions that have come to me from Sûḍi).

[3] The Gadag inscription, of A.D. 1098 which has already been quoted (page 426 above, note 3).

[4] An inscription at the temple of Kâḷinga at Kâḷige in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 415).

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 320 ; and *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, Introd. p. 33.

[6] See *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. pp. 231, 232.

and offering him a daughter in marriage, on the condition that he retired to the Tuṅgabhadrâ.[1] Vikramâditya accepted the proposals; and the marriage was duly celebrated. Shortly afterwards, however, the news reached him that his father-in-law was dead, and that the Chôḷa kingdom was in a state of anarchy. He then proceeded at once to Kâñchî, the Chôḷa capital; put down the rebellion there; and, going on to Gâṅgakuṇḍa, secured the throne for his brother-in-law, probably Parakêsarivarman, otherwise called Adhirâjêndradêva.[2] He then marched back to the Tuṅgabhadrâ. But he heard, almost immediately, that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion, and that Râjiga, the lord of Veṅgî,—i.e. the Eastern Chalukya king Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I., whose original appellation was Râjêndra-Chôḍa, — had seized the throne of Kâñchî.[3] He at once prepared to march against Râjiga. The latter induced Sômêśvara II. to enter into an alliance against their mutual enemy. When Vikramâditya at length reached Râjiga's forces, Sômêśvara's army was encamped, with hostile intentions, not far off in his rear. And in the battle which ensued, and in which Vikramâditya was victorious, Râjiga fled, and Sômêśvara was taken prisoner. The narrative says that Vikramâditya at first intended to restore his brother to liberty and to the throne. But eventually he decided otherwise, had himself proclaimed king, and then, appointing Jayasiṁha III. viceroy at Banavâsi, proceeded to Kalyâṇa, and established himself there. In the events which ended thus, he appears to have received important assistance from the Yâdava prince Sêuṇachandra II., of the Sêuṇa country, who, according to the introduction to Hêmâdri's *Vratakhaṇḍa*, saved Vikramâditya from a coalition of his enemies and placed him on the throne of Kalyâṇa.[4] What ultimately became of Sômêśvara II., is not known.

Vikramâditya VI.

In these circumstances, Sômêśvara II. was deposed and succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Vikramâditya VI., who had the *biruda* of Tribhuvanamalla, and whose name appears also some-

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[1] Probably this is the occasion which, in the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 331, and Vol. XX. p. 281, where the Chôḷa king is called Abhaya) and in inscriptions of Vîra-Râjêndradêva I. (see Dr. Hultzsch's Report No. 227, dated the 30th June, 1892, pp. 3, 5) is represented as one on which the Chôḷas were victorious over the Kuntalas, i.e. the Western Châlukyas, at Kûḍal-Saṁgama or Punal-Kûḍal-Saṁgama, i.e. at the junction of the Tuṅgabhadrâ and the Krishṇa.—The Tuṅgabhadrâ seems to have formed part of the boundary between the Chôḷa and Western Châlukya kingdoms. But this can only have been for a hundred miles or so above its junction with the Krishṇa; since the Gaṅgavâḍi and Noḷambavâḍi provinces, which were parts of the Western Châlukya territory, lay to the south and east of the river. The boundary line probably left the Tuṅgabhadrâ at the point where the Hagarî or Vêdâvatî flows into it, and then ran south for some distance along the latter river.

[2] Dr. Hultzsch's Report No. 227, dated the 30th June, 1892, p. 5.

[3] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. 276.—There is, however, some anachronism here that requires to be cleared up. The events described by Bilhaṇa at this point took place, he says, shortly before the coronation of Vikramâditya VI.; i.e. (see further on) in A. D. 1076. Whereas, the Eastern Chalukya records seem to indicate plainly that Râjiga-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. annexed the Chôḷa kingdom in the first year of his reign, i.e. in A. D. 1063 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 277). Possibly, however, this did not really happen till A.D. 1076 (see Dr. Hultzsch's Report No. 227, dated the 30th June 1892, p. 6).

[4] Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884), p. 78.

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times as Vikramârka, sometimes as Vikramâṅka or simply Vikrama, sometimes as Kali-Vikrama,[1] and, in the Eastern Chalukya records, as Vikkala[2] and Vikkila;[3] he also had the appellation of Perma, Permâḍi, or Permanaḍi, which in Sanskṛit records occasionally appears in the form of Paramardi. And the events described just above must have occurred towards the end of A.D. 1076. For, on the one hand, we have a date in the reign of Sômêśvara II. that falls in August-September, A. D. 1076, and none after that time. And, on the other hand, the epigraphic records of the time of Vikramâditya VI. shew that the year A. D. 1076-77, the Anala or Nala *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 999 current, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, which corresponded, approximately, to the 9th March, A. D. 1076, was reckoned as the first year of his reign.[4] That Vikramâditya VI. was actually reigning at the commencement of this 'Saka year, does not necessarily follow. But an inscription at Waḍageri, in the Nizâm's Dominions,[5] records grants that were made towards the close of the same year, on Phâlguna śukla 5, corresponding to the 31st January, A.D. 1077,[6] on account of the festival of the *paṭṭabandha* or coronation. This shews that he was crowned at least before the end of the year in question, A. D. 1076-77. But, whether the record fixes the coronation day, or an anniversary of it, or whether it simply registers grants that were made when the news of the coronation reached the locality, is not clear. It may be added that this record also says that Vikramâditya VI. was then reigning, not at Kalyâṇa, but at Naḍaviyuppayaṇa-vîḍu, which probably has to be located somewhere in the direction of Waḍageri. When once on the throne, he had a long and uninterrupted reign of at least fifty years, extending to at any rate some date in A. D. 1126. There are several records of his fiftieth year, the Viśvâvasu *saṁvatsara*, which was 'Saka-Saṁvat 1048 current, = A. D. 1125-26. The latest of them[7]

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[1] The prefix may be either the Sanskṛit word, meaning the Kali age, or the Kanarese *kali*, 'courageous, brave, heroic.'

[2] Dr. Hultzsch's Report No. 227, dated the 30th June, 1892, pp. 3, 6.— In connection with this form of the name, see page 410 above, note 1.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. pp. 282, 286.

[4] For the proof, by Prof. Kielhorn, that his regnal years coincided with the luni-solar 'Saka years and *saṁvatsaras*, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. pp. 109, 110.

[5] *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 256; verified from an ink-impression.— This is the earliest date in his reign that has yet come to light.— Originally I gave an earlier one, *viz.* Chaitra kṛishṇa 5, in the same *saṁvatsara*, which I took from the transcript of an inscription at Araḷêshwar in the Dhârwâr District, as given in the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 555. But I have now found, from an ink-impression, that this record is really dated, not in the first, but in the sixty-first year of the Châlukya-Vikrama-kâla (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 296).

[6] Prof. Kielhorn has shewn (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 110) that the week-day given in this record does not work out correctly for the given *tithi*. But, as he has also said, the results are unsatisfactory with many of the dates of this period. And the records are not necessarily to be rejected as not genuine.—In the preceding year and *saṁvatsara*, the given *tithi* and week-day were connected; the *tithi* then began at about 10 *ghaṭis*, = 4 hours, on Thursday, 11th February, A.D. 1076, and included most of the daylight hours of the Thursday. And this suggests, to me, that the record may possibly, in a confused manner, refer to an anniversary festival.

[7] An inscription at Narêgal in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 613; verified from an ink-impression: see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 298).

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registers grants that were made on Mâgha śukla 7, corresponding to the 3rd January, A. D. 1126. And this is the latest date, at present known, that is fairly referable to his reign. It is of course possible that his reign may have run on into the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, A. D. 1126-27, which would be his fifty-first year, and was the first year of his successor. But, as we have already seen, he is mentioned in A. D. 1055-56, as governing the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand and the Banavâsi twelve-thousand under his father. Even if he was then but a mere child, governing only nominally, he must have been at least seventy years old in A. D. 1126. And it seems highly unlikely that he was alive much longer after the date in January of that year, noted just above.[1]

One of his first acts was to supersede the use of the 'Saka era by an era called the Châlukya-Vikrama-kâla and Châlukya-Vikrama-varsha, the first year of which was the first year of his actual reign after the deposition of Sômêśvara II., *i.e.* A. D. 1076-77. As the inscriptions say,— "By his amplitude, and unaided, Tribhuvanamalla, the king Châlukya-Vikramâditya, caused all the hostile kings to bow down, and became the lord of the world. Having rubbed out the brilliant 'Saka-varsha, he, the impetuous one, the most liberal man in the world, who delighted in religion, published his own name throughout the world, under the form of the Vikrama-varsha;"[2] and again,— "Having said 'Why should the glory of the kings Vikramâditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer?', he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (*era*) which has the name of 'Saka, and made that (*era*) which has the Châlukya counting."[3] Instances have not been found, of this era having been adopted by the kings of other dynasties. But nearly all the records of his own time are thus dated, not in the 'Saka era, but in his regnal years; the names of the *saṁvatsaras*, however, shewing exactly what the corresponding 'Saka years are. And there are a few subsequent records, which shew that an attempt was made by his successor, and by feudatory governors, to preserve the use of his era.[4]

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[1] The only record of the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, known to me, which is any way connected with this question, does not refer itself to either reign (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 297).— There is an inscription of later date, at Kyâsanûr in the Dhârwâr District, which, belonging really to the seventh year of Sômêśvara III., nevertheless represents Vikramâditya VI. as still reigning, and is dated in his fifty-eighth year by mistake for the fifty-seventh, the Paridhâvin *saṁvatsara*, in the month Chaitra falling in A.D. 1132. And there may be similar records elsewhere, of A.D. 1127, 1129, and 1132-33 (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 298). But they are, in reality, instances of an attempt that was made to continue, after the end of his reign, the use of the new era which was established by him (see note 4, below).

[2] The Gadag inscription, of A.D. 1098, which has already been quoted (page 426 above, note 3). The reading of these two verses in *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.*, — where the only mistake is *oragisi*, instead of *eṛagisi*,— has been given by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 187.

[3] An inscription of A.D. 1094-95, on a stone described as lying on the other side of the stream, at Yeḍarâve in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 350; and see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 187). The verse is of interest in shewing that, though it was not actually in use there, the Vikrama era, commencing in B.C. 58, was known in the Western Châlukya dominions. But an ink-impression is still required, to give the exact reading of the original, and to shew whether it really contains any reference to king Nanda, and, presumably, to an era established by him.

[4] There are instances of this, ranging from A.D. 1127 to 1169-70, in the fifty-second, fifty-third, fifty-fourth, sixtieth, sixty-first, eighty-fourth, and ninety-fourth years of the

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For the most part, however, his successors simply followed the fashion set by him, and dated their records in their own regnal years.

The records of this long reign are very numerous: Sir Walter Elliot's Collection contains about one hundred and fifty; and hardly any village of importance, containing epigraphic remains, has been visited, without at least one or two others coming to notice.[1] They give the names of no fewer than six wives,[2]—Sâvaladêvî, daughter of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Jôgamarasa or Jôgamarâṇa, of the Sûryavaṁśa, who is spoken of as the lord of the Darikâḍu *nâḍ* and the *Maṇḍalêśvara* of Maṅgalavâḍa, and of his wife Târâdêvî;[3] in A.D. 1077-78, or at some later time, she was managing the *agrahâra* of Nareyaṁgal, which her husband had given for her *aṅgabhôga, i.e.,* by free translation, pin-money:[4] — Lakshmâdevî, who is invariably spoken of with the title of *piriyarasi* or chief queen; she is mentioned in A. D. 1084-85, as ruling at the capital of Kalyâṇa, in A. D. 1095-96, as ruling the eighteen *agrahâras* and the town of Dharmâpura, *i.e.* Ḍaṁbaḷ, and in A.D. 1109-10 and the following year, as managing the village of Niṭṭasiṅgi; and she was still alive in A. D. 1125-26:[5] — Jakkaladêvî, daughter of Tikka, of the Kadamba stock; in A.D. 1093-94 she was managing the village of Iṅguṇige according to the *tribhôg-âbhyantara-siddhi*:[6]— Malleyamadêvî, or Malayamatîdêvî, who in A. D. 1094-95 was gov-

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era (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 193, and Vol. XXII. pp. 297, 298); see also page 447 above, note 4, for some records of slightly different purport, but practically to the same effect.

[1] For some which have been edited with the texts, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 35 (at Guḍigere; of A.D. 1076-77); *id.* Vol. VIII. p. 10 (at Yêûr; of A. D. 1077); *id.* Vol. I. p. 80 (from Tidgundi; of A. D. 1082); *id.* Vol. XIII. p. 91 (at Hadali; of A. D. 1084); *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 287 (at Koṇṇûr; of A. D. 1087 and 1121); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 342 (at Baḷagâṁve; of A.D. 1094); *id.* Vol. IX. p. 33 (from Khârêpâṭaṇ; of A. D. 1095); *id.* Vol. X. p. 185 (at Ḍambaḷ; of A. D. 1095-96); *id.* Vol. VI. p. 137 (at Kaṭṭageri; of A. D. 1096); *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 194 (at Saundatti; the second part; of A. D. 1096); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 249 (at Kargudari; of A. D. 1108); *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 1 (from Tâlalêm; of A. D. 1110); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 14 (at Têrdâḷ; the first part; of A. D. 1123); *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 224 (at Narêgal; with a spurious date in A.D. 949); and *ibid.* p. 247 (at Kodikop; of A. D. 1122).

[2] Perhaps a seventh may be added,—that of Eṅgaladêvî. But, on a fresh perusal of the text, as given in the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 339, of the inscription in which it occurs (near a well on the north of the temple of Hanumanta at Beḷambigi in the Nizâm's Dominions; dated in A.D. 1092-93), I am not sure whether she is mentioned as a wife of Vikramâditya VI. or of someone else. An ink-impression is required, to clear the point up.

[3] An inscription of A.D. 1105-1106, at Hirê-Muddanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 448; verified from an ink-impression).

[4] An inscription at Narêgal in the Hâṅgal tâluka, Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 276). The date,— the Piṅgala *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 999 (expired),— seems doubtful. It is illegible in an ink-impression; and I take it from the manuscript copy. Before the date, mention is made of a Tailapa, of the family of the Kâdambas, as then ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Pânuṁgal five-hundred. And Tailapa I. cannot be placed so late; while Tailapa II. cannot be placed so early.

[5] Inscriptions in the Dhârwâr District, at Sûḍi in the Rôṇ tâluka, at Ḍambaḷ in the Gadag tâluka, at Nidaśiṅgi (two) in the Hâṅgal tâluka, and at Yeḷḷûr in the same tâluka (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 305, 356, 488, 491, 615; and, for the Ḍambaḷ inscription, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 185).

[6] An inscription at the Jain temple at Iṅgaḷigi in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 344).

erning the district attached to the *agrahâra* of Kiriya-Kereyûr:[1] — Chandaladêvî, who also was styled *piriy-arasi*, and in one passage *agramahâmahishî*;[2] Bilhaṇa mentions her both as Chandaladêvî and as Chandralêkhâ, and in words which shew that she was the daughter of one of the Silâhâra princes of Karâḍ,— probably of Mârasiṁha;[3] and she is spoken of in A. D. 1102-1103 as the mother of Jayakarṇa, and in the following year as causing certain grants to be made to the god Kêśavadêva at the *agrahâra* of Ruddavâḍi:[4] — and Mâḷaladêvî or Mâlikâ, daughter of the *Sânabhôga* or village-accountant Râyaṇa, and of his wife Olajikabbe, who is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1113-14.[5] And they shew that he had a daughter, Mailalamahâdêvî, who was married to Jayakêsin II., of the family of the Kâdambas of Goa,[6] and seems to be identical with the daughter Mâḷaladêvî,—(if the copy gives the name correctly),— who is mentioned in an inscription of A. D. 1105-1106.[7] They fully confirm Bilhaṇa's statement that, just after his accession, he appointed Jayasiṁha III. viceroy at Banavâsi:[8] for, a record of A. D. 1079 states that the latter was then ruling as *Yuvarâja*, and had the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province in his hands;[9] and others, of A. D. 1077, 1079, 1080, and 1081-82, describe his position in the same way, and shew that he held also the Sântalige thousand, the Beḷvola three-hundred, the Puligere three-hundred, and the Bâsavaḷḷi thousand:[10] and the fact that no indications to the same effect are to be found after A. D. 1080, corroborates Bilhaṇa's further account of how, not long after his appointment, Jayasiṁha rebelled, and was removed from office. They shew that Kalyâṇa continued to be the capital: but, in addition to Banawâsi and Balagaṁve, they mention, as other important

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[1] An inscription on a stone on the bank of the old or large tank at Chikka-Kerûr in the Kôḍ tâluka, Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 353).— Her name occurs as Malayamatîdevî in an inscription outside the temple of Malkana at Bôdan in the Nizâm's Dominions (*ibid.* p. 753).

[2] Probably, simply under metrical necessity, for *agramahishî*, which is the Sanskṛit equivalent of the Kanarese *piriy-arasi*.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 321; and *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, Introd. p. 38.—The *Râjataraṁginî* (Calcutta edition, vii. 1122 ff.) mentions her as Chandalâ, wife of king Parmâṇḍi (*sic*), the lord of Karṇâṭa, and describes how, among his other follies, Harsha of Kashmîr became enamoured of her, through seeing a portrait, and contemplated acquiring possession of her by destroying Vikramâditya VI.

[4] An inscription near the temple of Kâḷinga at Kâḷigi, and one at the temple of Malkana at Ruddawâḍi, in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I., pp. 415, 422).

[5] Near the temple of Mâlêśvara at Yaḷawaṭṭi in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 527). According to the copy, this record gives *Sânabôvo* as the old form of *Sânabhôga*.

[6] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. pp. 245, 273, 283, 300.

[7] At a well outside the village of Kuḷigêri in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 452).

[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 321; and *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, Introd. p. 38.

[9] An inscription at Anantpur (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 305).

[10] An inscription at Hulgûr in the Dhârwâr District; another at Bâḷambîḍ in the Kôḍ tâluka of the same district (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 287); another at Galagnâth in the same district (*ibid.* p. 289; verified from an ink-impression; it describes Jayasiṁha III. as *ântu yuvarâja-padaviyoḷ sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôdadiṁ râjyaṁ-geyyuttam-ire*); and another at the same place, which was not noticed by Sir Walter Elliot's copyist.— If the transcript may be relied on, the Bâḷambîḍ inscription styles him Tribhuvanamalla-Vîra-Noḷamba-Permâḍi-Jayasiṁha. But the others give the prefix Trailôkyamalla, as in the time of Sômêśvara I.

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seats of power, Naḍaviyuppayaṇa-vîḍu,— apparently somewhere near the frontier between the north-east part of the Bijâpur District and the Nizâm's Dominions, — where Vikramâditya VI. himself was reigning in the early part of A. D. 1077;[1] Êtagiri, where he was reigning towards the end of the same year and early in A. D. 1078, and which is the modern Yâtagiri, in the Nizâm's Dominions, thirty miles south of Mâlkhêḍ;[2] Vijayapura, *i.e.* the modern Bijâpur, which is mentioned as a *râjadhâni* in an inscription of A. D. 1091-92;[3] and Manneyakere, where he was reigning in A. D. 1125-26;[4] and he seems to have greatly enlarged and improved Vikramapura, *i. e.* Arasîbîḍi in the Bijâpur District, and to have made it another of his minor capitals.[5] And they give the names of the following important feudatories and officials:—The *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kîrtivarman II., of the family of the Kâdambas of Hângal, who in A. D. 1076-77 and the following year was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand; the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati, Mahâsênâdhipati, Mahâpradhâna,* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Barmadêva, who also in A. D. 1077-78 was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Sântalige thousand, and the eighteen *agrahâras*; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Muñja, of the Sinda family, who in A. D. 1082 was governing in the neighbourhood of Tidgundi in the Bijâpur District; the *Mahâsâmanta* Satyadêva, with the title of "lord of Mâhishmatî, the best of towns," who in A. D. 1084-85 was governing in the neighbourhood of Gobbûr in the Nizâm's Dominions; the *Mahâsâmanta* Kaliyammarasa, of the Jîmûtavâhana lineage and the Khachara race, who in A. D. 1085-86 was governing the Bâsavura hundred-and-forty; the *Mahâsâmanta* Dhâlibhadaka or Dhâlibhaṇḍaka, described as born in the "great" Râshṭrakûṭa lineage, who in A. D. 1087 was governing in the neighbourhood of Sitâbaldi near Nâgpur, in the Central Provinces; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kannakaira II., of the Raṭṭa family, who in A. D. 1087-88 was ruling at Saundatti; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Sântivarman II., of the family of the Kâdambas of Hângal, who in A. D. 1088-89 was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Pânuṁgal five-hundred; the *Pergaḍe* Changadêvayya, who in the same year was managing the *vaḍḍâravuḷa* and other taxes of the Banavâsi twelve-thousand; the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* and *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvarâdhipati* Anantadêva, of the Silâhâra family, who was ruling in the Konkaṇ in A. D. 1095; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kârtavîrya II.,

[1] This is stated in the Waḍageri inscription; but the words are omitted in the copy in *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.*

[2] Inscriptions at Baḷagâmve (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* Nos. 163, 164; *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 130, 163, where the translation mistakenly gives 'Tagiri').— The place is the 'Yedageery' of the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 57, in lat. 16° 46′, long. 77° 13′ (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 50).

[3] At Bijâpur itself (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 335).

[4] An inscription at the temple of Mûlasthânadêva at Nâlwâr in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 611); and the Narêgal inscription of A. D. 1126, page 446 above, note 7).

[5] Vikramapura is mentioned as a *râjadhâni* in one of the Arasîbîḍi inscriptions, of A. D. 1053, of the time of Sômêśvara I. (see page 435 above). It, therefore, existed before the time of Vikramâditya VI. But it seems to be the town which, Bilhaṇa says, he "built," with splendid temples and palaces, near a temple of Vishṇu-Kamalâvilâsin (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 323; and *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, Introd. p. 44).

of the Raṭṭa family, who in A. D. 1096-97 was ruling at Saundatti; the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Antaḥpurâdhyaksha*, *Heri-Lâḷa-Kannaḍa-saṁdhivigrahin*,[1] and *Manevergaḍe*, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Bhîvaṇayya, on behalf of whom the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Padmanâbhayya was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand in A. D. 1098; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Gûvala, *i. e.* Gûhalla, of the family of the Kâdambas of Goa, who in A. D. 1098-99, at his capital of Gôve, *i. e.* Goa, was ruling the Palasige twelve-thousand; the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Padmanâbhayya, who in the same year was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand; the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Bâṇasaveggaḍe*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Anantapâlayya, also styled *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*, who was ruling the Belvola three-hundred and the Puligere three-hundred in A. D. 1100-1101, and the same districts, with the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, and with the management of the *vaḍḍarâvuḷa* and *pejjuṅka* taxes, in A. D. 1102-1103 and 1107-1108, and is also described in A. D. 1103-1104 as managing the *pannâya*-tax of the whole of the seven-and-a-half-lâkh country;[2] the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Bhîvaṇayya, who in A. D. 1102-1103 was governing the Palasige twelve-thousand, and was managing the *pannâya*-tax of the seven-and-a-half-lâkh country;[3] the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Gôvindarasa, who, under Anantapâla, was managing the *mêlvaṭṭeya-vaḍḍarâvuḷa*, the *eraḍu-bilkoḍe*, and the *perjuṅka* taxes in A. D. 1102-1103, and who subsequently was promoted to the offices of *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka*, *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*, and *Mahâpradhâna*, and, in A. D. 1114-1115 and 1117-1118, was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand itself; Ballâḷa I., of the Hoysaḷa family, for whom we have a date in A. D. 1103;[4] the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Tailapa II., of the family of the Kâdambas of Hângal, who was ruling the Pânuṁgal five-hundred in A. D. 1103-1104 and 1107-1108, and the same district, with the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, in A. D. 1108-1109 and 1124-25, and probably both the districts again in A. D. 1125-1126; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Yânemarasa, with the title of "lord of Mâhishmatî, the best of towns," and belonging to the Ahihaya-vaṁśa,[5] who in A.D. 1104-1105

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[1] This title occurs here in an inscription at Baḷagâṁve; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 167, line 9; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 108. It appears to occur elsewhere, slightly transposed, as *Kannaḍa-Heri-Lâḷa-saṁdhivigrahin*, in an inscription of A. D. 1072 at Niḍunêgali in the Kôd tâluka, Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 143; the transcript has *Kaṁnaḍa-Hari-Lâḷa*, &c., including two mistakes). The meaning of *heri* or *hêri*, which we have previously met with in the smaller title of *Heri-saṁdhivigrahin*, is not apparent (see page 443 above, and note 3). *Kannaḍa*, of course, is the same as *Karṇâṭa*, 'the Kanarese country.' *Lâḷa* is a Tadbhava corruption of *Lâṭa*; and, that it is used here in that way and in the sense of 'the Lâṭa country,' seems to be made clear by the fact that we meet with the title *Heri-Lâḷa-Karṇâṭa-saṁdhivigrahin* in an inscription of A. D. 1144-45 at Hângal (page 458 below).

[2] An inscription at Baḷagaṁve (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 171; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 139).—As regards the seven-and-a-half-lâkh country, see page 341 above, note 2.

[3] An inscription at the temple of Trikûṭêśvara at Gadag, and one at the temple of Sômêśvara at Lakshmêshwar (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 410, 412).

[4] The inscription at Sindigere (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 329). The preamble of this part of the record refers itself to the reign of Vikramâditya VI., and thus shews that Ballâḷa I. was his feudatory.

[5] See page 439 above, note 2.

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was governing in the neighbourhood of Kammarawâḍi in the Nizâm's Dominions; the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati, Mahâpradhâna, Bhâṇasaveggaḍe, Daṇḍanâyaka,* and *Achchupannâyad-adhishṭhâyaka* Bammarasa, who in A. D. 1108-1109 was administering the *pannâya*-tax of the Nolambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Gandarâditya, of the Karâḍ branch of the 'Silâhâra family, who was ruling his hereditary possessions in A. D. 1109-1110 and 1118-1119; the Pâṇḍya *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Tribhuvanamalla-Kâmadêva, with the title of "lord of Gôkarṇa, the best of towns," and the designation of "ruler of the Koṅkaṇa *râshṭra*," for whom we have a date in A.D. 1112; the *Mahâpradhâna, Daṇḍanâyaka,* and *Kannaḍa-Saṁdhivigrahin* or minister of peace and war for the Kanarese districts, 'Srîpatiyarasa, who in A. D. 1112-13 was governing the Belvola three-hundred and the Puligere three-hundred; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Udayâditya-Gaṅga-Permâḍi, of the Western Gaṅga family, who in the same year was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Sântalige thousand; a member of the Gutta family of Guttal, named Malla or Mallidêva, who is to be placed about A. D. 1115; the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Nâgavarmayya, who was governing the Belvola three-hundred, the Purigere three-hundred, and the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, in A. D. 1115-1116 and 1117-1118; the Hoysala *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vishṇuvardhana, who in A. D. 1117 was ruling the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Permâḍi, of the Jîmûtavâhana lineage and the Khachara race, who was governing the Bâsavura hundred-and-forty in A. D. 1121-22; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Tribhuvanamalla-Pâṇḍyadêva, who in the same year was ruling the Nolambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Âcha or Âchugi, of the Sinda family, who in A. D. 1122-23 was ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy; and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Jayakêśin II., of the family of the Kâdambas of Goa, who in A. D. 1125-26 was ruling the Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred, the Palasige twelve-thousand, the Payve or Hayve five-hundred, and the Kavadîdvîpa lâkh-and-a-quarter. One of the most interesting of the records is the Dambal inscription of A. D. 1095,[1] which records grants made to *vihâras* of Buddha and Ârya-Târâdêvî at that town, and thus shews that Buddhism still held a place in the Kanarese country as late as the end of the eleventh century A. D. A record of A. D. 1088-89 speaks of Vikramâditya VI. crossing the Narmadâ, and conquering kings on the other side of that river.[2] And another, of A. D. 1098,[3] shews that then again he was in the northern part of the kingdom, on the banks of the Narmadâ.

This long reign seems to have been a fairly peaceful one. There was, as already noted, trouble in connection with Jayasiṁha III. in the first few years of it. And Bilhaṇa tells us[4] that, after a long time of peace,

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. pp. 185, 273.

[2] An inscription on the premises of Yaligâra Karibasappa at Yalawaṭṭi in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 315).

[3] The second part of an inscription at the temple of Îśvara at Nimbargi in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 92).

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 323; and *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, Introd. p. 44.

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the Chôḷas, — probably meaning, this time, the Eastern Chalukyas,— again became proud and insolent; that Vikramâditya's army marched on Kâñchî, and took the city; and that Vikramâditya amused himself there for some time, before returning to his capital.[1] But it does not appear that there were any other disturbances, except towards the end of the reign, about A. D. 1117, when the Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvardhana invaded Uchchaṅgî and the Beḷvola country, and carried his arms successfully so far to the north as to bathe his horse in the waters of the Krishṇaverṇâ, *i. e.* the Krishṇa.[2] The Hoysaḷas, under the immediate leadership of a *Daṇḍanâyaka* named Gaṅgarâja, claim to have inflicted a serious disaster, in a night attack, on the army of Vikramâditya VI. when it was in camp at Kaṇṇegâla.[3] And the records of the Sinda chieftain Âchugi II., through whose instrumentality the invasion was stopped,— stating that he pursued and prevailed against Hoysaḷa, took Gôve, put Lakshma to flight in war, valorously followed after Pâṇḍya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Koṅkaṇ; that he gave Gôve and Uppinakaṭṭe to the flames; and that, like a demon, he swallowed up and vomited forth a certain Bhôja, together with his troops which had invaded his country,[4] — imply, either that the Kâdambas of Goa, the Pâṇḍyas of the Noḷambavâḍi province, and the 'Silâhâras of Karâḍ joined with the Hoysaḷas in some general conspiracy against their sovereign, or else that they took advantage of the Hoysaḷa invasion to raise disturbances on their own account. As, however, the succession shortly afterwards duly passed to Sômêśvara III., no lasting injury can have been done to the Western Châlukya power.

Jayasiṁha III.

The next name in the table is that of Jayasiṁha III., the younger brother of Vikramâditya VI. All that is known about this person has already been stated. His full designation was Trailôkyamalla-Vîra-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permanaḍi-(or Permâḍi)-Jayasiṁha; in which, however, "Trailôkyamalla" is not a *biruda* of his own, but is simply due to his official connection with his father Trailôkyamalla-Âhavamalla-Sômêśvara I.: and in the Eastern Chalukya records he is mentioned as 'Siṅghaṇa.[5] In A. D. 1064-65 he was governing the Tardavâḍi thousand, the country round Bijâpur, under his father. In a record of A. D. 1072, of the time of Sômêśvara II., he is mentioned as ruling at the *poṛavîḍu* or camp outside Gondavâḍi; and he seems to have been then in charge of the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand. And from A. D. 1077 to 1082, under Vikramâditya VI., he held office as

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1 It is doubtless this campaign that led to there being so many inscriptions, referring themselves to the reign of Vikramâditya VI., at Drâksharâm and other places in the Telugu country, outside the ordinary limits of the Western Châlukya kingdom (see Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. I., and the transcripts in Sir Walter Elliot's other MS. Collection entitled *Telugu Sásanams*; also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 281, note 39).—This occasion may also be the one on which, according to the Eastern Chalukya records, Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. pursued Vikramâditya VI. from Naṅgali in Mysore to Maṇalûr on the Tuṅgabhadrâ (see *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 231, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. pp. 282, 286).

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 302.

3 *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Introd. p. 39.

4 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. pp. 234, 244, 269.

5 Dr. Hultzsch's Report No. 227, dated the 30th June, 1892, p. 6.

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Yuvarâja at Banavâsi, in charge of the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Sântalige thousand, the Beḷvola three-hundred, the Puligere three-hundred, and the Bâsavaḷḷi thousand. Then, however, he rebelled; and the authority entrusted to him was taken away.[1] His name does not appear in subsequent records. And he probably died before Vikramâditya VI. At any rate, he did not succeed to the throne.

Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayâditya.

The next name in the table is that of Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayâditya, the fourth son of Sômêśvara I., who in A. D. 1064 and 1066 was ruling the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand. This is taken from an inscription at the Jaṭiṅga-Râmêśvara hill, in the Chitaldurg District, Mysore, dated in the month Vaiśâkha (April-May) of the Krôdhin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 986 (expired);[2] and from another at Dâvaṇgere in Mysore, dated in Bhâdrapada (Aug.-Sept.) of the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 998 (expired).[3] The former of them states that he was ruling at the *nelevîḍu* of Kapili or Kampili, which is very probably the modern Kampli,[4] on the Tuṅgabhadrâ, in the Hospeṭ tâluka of the Bellâry District. These records style him Vishṇuvardhana-mahârâja-Vijayâditya; they give him the *birudas* of Âhavamallana-aṅkakâra, and Sâhasamalla or "the impetuous wrestler,"— the epithets of *samastalôkâśraya* and *sarvalôkâśraya*, "asylum of all mankind,"— and the title of *Veṅgî-maṇḍal-êśvara* or "lord of the province of Veṅgî:" they call him *Châḷukya-mâṇikya* or "a ruby of the Châlukyas;" and they say distinctly that he was a son of Sômêśvara.[5] He appears to be also mentioned in a record of A. D. 1074 at Nîralgi, in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr District; in which case, he is there called Bhuvanaikamalla-Pallava-Permanaḍi-Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayâditya.[6] But this is the only other notice of him that I have obtained. From Bilhaṇa failing to mention him, he seems not to have played any important part in the events of the reign of Sômêśvara II. And he had nothing to do with the succession.

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[1] See page 449 above.

[2] From an ink-impression, made by Mr. H. Krishnasastri, and sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch.

[3] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 136; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 19.

[4] Lat. 15° 24'; long. 76° 38'; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 58,—'Kumply.'

[5] The terms used are *maga* and *nandana*. Elsewhere, and at a time when I knew of only the Dâvaṇgere record, I questioned the literal application of them in this case (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 277); my reasons being, that this person seemed to be not mentioned in any other Western Châlukya records,— (that Bilhaṇa does not refer to him),— that the title "lord of the province of Veṅgî" and the epithet *sarvalôkâśraya* appeared to make it plain that, on one side at least, he was of Eastern Chalukya descent,— that no such expression as "born to" Sômêśvara I. is used,— and that there is a custom in the Kanarese country, by which any kinsman in the next degree of descent may be called a son. The facts, however, noted in connection with Vikramâditya VI. and Jayasiṁha III. (page 440 above, notes 3,4,5), shew that certain titles, which, one would imagine, would only go by line of descent, occasionally accompanied investiture with provincial authority. And, on mature consideration, I think that the terms *maga* and *nandana* should be accepted literally. The title *Veṅgî-maṇḍal-êśvara*, however, which can hardly have any connection with the Noḷambavâḍi province, may mean that his mother was an Eastern Chalukya princess.

[6] See page 444 above, and note 1.

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Jayakarṇa.

The next name is that of Jayakarṇa, who was a son of Vikramâditya VI. by Chandaladêvî, and was very probably his eldest son. From an inscription at Kâḷigi in the Nizâm's Dominions, dated in A. D. 1102,[1] another at Sindagi in the Bijâpur District, dated in A. D. 1120,[2] in which he appears to be styled *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, and another at Koṇṇûr in the Belgaum District, dated in A. D. 1121,[3] which states that the *Daṇḍâdhipa* Châmaṇḍa, and the *Maṇḍalêśvara* Sêna II. of the family of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, were in charge of the Kûṇḍi country under him, he seems to have been entrusted with authority in some of the more central parts of his father's dominions. But no subsequent mention of him can be traced. And he probably died before his father.

Bhûlôkamalla-Sômêśvara III.

The successor of Vikramâditya VI., then, was his son Sômêśvara III., who had the *biruda* of Bhûlôkamalla, "the wrestler of the terrestrial world," and was also styled *Sarvajña-Chakravartin*, "the omniscient emperor." Of his time we have some twenty or thirty records.[4] They shew that the first year of his reign was the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1049 current, = A. D. 1126-27. But the earliest of them[5] is dated in the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.) falling in A. D. 1128, of the Kîlaka *saṁvatsara*, coupled with S.-S. 1051 (current), which was his third year; and thus they do not suffice to fix, within the limit of a year, the actual date of his accession. The latest of them, that seems consonant with the initial date of his successor, is dated in the month Mârgaśira (Nov.-Dec.), falling in A. D. 1138, of his thirteenth year, the Kâlayukti *saṁvatsara* (S.-S. 1061 current).[6] An inscription at Baḷagâmve[7] tells us that, in the month Mâgha (Jan.-Feb.), falling in A. D. 1129, of the Kîlaka *saṁvatsara* (S.-S. 1051 current), cited as the third year of his reign, he had come to the south in the course of a *digvijaya* or triumphal progress, and was encamped at Hulluṇiya-tîrtha: but, with this exception, the records do not seem to mention any campaigns made by him; and his reign seems, in fact, to have been a very

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[1] At the temple of Kâḷinga (*Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 416).

[2] On the platform of the *masjid* (*ibid.* p. 577).

[3] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 287.

[4] For one which has been edited with the text, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 131 (at Hunashîkaṭṭi; of A.D. 1131).

[5] An inscription at the temple of Nârâyaṇa at Iṅgaḷêshwar, in the Bijâpur District (*Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 687).— The earliest record, however, that I can vouch for, is one at Baḷagâṁve, dated in Mâgha of the same *saṁvatsara* coupled with his third regnal year (*ibid.* p. 679; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 178; and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 87).

[6] An inscription at the temple of Sômêśvara at Lakshmêshwar (*Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 732).— There is an inscription at Baḷagâṁve (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 179; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 134), which purports to connect a date in Pausha, falling in A. D. 1139, of the Siddhârtha *saṁvatsara* (Śaka-Saṁvat 1062 current), with his reign; and another at Dâvaṇgere (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 139; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 16), which purports to connect in the same way a date in Pausha, falling in A. D. 1142, of the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara* (S.-S. 1065 current). But these records do not quote any regnal years; and, the *saṁvatsaras* in question being the second and fifth years of the reign of Jagadêkamalla II., the apparently intended interpretation cannot be the correct one.

[7] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 178; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 87.

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tranquil one. His capital, throughout the whole of it, was Kalyâṇa. The records mention, as his feudatories and officials,— the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Permâḍi, of the Kalachurya family, who in A. D. 1128 was governing the Tardavâḍi country; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Jayakêśin II., of the family of the Kâdambas of Goa, who about the same time was ruling the Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred and the Palasige twelve-thousand; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Tailapa II., of the family of the Kâdambas of Hângal, who was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Pânuṁgal five-hundred in A. D. 1129-30; a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* named Mârasiṁha, of unknown descent, who in A. D. 1131 was governing in the neighbourhood of Mugutkhân-Hubḷi in the Beḷgaum District; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mayûravarman III., son of the Kâdamba Tailapa II., who was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Pânuṁgal five-hundred, with the Sântaḷige thousand, in A. D. 1131-32; another son of Tailapa II., the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mallikârjuna I., who was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Pânuṁgal five-hundred in A. D. 1132-33, 1135-36, and 1137-38; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Gaṇḍarâditya, of the family of the 'Silâhâras of Karâḍ, who was ruling his hereditary province in A. D. 1135-36 and 1136-37; the Hoysala *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vishṇuvardhana, who in A. D. 1137 was ruling the Gaṅgavâḍi, Noḷambavâḍi, and Banavâsi provinces; the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Mahâdêva, who was governing the Beḷvola three-hundred and the Puligere three-hundred in A. D. 1138-39; and Vîra-Pâṇḍyadêva, who, about the same time, was ruling the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand, from his residence at the hill-fort of Uchchaṅgîdurga. Sômêśvara III. is represented as the author of a work named *Abhilashitârthachintâmaṇi* or *Mânasôllâsa*, dealing with polity, the administration of justice, medicine, elephants, alchemy, astrology, arms, and rhetoric, which was written in the fourth year of his reign, the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1051 (expired).[1]

Perma-Jagadêkamalla II.

Sômêśvara III. was succeeded by his eldest son, who is best known, by his *biruda*, as Jagadêkamalla II.: he had, however, the appellation of Perma; and the records almost invariably style him *Pratâpa-Chakravartin*, "the valorous emperor." [2] Some fifty records of this reign are

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[1] Dr. Burnell's *Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore*, p. 141; and Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884), p. 167.

[2] Some years ago, I expressed a doubt (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 140) whether Jagadêkamalla II. was really a son of Sômêśvara III., or whether he was to be identified with Jayakarṇa. But an inscription at Harihar (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 120; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 57) distinctly says that this Jagadêkamalla was a son of Bhûlôkamalla, *i. e.* Sômêśvara III., and that Nûrmaḍi-Taila III. was his younger brother. Also, an inscription at Kukkanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions, at the shrine of the Nava-Siddhas in the courtyard of the temple of Mahâmmâyi (*Carn.-Dêśa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 852) mentions him as the son of Sômêśvara III. —His appellation of Perma is taken from another inscription at Harihar, which mentions him as king Perma, the son of Bhûlôkamalla, and gives his *biruda* Jagadêkamalla in the next verse (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 116; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 68; *Carn.-Dêśa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 801, where, however, the transcript wrongly gives *permenikuṁ*, instead of *Permmanṛipaṁ*). 'Perma' seems to be, as in the case of Vikramâditya VI., only a secondary appellation,—not his real proper name.—When the point is otherwise at all doubtful, the use of his title *Pratâpa-Chakravartin* suffices to distinguish his records from those of Jagadêkamalla-Jayasiṁha II., whose reign fell almost or quite exactly two cycles earlier.

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now known.[1] The earliest of them is dated in the month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A.D. 1139, of his second year, the Siddhârthin *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1062 current), = A. D. 1139-40.[2] But they shew that the Kâlayukti *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1061 current, = A.D. 1138-39, was counted as the first year of his reign.[3] This is also mentioned elsewhere as the thirteenth year of Sômêśvara III., for whom we have a date in it falling in November-December, A.D. 1138.[4] And it would seem, therefore, that Jagadêkamalla II. succeeded to the throne either quite near the end of A.D. 1138, or early in A.D. 1139, before the 3rd March, which was, approximately, the initial day of the Siddhârthin *saṁvatsara*. The latest of his records is dated in the month Pausha (Dec.-Jan.), falling in A. D. 1149, of his twelfth year, the 'Sukla *saṁvatsara*, which was 'Saka-Saṁvat 1072 current.[5] An inscription of A. D. 1147, at Nargund in the Dhârwâr District,[6] mentions Kalyâṇa as his capital. The records mention, as some of his feudatories and officials,—the *Daṇḍanâyakas* Mahâdêva and Pâladêva, with a date in A. D. 1139; the *Mahâsâmanta* Sêuṇadêva of the Yâdava family of Sêuṇadêśa, who was ruling his hereditary province in A. D. 1142; a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kappadêvarasa, with a date in the same year, who is described as "a son of the queen-consort;"[7] a *Mahâmaṇḍâlêśvara* Rêvarasa, with the title of "lord of Mâhishmatîpura," and described as belonging to the Ahihaya race,[8] who was governing in the neighbourhood of Yêûr in the Nizâm's Dominions; the *Mahâpradhâna, Sênâdhipati, Kannaḍa-Saṁdhivigrahin*, and *Hiriya-Daṇḍanâyaka* Bammaṇayya or

1 For some which have been published with the texts, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 140 (at Bâdâmi; of A.D. 1139); *id.* Vol. XII. p. 126 (at Añjanêri; of A.D. 1142); *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 239 (at Narêgal; with a spurious date in A.D. 950); and *ibid.* p. 253 (at Koḍikop; of A.D. 1144).

2 An inscription at a Jain temple at Râybâg in the Kôlhâpur territory, within the limits of the Belgaum District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 739; verified from an ink-impression).

3 There is an inscription at Chitaldurg (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 146; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 8), which appears to connect a date in the month Phâlguna, falling in A. D. 1124, of the 'Sôbhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1045 (expired), with Jagadêkamalla II. He may possibly have then held some administrative post under his grandfather. But the record speaks of him as if he were himself the paramount sovereign.

4 See page 455 above.

5 An inscription at the temple of Hâvaḷi-Hanumanta somewhere in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 836). This is in accordance with what is plainly established by his records. And the statement in an inscription at Baḷagâṁve (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 180; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 97), that the 'Sukla *saṁvatsara* was his thirteenth year, must be a mere mistake of the writer.—If the transcripts may be relied on, an inscription at the Parvata-Maṭha at Harasûr in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 9), which takes the genealogy as far as Taila III., is dated in the twentieth year, the Îśvara *saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1157-58), of Jagadêkamalla II.; and an inscription on a *vîrgal* near the temple of Îśvara at 'Sirgôḍ in the Hângal tâluka, (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 847), which does not refer itself to any particular reign, is dated in his fiftieth year, the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1187-88). These two *saṁvatsaras* would really be his twentieth and fiftieth years. But I do not know of any other instance of his regnal years being used after the expiration of his reign.

6 I quote from an ink-impression.

7 *Paṭṭa-mahâdêviyar = anugaṁ*; in an inscription at Hirê-Muddanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 759; verified from an ink-impression).

8 See page 439 above, and note 2.

Barmadêvarasa, who is mentioned in A. D. 1143-44 as governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, and in the following year, with the higher title of *Heri-Lâṭa-Karṇâṭa-Saṁdhivigrahin* and the additional ones of *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* and *Manevergaḍe*, as ruling the Tardavâḍi thousand, the six-hundred that was composed of the Beḷvola and Huligere districts, the Hânuṁgal five-hundred, and the Halasige twelve-thousand;[1] the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kârtavîrya III., of the Raṭṭa family of Saundatti, who in the same year was ruling the Kûṇḍi three-thousand; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vijayâditya, of the Karâḍ branch of the 'Silâhâra family, who was ruling his hereditary province in the same year; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Jagadêkamalla-Permâḍi, of the Sinda family, who in A. D. 1144-45 was ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy, the Bâgaḍage seventy, the Keḷavâḍi three-hundred, and the Nareyaṁgal twelve; the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Heri-Lâṭa-saṁdhivigrahin*, *Sênâdhipati*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kêśirâja or Kêśimayya, who in A. D. 1147-48 was governing the Beḷvola three-hundred, the Palasige twelve-thousand, and the Pânuṁgal five-hundred; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Tailaha or Tailama, of the family of the Kâdambas of Hângal, who was ruling his hereditary province in the same year; the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Sôvidêva, who was governing the Pânuṁgal five-hundred in A. D. 1148-49; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Pâṇḍyadêva, who was ruling the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand in the same year; and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Tribhuvanamalla-Jagaddêva, of the 'Sântara family of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura, which is the modern Hombucha or Humcha in the Nagar District, Mysore, who was ruling at Sêtuvina-bîḍu in A. D. 1149.[2] The records also mention, as a contemporary of Jagadêkamalla II., Bijjala or Bijjaṇa of the Kaḷachurya family, under whom Vijaya-Pâṇḍyadêva was holding the

[1] In an inscription at Hângal in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 46, where it is wrongly attributed to the time of Jagadêkamalla-Jayasiṁha II.: I find, from an ink-impression, that the name of the *saṁvatsara*, Raktâkshin, can be recognised; but there is not the faintest trace of the 'Saka year, 946, which is given by Sir Walter Elliot's copyist; and there can be no doubt, from the palæographic standard, as to the real period of the record).

[2] An inscription at Bâḷagâṁve (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 180; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 97).— Mr. Rice would locate Sêtuvina-bîḍu or Sêtu somewhere in Kanara (*Mysore Inscriptions*, Introd. pp. lxviii., lxix).— Jagaddêva is subsequently mentioned as laying siege to Anamkoṇḍ, after the defeat of Taila III., in the time of the Kâkatya or Kâkatiya prince Prôla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 10, 17).— The Baḷagâṁve inscription styles him a younger brother (*priy-ânuja*; line 27) of Jayakêśin II. of the family of the Kâdambas of Goa; and it also speaks of Jayakêśin as his own elder brother (*nij-âgrajâta*; line 23). In reality, however, as disclosed by the same record, Jayakêśin and Jagaddêva were maternal cousins; being sons of two uterine sisters, Chaṭṭaladêvî and Bijjaladêvî. And a more correct expression is used in line 19, where it is said that Jayakêśin "was considered to be the elder brother" of Jagaddêva (*agrajanman* = *enisidan*). The other expressions, however, are in agreement with a custom which is very common in the Kanarese country, and in consequence of which, when a witness in Court speaks of such and such a man as his son or brother, it is always necessary (as also with various other relationships), if the point is relevant, to make him explain distinctly whether he means, in the first case, his own son, his brother's or sister's son, or the son of some relative in the same degree of descent with himself, and, in the second case, his own father's son, his uncle's or aunt's son, or the son of some relative in the same degree of descent with his father. Another epigraphic instance of this custom is furnished by the Âlûr inscription of A.D. 1010-11 (page 434 above, note 7), in which the daughter of Iṛivabeḍaṅga-Satyâśraya is called the younger sister of Vikramâditya V., who was in reality her paternal cousin.

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Nolambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand;[1] and, as that province was a regular part of the Western Châlukya empire, Bijjala must then have been filling some high office under Jagadêkamalla II. In this reign, again,— or else towards the close of the preceding reign,— the Hoysalas and others were aggressive, and, as on the previous occasion, were repulsed by the instrumentality of the Sindas; Permâḍi I., of that family, is described as vanquishing Kulaśêkharâṅka, besieging Chaṭṭa, pursuing Jayakêśin, and seizing upon the royal power of the Hoysala who was foremost among fierce rulers of the earth, and as going to the mountain passes of the "marauder" Biṭṭiga, *i.e.* the Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana,— besieging Dôrasamudra,— pursuing him till he arrived at and took the city of Bêlupura,— and driving him on as far as the mountain pass of Vâhadi.[2]

Taila III.

The successor of Jagadêkamalla II. was his younger brother Taila III., whose name occurs also as Tailapa and Nûrmaḍi-Taila, and who had the *biruda* of Trailôkyamalla; he was also styled *Châlukya-Chakravartin*, "the Châlukya emperor." He appears to have succeeded to the throne early in A.D. 1150, and near the end of the Śukla *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1072 current; after, at any rate, Pausha śukla 11, the day of the *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti* or winter solstice, corresponding approximately to the 24th December, A. D. 1149, which is the latest date on record for Jagadêkamalla II.[3] The records of this reign, as far as they have as yet come to light, are very few;[4] and they furnish

[1] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 119; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60.

[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 244; see also p. 270.

[3] An inscription at Bijâpur, on a pillar in the south gateway of the citadel (I quote from an ink-impression), cites the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara* (Śaka-Saṁvat 1074 current), with a date in Bhâdrapada (Aug.-Sept.), as his third year. In agreement with this, an inscription at the temple of Kalamêśvara at Hulgûr in the Dhârwâr District (I quote from an ink-impression) cites the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara* (Ś.-S. 1079 current), with a date in Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), as his eighth year. And from these two records it would follow that the Śukla *saṁvatsara*, Ś.-S. 1072 current, = A.D. 1149-50,— which was the twelfth, and as far as is known at present the last, year of Perma-Jagadêkamalla II.,— was also counted as the first year of Taila III.— On the other hand, an inscription at Balagâṁve (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 181; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 100) quotes the Yuvan *saṁvatsara* (Ś.-S. 1078 current), with a date in Mâgha (Jan.-Feb.) which, however, seems to be a mistake for Pausha (Dec.-Jan.) as his sixth year. In agreement with this, an inscription at the temple of Basavaṇṇa, or perhaps of Brahmadêva, at Hâvêri in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 6; verified from an ink-impression) quotes the Îśvara *saṁvatsara* (Ś.-S. 1080 current) with a date in Pausha, as his eighth year. And these two records indicate that his first year was the Pramôda *saṁvatsara*, Ś.-S. 1073 current, = A.D. 1050-51.— The discrepancy may be adjusted by assuming that he succeeded to the throne so near the end of the Śukla *saṁvatsara*, that the remnant of that *saṁvatsara*, though sometimes counted as his first year, was sometimes omitted from the reckoning altogether.— A still later result, by one year, might be deduced from an inscription at Dâvaṇgere in Mysore (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 140; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 17, where, however, in several respects, the translation is not in accordance with the photograph), dated at the winter solstice of the Pârthiva *saṁvatsara* (Ś.-S. 1088 current) which is quoted as the fifteenth year of a reckoning which can only be that of Taila III. This would make the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, Ś.-S. 1074 current, = A. D. 1051-52, his first year. The record, however, really belongs to a period subsequent to his death. And I have not found any others in agreement with it.

[4] For one which has been edited with the text, see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 259 (at Paṭṭadakal; of A.D. 1163: the record describes the local prince Châvuṇḍa II., as a feudatory of Taila III.; but it is actually dated after Taila's death). Two inscriptions of the Kâdambas of Goa, the dates of which may perhaps fall during

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but little information as to the feudatories and officials. An inscription at Harihar,[1] probably referable to A.D. 1150, states that a certain Kasapayyanâyaka was then governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand under the orders of the Kalachurya Bijjala. The Bijâpur inscription of A. D. 1151[2] expressly mentions Bijjala as a feudatory of Taila III.; and adds that Bijjala's subordinate, the *Mahâpradhâna, Sênâdhipati,* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Mailârayya was then governing the Tardavâḍi thousand, *i.e.* the country in the neighbourhood of Bijâpur. An inscription in the Dhârwâr District[3] mentions the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati, Sênâdhipati,* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Mahâdêva, as governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Purigeṛe three-hundred in A. D. 1152, directly under Taila III.; and an inscription at Balagâmve[4] mentions the same person, but with the title of *Daṇḍanâyaka* only, as governing the Banavâsi province in A. D. 1155 under Bijjala, while Taila III. was still reigning,— adding the statement that Bijjala himself was then governing "all the provinces," and that Mahâdêva was Bijjala's own *Daṇḍaṇayaka.* An inscription at Pâṭṇa in Khândêsh[5] mentions a prince named Gôvana, of the Nikumbha family, who, with his councillor Chaṅgadêva, was governing in that neighbourhood in A. D. 1153-54, doubtless under one of the Yâdava feudatories of the Sêuṇa country. An inscription at Kukkanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions[6] mentions a *Mahâpradhâna* named Ravaḷeyanâyaka, with a date in A. D. 1156; and, in a postscript, it calls him a *Mahâpradhâna* of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Bijjala. And the Paṭṭadakal inscription of A. D. 1163[7] shews that the Sinda *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Châvuṇḍa II. had been ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy, the Bâgaḍage seventy, and the Keḷavâḍi three-hundred, directly under Taila III. Synchronously, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras* Permâḍi and Vijayâditya, of the family of the Kâdambas of Goa, were ruling the Palasige twelve-thousand, the Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred, and the Veḷugrâme or Belgaum seventy; the Raṭṭa *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kârtavîrya III. was ruling the Kûṇḍi three-thousand; and the Silâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vijayâditya was ruling his hereditary territory in the neighbourhood of Karâḍ: but the records have not yet made it clear, how far these princes acknowledged the supremacy of Taila III. The Bijâpur inscription of A. D. 1151, and an inscription of A. D. 1157 at Kembhâvi in the Nizâm's

Taila's lifetime, have been edited, with the texts, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 273, (at Siddâpur; of A.D. 1158), and in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 296 (at Goḷihaḷḷi; the first part of the record; of A.D. 1160). But they give no indication as to the name of the reigning sovereign; and they may perhaps be more properly referable to Bijjala's time.

[1] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 120; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 57.— For some of the records noted here, see more fully under the account of Bijjala, in chapter V. below.

[2] See page 459 above, note 3.

[3] At the temple of Siddhappa (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 1: the place is said to be Pura, in the Kôd tâluka; but there does not seem to be a village named Pur or Pura anywhere in Dhârwâr; perhaps Puradakeri, in the Kôḍ tâluka, is intended).

[4] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 181; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 100.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 39.

[6] Outside the great gate on the north of the temple of Mahammâyi (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 2).

[7] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 259.

Dominions,[1] mention Kalyâṇa as the capital of Taila III. But an inscription at Harasûr in the Nizâm's Dominions,[2] dated in April, A. D. 1161, states, if we may rely on the transcript, that he was then reigning at Jayantîpura, *i.e.* Banavâsi in North Kanara. The full details of the date of this record are an eclipse of the sun on Monday, the new-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha of the Vishu *saṁvatsara*, which is cited as the twelfth year of Taila III. The corresponding English date is, approximately, the 27th April, A. D. 1161.[3] And this is the latest date that has been obtained, connected with the rule of Taila III. The latest date, however, that can be vouched for, in a record undoubtedly mentioning Taila III. as paramount sovereign, is the 26th December, A. D. 1155, furnished by an inscription at Balagâmve.[4] It is probable, indeed, from the Hulgûr and Hâvêri inscriptions,[5] that his authority, as paramount sovereign, was still recognised locally in October, A. D. 1156, and December, A. D. 1157. But the 26th December, A. D. 1155, is the latest absolutely certain date. Taila III. died certainly before the 19th January, A. D. 1163,

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[1] On a stone on the north of the mosque on the east of the village (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 4).

[2] At the temple of Pârśvanâtha (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 16; the second part of the record).—The details of the date will not work out correctly (see the next note). This, however, does not necessarily disqualify the record. And, in the year, there is nothing inconsistent with the known limit for the date of Taila III. (see further on). But I cannot help looking on the name of the capital, given in the transcript, with some distrust. It is not apparent why, at a time when much, at any rate, of the intervening territory had been appropriated by Bijjala, Banawâsi should be mentioned as the capital in connection with a grant made in a village so far away as the neighbourhood of Kalburigi. And, on the other hand, the indications are that Bijjala established himself at Banawâsi, and gradually pushed Taila's power away to the north and east. I much suspect that the *Jayantîpurada nelevîḍinoḷ* of the transcript is a mislection of words which give the name of some *bîḍu* or temporary camp in the vicinity of Harasûr.

[3] But the week-day was Thursday. And Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* shews no eclipse for the full-moon in question.

[4] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 181; *Mysore Inscriptions* p. 100: see more fully under the account of Bijjala, in chapter V. below.

[5] See page 459 above, note 3.—The Hulgûr inscription consists of two parts. The first part contained a formal preamble, referring it to someone's reign. Almost the whole of the preamble, including the king's name or *biruda*, is broken away and lost. But the date, in the Bhâva *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1076 (expired), makes it certain that the name or *biruda* of Taila III. stood in the preamble. The second part contains no such preamble. But the date, Kârttika śukla 5, Bṛihavâra, of the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*, cited as the eighth year of Taila III., implies a recognition of Taila's authority as still existing. The *tithi* corresponds, approximately, to the 22nd October, A.D. 1156; for which date, however, the week-day was Monday. Bijjala is not mentioned in either part of this record. The second part of it registers grants made at Hulgûr by Chaṭṭeya, the *Suṅkavergaḍe* of the Hânuṁgal province, and by Chaṭṭagâmuṇḍa.—The Hâvêri inscription does not actually state that Taila III. was then still reigning. But, mentioning him with the full paramount epithets and titles, it proceeds to give his lineal descent. It then mentions Bijjala, as his contemporary, but without any specific definition of the relations between them. It then mentions a feudatory of Bijjala, the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Sênâdhipati*, and *Heggaḍe* of the Banavâsi province, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kêśirâja, son of Holalarâja. And it records grants made (at Hulgûr) by a subordinate of Kêśirâja, the *Heggaḍe* Rudradêva. But, in the date of the grant, the *saṁvatsara*, Îśvara, is quoted as the eighth year of Taila III.; and it is not apparent why this should be done, unless Taila's authority was still current in that part of the country. The full details of the date are the winter solstice, coupled with Pausha kṛishṇa 2, 3, or perhaps 7, Monday. And the equivalent English date is, approximately, the 24th December, A.D. 1157, which, however, was a Tuesday.

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which[1] is the English equivalent of the date of the Anamkoṇd inscription of Rudradêva, in which the fact that he was then dead is mentioned; and probably in or just before A. D. 1162, which is the year in which Bijjala, having completed his usurpation of the kingdom, assumed the full paramount epithets and titles.

Interval after Taila III.

Taila III. left a son, Sômêśvara IV., who, however, did not immediately succeed to the throne. At some time in the course of Taila's reign,[2] a serious blow to the Western Châlukya power was dealt by the Kâkatya or Kâkatîya prince Prôla,— father of the Rudradêva mentioned just above,— in respect of whom the Anamkoṇd inscription tells us that "in an instant he made captive in war the "glorious Tailapadêva, the ornament of the Châlukyas, who was skilled "in the practice of riding upon elephants,— whose inmost thoughts "were ever intent upon war,— and who was mounted upon an elephant "which was like a cloud (*in size*); and then, at once, he, who was re-"nowned in the rite of severing the throats of his enemies, let him "go, from goodwill produced by his devotion."[3] This blow from the outside was accompanied or followed by still more serious internal troubles. The Kaḷachurya *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Bijjala, who has been already mentioned, appears to have been the commander-in-chief of all the forces, and practically the most powerful person in the kingdom under Taila III. And an inscription at Harihar describes him as devoted to the service of the Châlukyas, and protecting the whole of the Châlukya army.[4] But subsequent records state that he destroyed all the Châlukya kings, and acquired the sovereignty over the whole of the Kuntala country;[5] and, in fact, they amply prove the truth of this assertion. It is plain, then, that Bijjala abused the trust reposed in him, and used his sovereign's own armies to deprive the latter of his kingdom, or at least to prevent the accession of his son. The steps which led to this result, will be fully detailed in the next chapter, in the account of Bijjala himself. It is sufficient to state here that Bijjala took possession of part of the kingdom in A. D. 1156, and completed his usurpation in A. D. 1162. And he and his sons held the throne up to A.D. 1183.

Three of the records of this interval appear rather instructive. The Paṭṭadakal inscription of the Sinda *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Châvuṇḍa II.,[6] dated in the month Jyêshṭha (May-June), falling in A. D. 1163, of the Subhânu *saṁvatsara* coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 1084 by mistake for 1085 (expired), mentions the chieftain as a feudatory of Taila III., just as if the latter were then still alive. The Dâvaṇgere inscription

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. pp. 111, 252.

[2] All that can be said at present is, that this was before A.D. 1163. The dates of the Kâkatîyas still remain to be worked out.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 17.

[4] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 120; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 58.

[5] Inscriptions of A. D. 1173, at the temple of Îśvara at Harasûr, and at the temple of Kâlinga at Kâḷigi, in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. pp. 148, 165).

[6] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 259.

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of the Pâṇḍya *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vijaya-Pâṇḍyadêva,[1] dated at the winter solstice, falling on the 25th December, A. D. 1165, of the Pârthiva *saṁvatsara* ('S. S. 1088 current), quotes the *saṁvatsara* as the fifteenth year of Taila III. And the Aihoḷe inscription of the Sinda princes Bijjaladêva and Vikramadêva,[2] dated in the Virôdhiṅ *saṁvatsara* ('S. S. 1092 current), = A. D. 1169-70, quotes the *saṁvatsara* as the ninety-fourth year of the Châlukya-Vikrama-varsha. All this looks as if the Pâṇḍya and Sinda chieftains, — and the latter in spite of an intermarriage with the Kaḷachuryas, — did not acquiesce in Bijjala's usurpation, but entertained hopes, from the first, of a restoration of the Châlukya sovereignty.[3]

Sômêśvara IV.

At some time probably towards the end of the 'Subhakrit *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1105 current, and in the early part of A. D. 1183, Taila's son Sômêśvara IV., who was also called Vîra-Sômêśvara and had the *biruda* of Tribhuvanamalla, revived the Western Châlukya sovereignty for a short time.[4] In A. D. 1167, Bijjala abdicated in favour of his own

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1 *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 140; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 17.— Mr. Rice has read 'Vîra-Pâṇḍyarasa' where the text (line 38-39) distinctly gives 'Vijaya-Pâṇḍyadêva;' 'Bhâdrapada' where the text has '*uttarâya[ṇa-saṁkrânti]*;' and 'Saka-varshada 1087' where the photograph shews '[va]rshada 15[neya Pâ]rtthiva,' &c.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 96. The full details of the date are illegible.

3 Some other published records, belonging to this interval,— not of the Kaḷachuryas themselves,— are the Goḷihaḷḷi, Halsî, and Dêgâṁve inscriptions of Permâḍi and Vijayâditya II., of the family of the Kâdambas of Goa, dated in A. D. 1162, 1169, 1171, and 1174 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R.-As. Soc.* Vol. IX. pp. 266, 278, and 296, the second part of the record). They do not mention the names of any paramount sovereigns.

4 As regards the period when Sômêśvara IV. came to the front,— an inscription at the temple of Puradappa, or of Vîrabhadra, at Aṇṇîgere in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 37; verified from an ink-impression, from which I find that the transcript is wrong, in calling the *saṁvatsara* the third year of the reign), and the third part of an inscription at Hûli in the Beḷgaum District (*id.* Vol. I. p. 444; verified from an ink-impression), both call the Krôdhin *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1107 current) his second year. And this indicates the 'Sôbhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1106 current,=A. D. 1883-84, as his first year. The Aṇṇîgere inscription is further dated at the time of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of a month which is not named; and the Hûli inscription, at the time of the winter solstice on the full-moon day of Pausha (December-January).— On the other hand, in two inscriptions on beams in the *madhya-raṅga* of the temple of Mâṇikêśvara at Lakkuṇḍi in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. pp. 27, 34; both verified from ink-impressions), the Krôdhin *saṁvatsara* is cited as his third year (the further details, in both these records, are Pausha śukla 5, the winter solstice, coupled in one case with the syllable *â*, which seems to stand for Âdityavâra, 'Sunday,' and in the other with the full word Sômavâra, 'Monday'). In agreement with this,— omitting dates in the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* which I have not been able to verify,— a copper-plate grant in the Alienation Office of the Commissioner, Central Division, dated on Bhâdrapada full-moon (I quote from the original), and another inscription at Lakkuṇḍi, on a slab in the ceiling of a small shrine of Gaṇapati, dated on Pausha śukla 2 and 8 (not in the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.*; I quote from an ink-impression), cite the Viśvâvasu *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1108 current) as his fourth year. In further agreement, an inscription at the temple of Banaśaṁkarî at Aṇṇîgere, dated on Mâgha śukla 1 (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 42; verified from an ink-impression; except that the portion containing the month, &c., has now been broken away), cites the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara* as his fifth year; and a continuation of this record cites the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara* ('S. S. 1110 current) as his sixth year (here, again, the details,— Vaiśâkha śukla 3, Monday, as given in the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.*— are not now extant). And, according to all these records, the 'Subhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1105 current, = A. D. 1182-83, was counted as his first year.— The results deduced from these two sets of dates cannot be reconciled, except by supposing that Sômêśvara IV. was in power during so small a part of the 'Subhakṛit *saṁvatsara*

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son, Sômêśvara or Sôvidêva. And, if tradition is to be believed, he was shortly afterwards assassinated in consequence of some wanton cruelty which he, himself a Jain, displayed, in causing two pious members of a new sect of 'Saivas, called Liṅgâyats, to be blinded or slain.[1] If this was so, the occurrence must itself have been an almost fatal blow to the newly established dynasty. At any rate, it is plain that Bijjala's sons had not the capacity which he himself possessed. This gave the opportunity for Sômêśvara IV. and his adherents to come to the front. And they owed their success to a *Mantrin* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* or councillor and leader of the forces called Brahma, son of Kâma or Kâvaṇa, whose name appears in various records in also the Prâkṛit forms of Bamma, Bammaṇa, Bammayya, Bammarasa, and Bammidêva. One record styles this person *Châlukya-râjya-pratishṭhâpaka,* "the establisher of the Châlukya sovereignty:"[2] another says plainly that the position of Sômêśvara IV. was secured for him by Brahma, and adds that the latter, "a fire of death to the Kaḷachuryas," seized the whole earth for the purpose of making the Châlukyas lords of all the world:[3] and also a Hoysaḷa inscription mentions him as having taken away the sovereignty from the Kaḷachuryas, and shews that he did so by seducing the allegiance of some of the Kaḷachurya forces which were under the command of his own father;[4] this is made clear partly by the statement, in the Hoysaḷa record, that Brahma had acted in contempt of his father,[5] and partly by a Harihar inscription,[6] which mentions his father Kâvaṇa as a *Daṇḍanâyaka*

that sometimes it was omitted from the reckoning.— An inscription at the temple of 'Saṁkaraliṅga at Hombaḷ in the Dhârwâr District (I quote from an ink-impression) calls the Saumya *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1112 current), = A. D. 1189-90, his third year. This is not reconcileable with any other statements; but there is nothing else suspicious about the record.

[1] See more fully in the next chapter, under the account of Bijjala.

[2] An undated inscription at the temple of Sômanâtha at Ablûr in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. part 121); it is noticed more fully in the next chapter, under the account of Bijjala.

[3] The Aṇṇigere inscription, dated, without full details, in the Krôdhin *saṁvatsara*, A.D. 1184-85 (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 37; see page 463 above, note 4).— This record, with the other Aṇṇigere inscription which is dated in the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, A. D. 1186-87 (*ibid.* p. 42; and see the same note), and an inscription at the temple of Doḍḍa-Basavaṇṇa at Ḍambaḷ in the Dhârwâr District (*ibid.* p. 28; verified from a photograph) give the following short genealogy:— The *Daṇḍanâyaka* Bammi, whose wife was Jakkiyavve; his son was the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kâma or Kâvaṇa, whose wife was Kâḷaladêvî or Kâḷavve; and his son was the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Brahma, whose younger brothers were the *Daṇḍanâyakas* Kêśava or Kêśirâja, Narasiṁha or Nârasiṁha, and Liṅga or Liṅgidêva.— The records usually speak of this Brahma or Barmarasa as a *kumâra*; doubtless, not to mark him as a "young man," but to distinguish him from his grandfather.

[4] The Gadag inscription of A. D. 1192 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 299). The published translation of the verse which mentions Brahma needs correction; what the text really says, is, that the Hoysaḷa Ballâḷa II. defeated with cavalry only, and took away the sovereignty from, that (famous) general Brahma, whose troops were supported by an array of elephants, and who had conquered sixty tusked elephants with one young tuskless elephant, when, in contempt of his father, he was depriving the Kaḷachuryas of the sovereignty.

[5] *Nyakkarêṇa pituḥ.*

[6] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 122; *Mysore Inscriptions,* p. 60, where, however, the important substance of this record is not given. Mentioning the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kâvaṇa or Kâvaṇayya, as a feudatory of Saṅkama, it adds that his wife was Kâḷaladêvî,

of the Kaḷachurya king Saṅkama, and describes him as *Kaḷachurya-râjya-samuddharaṇa*, "the upraiser of the Kaḷachurya sovereignty," and by a Baḷagâṁve inscription of A. D. 1179, which mentions him as the commander-in-chief of all the forces [1] of Saṅkama. Further, a record of A. D. 1175[2] mentions this Brahma as himself a *Mahâ-pradhâna, Sênâdhipati,* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* of the Kaḷachurya king Sôvidêva; and it was evidently this position, which he probably continued to hold under Sôvidêva's brothers and successors, that put it in his power to effect the revolution that he accomplished. The records of this reign, again, are not very numerous.[3] They style Sômêśvara IV. *Châlukya-Chakravartin*, like his father, and also *Châlukya-Pratâpa-Chakravartin*.[4] They indicate that he established himself first at Aṇṇigere in the Dhârwâr District,[5] and only subsequently secured the capital of Kalyâṇa.[6] And they mention the following feudatories and officials,— the *Mantrin* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Brahma, already referred to, with actual dates in A. D. 1184 and 1185; the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Têjirâja, Têjimayya, or Têjugi, who, with his assistants the *Daṇḍanâyakas* Châkaṇa and Rêvaṇa or Rêvarasa, was governing the Mâsavâḍi district in A.D. 1184-85, apparently at Dharmâpura or Ḍambaḷ, which is described as situated in that district; the *Mahâpradhâna* Ballayyasâhaṇi, with his *Sênâpati*, the *Sâmanta* Râma, and his *Daṇḍanâyaka*, Kêsirâjayya or Kêśavabhaṭṭaya, the *Pergaḍe* of the Beḷvola district, for whom we have the date of A. D. 1184; the *Daṇḍanâyaka*, Bhâyidêva, son of the Têjugi mentioned above, who was governing the Kûṇḍi three-thousand in A. D. 1187; a certain Barma, son of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Bhûta or Âhavamalla-Bhûtiga, who, later in the same year, at Toṛagale, was ruling the Lôkâpura twelve, the Hoḷalugunda thirty, the town of Doḍḍavâḍa, the Navilugunda forty, and the Koḷenûru thirty; and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kâmadêva, of the family of the Kâdambas of Hângal, who in A. D. 1189 was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Pânuṁgal five-

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and that he was a son of the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Barmadêva and his wife Jakkaṇavve. And a comparison with note 3, page 464 above, establishes at once the identity of this Kâvaṇa with the father of Brahma or Barmarasa.

[1] *Samasta-sên-âgrêsaraṁ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 46, text line 19.— Kâvaṇa is also mentioned as a *Daṇḍanâyaka* of Saṅkama's successor, Âhavamalla.

[2] An inscription at the temple of Gôpâlasvâmin at Chikka-Muddanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 136; verified, and corrected in respect of the date, from an ink-impression).

[3] For two which have been edited with the texts, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 14 (at Têrdâḷ; the last part of the record; of A.D. 1187), and Vol. XII. p. 95 (at Toragal; of the same year).

[4] This occurs in the preamble of one of the inscriptions of the Krôdhin *saṁvatsara* A.D. 1184-85, at the temple of Mâṇikêśvara at Lakkuṇḍi (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 34; verified from an ink-impression).

[5] In the Nawalgund tâluka; lat. 14° 24′, long. 75° 28′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 41,—'Anigeeree.'

[6] The inscription of A.D. 1184-85 at the temple of Puradappa, or of Vîrabhadra, at Aṇṇigere (see page 463 above, note 4), calls that town the *râjadhâni-paṭṭana* or royal capital city, and describes it as such.—Kalyâṇa is mentioned as the *nelevîḍu* or capital, at which Sômeśvara IV. was reigning, in part of an inscription at the temple of Râmaliṅga at Hoḍal, in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 229), which is dated in the month Âśvina (Sept.-Oct.), falling in A. D. 1185, of the Viśvâvasu *saṁvatsara*, cited as the fourth year of Sômêśvara IV.

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hundred, and the Huligere three-hundred. To this reign we must also refer, though it does not mention Sômêśvara IV. as the reigning sovereign, another record of the Gutta family, which states that in A. D. 1188 the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Vikramâditya II., at Guttavoḷal, was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, with a certain Bâsirâja as his *Mahâpradhâna.*

The latest date for Sômêśvara IV., furnished by the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kâmadêva's record,[1] is the day of the *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti* or winter solstice of the Saumya *saṁvatsara,* Saka-Saṁvat 1111 (expired); the corresponding English date is the 25th December, A. D. 1189. What became of Sômêśvara IV. after this date is not known. But inscriptions at Muttage in the Bijâpur District and at Aṇṇîgere, dated on the same day, the winter solstice of the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, shew that king Bhillama, of the Yâdava dynasty of Dêvagiri, had by that time secured the northern and eastern portions of the Châlukya kingdom. And inscriptions at Baḷagânûr and Gadag in the Dhârwâr District, and at Baḷagâṁve in Mysore, dated in the months Mârgaśîrsha (Nov.-Dec.) and Pausha (Dec.-Jan.) of the Paridhâvin *saṁvatsara,* S.-S. 1114 (expired), shew that before the end of A. D. 1192 the Hoysaḷas, under Vîra-Ballâḷa II., had made almost equal encroachments from the south; one of them, — the Gadag record,[2] — expressly mentioning the fact that the Hoysaḷa king had acquired sovereignty in that neighbourhood by defeating the general Brahma. It would seem, therefore, that, before the end of A. D. 1189, when probably the Yâdavas and Hoysaḷas were still disputing the possession of some of the southern provinces, Sômêśvara IV. had been driven back into the extreme south-west of his dominions, and that he then retained sovereign power over but little except the hereditary territory of his feudatories who belonged to the Hângal branch of the Kâdamba family. And it appears unlikely that he survived any length of time after that date. With him the dynasty of the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi came to an end.

Later names.

There are a few later records, which mention persons who are represented as belonging to the Châlukya stock. The Hoysaḷa king Vîra-Sômêśvara (about A.D. 1250) married a lady of Châlukya birth named Dêvalamahâdêvî.[3] A copper-plate grant from Terwaṇ in the Ratnâgiri District,[4] dated in the month Pausha (Dec.-Jan.) of the Raudra *saṁvatsara,* Saka-Saṁvat 1182 (expired), = A.D. 1260-61, gives the name of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kâṁvadêvarâya, with the title of "lord of Kalyâṇa, the best of towns," and records that his *Mahâmâtya*, the *Mahâjani* Kêśava, granted to a Brâhmaṇ the village of Teravâ-

1 An inscription in the temple of Îśvara at Hângal in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 49; and *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 90), where, with some other mistakes, it is wrongly located at Hûli in the Belgaum District.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 299.

3 *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. III. p. 9.

4 *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. II. p. 388, and Vol. V. p. 177; and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IV. pp. 98, 105, 114-115. I quote, however, from my own reading of the original plates.

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ṭaka, *i. e.* Terwaṇ itself; this record shews that Kâṁvadêvarâya had the government of that part of the Koṅkaṇ,— undoubtedly as a feudatory of Krishṇa (or of Râmachandra) of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava dynasty. An undated inscription at the temple of Mahâlakshmî at Kôlhâpur,[1] probably of about the same period, gives the names of Karṇa, —his son Vêtugidêva,— and the latter's son Sômadêva, whose wife was Mâṇikyadêvî, and who governed at Saṁgamêśvara in the Koṅkaṇ, *i. e.* probably at Saṅgamêshwar, the chief town of the tâluka of the same name, about twenty miles to the north-east of Ratnâgiri. An undated grant, referable to perhaps the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D., apparently from somewhere near Miraj in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country,[2] gives, if it is genuine, the name of Vîra-Satyâśrayadêva, son of Gôvindarâya, who not only is called, in the same way, "lord of Kalyâṇa, the best of towns," but also is represented as actually reigning, as paramount sovereign, at that city. And a very similar grant from Bangalore,[3] really belonging to the same period with the preceding, but preposterously dated in the Târaṇa *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 366 (expired), =A. D. 444-45, and therefore still more open to question, gives the name of Vîra-Noṇamba, who, in the same way, is styled "lord of Kalyâṇa, the best of towns," and is represented as reigning there as paramount sovereign. These records, however, though allotting the persons named in them to the Châlukya family, give no hint of a claim to descent from Sômêśvara IV. or any of his ancestors.

[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. II. pp. 263, 270.— The record must be in some part of the temple which is inaccessible to ordinary copyists; as, neither my own man, nor Mr. Cousens' man, obtained an impression of it.
[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 140.
[3] *id.* Vol. VIII. p. 94.

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Chapter V.

The Kaḷachuryas of Kalyâṇi.

The manner in which the Kaḷachuryas of Kalyâṇi acquired the sovereignty,— by Bijjala usurping it in the time of the Western Châlukya king Taila III.,— has already been stated.

As regards the origin of this family, an inscription at Harihar in Mysore, of the time of Bijjala,[1] gives the following account:— The founder of it, Kṛishṇa by name, was an incarnation, born from a Brâhmaṇ woman, of a portion of the god 'Siva. Passing himself off as a barber, he contrived to kill, at Kâlañjara, an evil-minded king who practised cannibalism.[2] And thus he, "an ornament of the Kalachuri family," acquired possession of the nine-lâkh Ḍahalâ country, *i.e.* of the Chêdi country in Central India. Many kings of his line ruled. And at length there arose, among them, a certain Kannama. To him were born two sons, Bijjala and Sandarâja; of whom the elder, Bijjala, succeeded him in the sovereignty. To Sandarâja there were born four sons,— Ammugi, 'Saṅkhavarman, Kannara, and Jôgama; of whom Ammugi succeeded first, and was followed by Jôgama. Jôgama's son was Permâḍi. And to the latter was born Bijjala,— the reigning king at the time when the record was drawn up.

There are, however, other synchronous accounts, equally admissible, which differ from this. Inscriptions of the time of Bijjala's eldest son Sôvidêva, dated in A. D. 1173, at Harasûr[3] and Kâḷigi[4] in the Nizâm's Dominions, state that, in a line of kings which belonged to the Lunar Race, there was a certain Santama or Santasama. His son was Sagararasa. His son was Kannama. His sons were Nâraṇa and Bijja. Bijja's son was Karṇa. And the Jôgama of the other accounts is represented as the son of this Karṇa. The Kokaṭnûr grant, however,

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1 *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 121; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 64.— The photograph does not show the exact date.

2 This looks like some reminiscence of a fuller story, invented to explain the family name. In Kanarese we have *chura* and *surige*, as corruptions of the Sanskṛit *kshura*, *kshurikâ*, *chhurikâ*, 'a razor;' and a connection might easily be made between the first two syllables, *kaḷa*, and the Kanarese *kaḷi*, 'to kill.'

3 At the temple of Îśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 148).

4 At the temple of Kâḷiṅga (*ibid.* p. 165).— The table given by Sir Walter Elliot (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. IV. p. 19; *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science*, Vol. VII. p. 211) must have been based partly on these two records and partly on the Kukkanûr inscription of Saṅkama.— The Harihar record is not included in his Collection; and his reference to Kṛishṇa, the son of the Brâhmaṇ woman, who reigned at Kâlañjara, was probably taken from an inscription at the temple of Basavaṇṇa on the south of the Hubḷi gate at Aṇṇigere (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 155).

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of the same king, dated in A. D. 1174,[1] and the Bêhaṭṭi grant of his youngest brother Singhaṇa, dated in A. D. 1183,[2] simply state that Jôgama was the son of a certain Krishṇa of the Kaḷachuri family, and say nothing about any antecedents whatever. While an inscription of Bijjala's second son, Saṅkama, dated in A.D. 1178, at Kukkanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions,[3] merely says that, in the lineage of the Kaḷachuris, which was considered to be a portion of the god Îśvara ('Siva), there was a king Kannama. His sons were Bijjala and Râjala. And the son of Râjala was the Jôgama of the other accounts.

It is curious that there should be such discrepancies in accounts which were written in the period itself. But such is the case. And the result is, that the first name that can be taken as authentic, is that of Jôgama. And, with this starting-point, the list of the Kaḷachuryas of Kalyâṇi stands as shewn in the table on page 471 below.

The Kaḷachuryas carried the *suvarṇa-vṛishabha-dhvaja* or banner of a golden bull, and were heralded in public by the sounds of the *ḍamaruka* or double-drum shaped like an hour-glass. Their *lâñchhana* or crest is not specifically mentioned in their records: it might be inferred to be the bull, which appears on the seals of the Kokatnûr and Bêhaṭṭi grants: but, if so, it would furnish a departure from the more usual custom, according to which the devices of the crest and the banner were different, and the crest was used on seals and coins; and it seems more likely that we have here, as in one or two other cases of this later period, an exceptional use of the device of the banner, instead of the crest, on the seals of the charters.[4] The formal preambles of their records always style them "lord of Kâlañjara, the best of towns."[5] This place is the modern Kâlañjar or Kâliñjar,— a town, with a well-known hill-fort, in the Bânda District, Bundêlkhaṇḍ, in the North-West Provinces; *i.e.* in the heart of the ancient Kalachuri territory. And, from this hereditary title, as well as from the mention of Kâlañjara and the Ḍahalâ country in the account given in the Harihar inscription, it is plain that, whether with or without good cause, the members of this family claimed some connection with the Kalachuri or Haihaya kings of Central India, of whom mention has already been made in connection with some of the Western Chalukya, Râshṭrakûṭa, and Western Châlukya kings.[6] But the actual point of contact is nowhere disclosed. And, as in the case of the forms Chalukya and

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[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 269.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 274.

[3] At the temple of Mahammâyi (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 207; verified from an ink-impression).

[4] On the general question of crests and banners, see page 299 above, note 4.

[5] Occasionally the name Kâlâñjana occurs, by mistake, of course; *e.g.*, in two inscriptions of Bijjala, dated in A. D. 1162, at Hûli in the Beḷgaum District (I quote from ink-impressions).

[6] Pages 296, 368, 374, 410, 414, 415, 418, and 427, above.— In fact, an inscription of Sôvidêva, dated in A. D. 1176, at the temple of Sômanâtha at Iṅgḷêshwar in the Bijâpur District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 189; it is doubtful whether the original now exists), appears to represent Bijjala as a descendant of Kârtavîrya-Arjuna, who is the Sahasrabâhu-Arjuna of whom the Kalachuris of Central India claimed to be descendants.

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Châlukya and Kadamba and Kâdamba, the constant use of the name Kaḷachurya seems to imply the recognition of descent from only some side-branch of the Kalachuri stock,— not from the line that reigned in Central India.[1]

Jôgama, and Permâḍi.

In connection with Jôgama, we have no historical details. And all that we know about his son Permâḍi, whose name also appears as Paramardi, is that, in the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A. D. 1128, of the Kîlaka *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1051 (current), he was governing the Tardavâḍi district, in the neighbourhood of Bijâpur, as a feudatory *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara III.[2]

Bijjala.

Permâḍi's son was Bijjala, whose name appears also in the forms of Bijja, Bijjaṇa, Vijjala, and Vijjaṇa. In the course of his career, he assumed the *biruda* of Tribhuvanamalla, and the designations of *Bhujabala-Chakravartin*,[3] "the powerful emperor," and *Kaḷachurya-Chakravartin*, "the Kaḷachurya emperor," which were sometimes combined into one appellation,— *Kaḷachurya-bhujabala-Chakravartin*. And, as he ended by usurping the sovereignty, it will be interesting to trace, as far as the records enable us to do so, the steps by which he rose to such power.

The earliest reliable mention that we have of Bijjala, is in an inscription at Harihar in Mysore :[4] the photograph does not shew the date ;

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[1] The only instances, that I can quote, in which 'Kalachuri' occurs in one of the formal preambles in prose, are in line 39 f. of the Harihar inscription, mentioned above, where we have *Kaḷachuri-kuḷa-kamaḷa-mârtaṇḍa*, instead of the customary *Kaḷachurya, etc.*, and in the same expression in the Kukkanûr inscription of A. D. 1178. In metrical passages, the form occurs constantly ; *e.g.*, as 'Kaḷachuri,' in line 11 of the Harihar record,— in a variety of places in the Kukkanûr record,— in lines 5 and 10 of the Aṇṇîgere inscription of A. D. 1184-85 which records the establishment of the power of Sômêśvara IV. by the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Brahma (*Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 37 ; see page 464 above, note 3), — and in line 29 of the Hoysaḷa inscription of A. D. 1192 at Gadag (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 29) ;— and, as 'Kalachuri,' in lines 3, 4 of the Kokaṭnûr grant, and line 6 of the Bêhaṭṭi grant (here, Nâgarî characters were used ; and this accounts for the different *l* : but 'Kalachurya' would have suited the metre, just as well as 'Kalachuri').— The transcripts in *Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* usually, if not always, give 'Kaḷachuriya ;' but I never met with this form in an original record.— Sir Walter Elliot himself used the forms 'Kalabhuri' and 'Kalabhurya' as much as, if not in preference to, 'Kalachuri' and 'Kaḷachurya' (*e. g.*, *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. IV. pp. 15, 17, 19, 22, 32 ; *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science*, Vol. VII. pp. 207, 209, 211, 214, 224). But this is simply due to mislection or some other mistake.— I have met with the curious form 'Kaḷaturya,' in an inscription of Bijjala, of A. D. 1166, at Maṇakaṭṭi near Shiggaon in the Dhârwâr District, and in an inscription of his son Sôvidêva, of A. D. 1174, at Hulgûr in the same neighbourhood (I quote from ink-impressions).

[2] From an inscription at the temple of Nârâyaṇa at Iṅgḷêshwar, in the Bijâpur District (*Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 687; here, again, it is doubtful whether the original is now in existence).

[3] Or, occasionally, *Nijabhujabala-Chakravartin*.

[4] *P.S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 119; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60.— According to *Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 667, on a stone at the burning-ground near the tank near the house of the Sarâyadavanu at Hirê-Kerûr in the Dhârwâr District, there is an inscription which refers itself to the reign of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., mentions Bijjala as a contemporary *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, and speaks of the latter's *Mahâpradhâna*, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Soḍḍaladêva. But the transcript does not shew the date, which appears to have been broken away and lost. And, as the record styles Bijjala *Bhujabala-Chakravartin*,— a designation which he did not assume till A. D. 1156,—I feel convinced that there must be something wrong about either the original

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Jôgama.

Permâḍi. (A.D. 1128.)

(1) Tribhuvanamalla-Bijjala. (About A.D. 1145, and 1156 to 1167.)

- (2) Bhujabalamalla-Râyamurâri-Sômêśvara-Sôvidêva; married Sâvaḷadêvî. (A.D. 1167 to 1177.)
- (3) Niśśaṅkamalla-Saṅkama. (A.D. 1177 to 1181.)
- (4) Vîranârâyaṇa-Âhavamalla. (A.D. 1161 to 1183.)
- (5) Siṅghaṇa. (A.D. 1183.)

By Êchaladêvî.

- Vajra.
- Siriyâdêvî; married to the Sinda Châvuṇḍa II. of Yelburga.

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but the record refers itself to the time of the Western Châlukya king Jagadêkamalla II., and therefore belongs to the period A. D. 1138-39 to 1149; and it may be placed approximately in A. D. 1145. This record does not expressly state that Bijjala,— to whom no titles of any kind, subordinate or otherwise, are allotted in it, —was a feudatory of Jagadêkamalla II.;[1] it simply says that, in the time of that king, there was Bijjala, whose servant Vijaya-Pâṇḍya was ruling the Nolambavâḍi thirty-two thousand. But the mention of Jagadêkamalla II., who is plainly indicated as the reigning king, though the fact is not expressly stated by the usual formal preamble, is sufficient, with the fact that the Nolambavâḍi province was a regular constituent part of the Western Châlukya dominions, to prove that, to some extent at least, Bijjala recognised his sovereign power.

Probably, the next record of Bijjala is to be found in another inscription at Harihar.[2] Here, again, the date is not available. But the record takes the Western Châlukya genealogy as far as Taila III.; and it thus indicates plainly, though here also there is no formal preamble, that he was the reigning king. It does not connect any titles with Bijjala's name; it simply says that, in the time of Taila III., there was Bijjala, whose servant Kasapayyanâyaka was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand. It is, therefore, to be placed probably quite early in the reign of Taila III.; and it may be referred to A.D. 1150. It seems to add that Bijjala was devoted to the service of the Châlukyas, and protected the whole of the Châlukya army.[3] And from this it would follow that he was the commander-in-chief of all the forces.

But the first dated mention of Bijjala that is available, is contained in the Bijâpur inscription,[4] which is dated in the month Bhâdrapada (Aug.-Sept.), falling in A. D. 1151, of the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1074 current). Here, in addition to the *saṁvatsara* being cited as the third regnal year of Taila III., there is the formal preamble which expressly refers the record to the reign of Taila III., as paramount sovereign, reigning at Kalyâṇa. The record does

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or the transcript; especially as the latest possible date for Vikramâditya VI. is A. D. 1125-26, and we have the date of A.D. 1128 for Bijjala's father.— An inscription (I quote here from an ink-impression) at the temple of Kâḍadêva at Sirôḷ near Mudhôḷ in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, purports to connect Bijjala with a date in the month Chaitra (March-April) of the Ânanda *saṁvatsara*. The 'Saka year is not quoted. But Ânanda coincided with 'Saka-Saṁvat 1057 current (A.D. 1134-35), and with 'S.-S. 1117 current (A.D 1194-95). On the first occasion, it fell before any date for Bijjala that is known for certain to be authentic; and, on the latter occasion, it fell after his time. As, however, this record gives Bijjala the paramount epithets and title of *samastabhuvanâśraya*, *śrîprithivîvallabha*, and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, it is plain that it was not written before at any rate A. D. 1162. And there are other points in it, which raise suspicions as to its genuineness. It would seem, therefore, to be a spurious record, concocted in or after A.D. 1194.

[1] *i.e.*, it does not use the customary expression of feudatory position,— *tat-pâda-padm-ôpajîvin*, "subsisting (like a bee) on the water-lilies that are his feet."

[2] *P.S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 120; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 57.

[3] This is according to Mr. Rice's translation. I cannot detect the words in the photograph.

[4] See page 459 above, note 3.

not allot any titles to Bijjala. But it distinctly mentions him as a feudatory of Taila III. And it states that the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Sênâdhipati*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Mailârayya, was governing the Tardavâdi thousand, *i.e.* the country in the neighbourhood of Bijâpur, as a feudatory of Bijjala.

So far, none of the customary feudatory or official titles appear in connection with Bijjala's name. But an inscription at Balagâṁve in Mysore,[1] dated on a day in the Yuvan *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1078 current) of which the English equivalent is probably the 26th December, A. D. 1155, styles him *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*. There is the formal preamble, expressly referring the record to the reign of Taila III., as paramount sovereign; and the *saṁvatsara* is cited as his sixth regnal year. The record includes the rather pregnant statement, that Bijjala was then governing "all the provinces."[2] And it adds that Bijjala's own *Daṇḍanâyaka* Mahadêvarasa was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand in happiness, in conjunction with the four *Karaṇas*, *i. e.* writers or accountants, Pôtarasa, Chaṭṭimaraśa, Padmarasa, and Sôvarasa, who were "embodiments of the mind of Bijjala."[3] The title of *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, here first applied to Bijjala, appears again in records of December, A.D. 1157, at Aṇṇigere and Tâḷgund, and of January, A. D. 1162, at Balagâṁve. After that, it was entirely dropped.

Taiḷa III. is mentioned again, with Bijjala, in inscriptions, dated at the winter solstice, in December, A. D. 1157, of the month Pausha of the Îśvara *saṁvatsara*, at Hâvêri in the Dhârwâr District,[4] where the *saṁvatsara* is cited as the eighth year of Taila III., and at Tâḷgund in Mysore,[5] where it is coupled, not with a regnal year of either party, but with 'Saka-Saṁvat 1079 (expired), and in an inscription at Balagâṁve,[6] dated at the winter solstice, in December, A.D. 1158, of the month Pausha of the Bahudhânya *saṁvatsara*, coupled in the same way with 'S.-S. 1080 (expired): the Tâḷgund and Baḷagâṁve inscriptions record the fact that the *Mahâpradhâna* Kêśava, Kêśirâja or Kêśimayya, son of Hoḷalarâja or Hoḷalamarasa, was then governing the Banavâsi province as a feudatory of Bijjala; and the Hâvêri inscription mentions the same official, giving him also the titles of *Sênâdhipati*, and *Banavâsi-nâḍa-heggaḍe* or *Heggaḍe* of the Baṇavâsi province. These references to Taila III., however, simply mention him as the last in the lineal succession of the Châlukya kings; and convey no distinct information as to the exact relations then existing between him and Bijjala. And the Baḷagâṁve inscription of December, A. D. 1155,

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[1] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 181; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 100.—As regards the date, the details given in the original are the *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti* or winter solstice coupled with Monday and the new-moon *tithi* of the month Mâgha. But the *saṁkrânti* in question cannot take place so late as on the last day of Mâgha. There must be some mistake. And the probability is that *Mâgha* was written by mistake for *Pausha*.

[2] *Sakala-dêśaṁgaḷaṁ âḷuttam-ire.*

[3] *Bijjaṇadêv-ântahkaraṇa-rûparuṁ.*

[4] See page 459 above, note 3.

[5] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 219; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 188.

[6] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 183; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 152.

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The Kaḷachuryas of Kalyâṇi.

is the latest record which expressly admits Taila III. as the paramount sovereign of Bijjala.

Shortly after the above date, Bijjala introduced a reckoning of his own, of which the first year was the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1079 current, = A. D. 1156-57, and assumed the *biruda* of Tribhuvanamalla and the designations of *Bhujabala-Chakravartin* and *Kaḷachurya-Chakravartin*. The earliest available record, dated in this reckoning, is an inscription at Aṇṇigere,[1] dated at the winter solstice, in December A.D. 1157, of the month Pausha of the Îśvara *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1080 current), which is here cited as the second year of Bijjala. This record, which exhibits the *biruda* of Tribhuvanamalla and the designation of *Bhujabalu-Chakravartin*, gives to Bijjala only the title of *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*. But it mentions him, with his title, *biruda*, and designation, in a formal preamble, of the usual style, customarily employed only in the case of paramount sovereigns. And, though Bijjala did not assume the full paramount style till A. D. 1162, there can be no doubt that in A. D. 1156 he threw off his allegiance to Taila III., and set himself up on equal terms with that king in part of the latter's dominions. It may be added here that the first instance, among available records, in which the designation *Kaḷachurya-Chakravartin* appears, is an inscription at Hûli in the Beḷgaum District,[2] dated in the month 'Srâvaṇa (July-Aug.), falling in A. D. 1162, of the Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1085 current), cited as the seventh year of Bijjala. The combined designation *Kalachurya-bhujabala-Chakravartin* is met with earlier, in an inscription at Baḷagâṁve,[3] dated probably in Bhâdrapada (Aug.-Sept.), falling in A. D. 1158, of the Bahudhânya *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1081 current), cited as Bijjala's third year.

The records next disclose an occasional use of one of the paramount titles, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, in the place of the feudatory title *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, which, however, as already noted, did not yet fall entirely into abeyance. This new title is first met with in the Hâvêri inscription of December, A.D. 1157; and it is the more noticeable there, because the record also gives the full paramount-titles to Taila III., and is dated in one of his regnal years. It appears also in the Baḷagâṁve inscription of December, A. D. 1158; and in one or two other records, the dates of which are not determinable.

And finally, in A. D. 1162 Bijjala assumed the full paramount epithets and titles of *samastabhuvanâśraya*, *śrîpṛithivîvallabha*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*. The period when this step was taken is determined by inscriptions at Bala-

[1] In the door of the temple of Mâruti or Hanumanta (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 61; verified from an ink-impression).— At the temple of Amṛitêśvara at Aṇṇigere, there appears to be an inscription dated in the month Chaitra of the same *saṁvatsara*, cited again as the second year of Bijjala (*ibid.* p. 65). But I have not found an ink-impression of it in the bundle from Aṇṇigere.— The regnal years of Bijjala, cited in such of the subsequent records as are dated in that way, are all in agreement, as these two are, with the computation of the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara* as his first year.

[2] At the temple of Andhakêśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 444; verified from an ink-impression).

[3] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 182; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 182.

gâṁve[1] and Hûli.[2] In the former,— which is dated at the time of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Pausha, corresponding to the 17th January, A. D. 1162,[3] of the Vishu *saṁvatsara* (S.-S. 1084 current), cited as the sixth year of Bijjala,— though no mention is made of Taila III., the feudatory title of *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* is applied to Bijjala. While, in the latter,— which is dated at the winter solstice on Monday, Pausha kṛishṇa 2, corresponding probably to the 24th December, A. D. 1162,[4] of the Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara*, coupled with S.-S. 1084 (expired),— he has all the paramount titles mentioned above, with the exception of *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*.[5] This Baḷagâṁve inscription further tells us that Bijjala had then encamped at that town, in the course of a progress which was made to secure the southern country. From a combination of all these hints, it is evident that it was at this juncture, in A. D. 1162, that Bijjala completed the usurpation which he had been contemplating, and annexed to himself all the Western Châlukya dominions. And in this final step he appears to have received material assistance from the Silâhâra prince Vijayâditya of Kaiâḍ; for, a Silâhâra record of A. D. 1191 asserts that it was through the friendship of Vijayâditya that Bijjala attained the position of *Chakravartin* or emperor.[6]

Other records of Bijjala mention, as feudatories and officials,—the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Srîdhara, with dates in A. D. 1157 and 1162, who apparently had the government of the territory in the neighbourhood of Aṇṇigere: the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Barmarasa, son of Muñjaladêva of the Sagara lineage, who in A. D. 1161-62 was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand with the approval of his relative Kasapayyanâyaka, who has already been mentioned;[7] the *Mahâpradhâna, Sênâdhipati*, and *Adhikârin* of the Beḷvola district, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Ammaṇa, with the date of A. D. 1163-64; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Sôma or Sôvidêva, of the Kâdambas of Hângal, with the same date; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vijayâditya, of the Silâhâra family of Karâḍ, ruling at Vaḷavâḍa, and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kârtavîrya III., of the Raṭṭa

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1 At the temple of Basavaṇṇa (*Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 67; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.*, No. 184; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 92).

2 At the temple of Agastyêśvara (*Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 77; verified from an ink-impression.)

3 On this day there was an annular eclipse of the sun, visible in India (see Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 226, 227, and Plate 113).

4 The *saṁkrânti*, however, appears to have taken place on the Tuesday, 25th December.

5 Rather curiously, I do not find this title actually used in any records of Bijjala himself, which I can verify; and, as a rule, his successors do not seem to have used it. But it is allotted to him in the Baḷagâṁve inscription of April, A.D.1168, which records his abdication (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 185; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 109), and in another Baḷagâṁve inscription of A. D. 1179 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 45). And there is but little doubt that he did assume and use it, with the other titles.— It is applied to him in the transcript of one of his own inscriptions at Chikka-Kerûr in the Dhârwâr District (on a stone on the bank of the tank; *Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 86). But I have not an ink-impression, by which to check the transcript.

6 That is, adopting Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion (*Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, p. 95, note 6) that, in the record in question (*Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, reprint of 1877, Vol. III. p. 411), *Vîkshaṇa* is a mistake,— whether of the preparer of the lithograph, or of the writer or engraver of the original,—for *Vîjjaṇa* or *Vijjana*.

7 *P.S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 121; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 64.

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family of Saundatti, who are mentioned in a record of A. D. 1165 [1] which says that Bijjala, having subdued all kings, was then reigning over the whole world with the one umbrella of sole sovereignty; a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* of the Sinda family, named Îśvara, with the hereditary title of "lord of Karahâṭa, the best of towns," who in the same year was governing, at Haḷavûr or Haḷḷavûr, several small districts in the Banavâsi and Sântaḷige provinces; the *Mahâpradhâna, Sênâdhipati,* and *Heggaḍe* of the Hânuṁgal district, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Siddhapayya, who was governing the Hânuṁgal five-hundred in the same year; and the *Mahâsâmanta* Kaliyammarasa, of the Jîmûtavâhana lineage and the Khachara race, with a date in A. D. 1167. Slightly subsequent records shew that, during the whole of Bijjala's time, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras* Permâḍi and Vijayâditya II., of the family of the Kâdambas of Goa, were ruling their possessions, the Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred and the Palasige twelve-thousand; but the records do not make it clear that these powerful chieftains acknowledged the sovereignty of Bijjala over their territory. Inscriptions dated in the months Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.) and Pausha (Dec.-Jan.), falling in A. D. 1165, of the Pârthiva *saṁvatsara* (S.-S. 1088 current), cited in one case as Bijjala's tenth year,[2] state that he was then reigning at Kalyâṇa, *i. e.* Kalyâṇi in the Nizâm's Dominions,[3] which had previously been the Western Châlukya capital. And finally, an inscription at Balagâṁve,[4] dated at the time of an eclipse of the moon and a *saṁkrânti* on Sunday, the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha of the Sarvadhârin *saṁvatsara* (S.-S. 1091 current), corresponding, probably, to the 24th April, A.D. 1168, says that, while still happily reigning over the whole earth with un-

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[1] At the Jain temple at Yaksamba in the Belgaum District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 90; verified from an ink-impression).

[2] In front of the temple of Kalamêśvara at Bâḷambîḍ (Hângal tâluka), and on the bank of the tank at Mantagi, in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. pp. 119, 105; both verified from ink-impressions: the Mantagi record cites the *saṁvatsara* as the tenth year; the word *10neya*, given in the transcript of the other record, does not exist in the original).

[3] See page 427 above, note 3.

[4] On a stone on the bank of a tank outside the village (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 133; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 185; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 109. — As regards the date, the Vṛishabha-saṁkrânti, or passage of the sun into Taurus, took place on the day given by me; and the full-moon occurred on the same or the preceding day. The week-day, however, was Wednesday, for the *saṁkrânti*. And Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* shews no eclipse for this full-moon.— In the preceding month Chaitra, the Mêsha-saṁkrânti, or passage of the sun into Aries, took place on the forenoon of Sunday, 24th March. And the *Canon* shews an eclipse of the moon on the Monday. But, as the *saṁkrânti* and eclipse do not both come to the Sunday, there do not appear sufficient grounds for assuming that Vaiśâkha is a mistake for Chaitra. In this record, the Sarvadhârin *saṁvatsara* is cited as the sixteenth of the Kaḷachurya years. The transcript in *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* indeed, substitutes "second" for "sixteenth." But this was done simply because the *saṁvatsara* in question was the second year of Bijjala's son Sômêśvara. And the photograph shews the reading of the original quite clearly and unmistakeably,— *śrîmat-Kaḷachurya-varshada 16neya Sarvadhâri-saṁvatsarada, &c.* This would point to another Kaḷachurya reckoning, of which the first year would be the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1076 current, = A. D. 1153-54,— earlier by three years than the commencement of Bijjala's reckoning. But I have not met with any other date in accordance with such a reckoning. I cannot suggest any historical starting-point for it. And it seems, on the whole, probable that simply a mistake was made, in writing or engraving *16neya* instead of *13neya*.

divided lordship and with the single umbrella of sole sovereignty, Bijjala transferred the burden of government to his dear or favourite son Sôvidêva, who was reigning at the time when this record was drawn up. The latest known date for Bijjala is the new-moon day of the month Ashâḍha, corresponding approximately to the 19th July, A. D. 1167, of the Sarvâjit *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1090 current), cited as his twelfth year.[1] The subsequent records shew that the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara* was reckoned as the first year of Sôvidêva. And the abdication of Bijjala is, accordingly, to be placed in A. D. 1167, at any time after the 19th July.

In addition to Sôvidêva, in whose favour he abdicated, Bijjala left three other sons, Saṅkama, Âhavamalla, and Siṅghaṇa, who also succeeded to the throne. And inscriptions of A. D. 1179 and 1180 at Rôṇ[2] and Sûḍi[3] in the Dhârwâr District, tell us that, by a wife named Êchaladêvî,— who was probably not the mother of Sôvidêva and the others of that group,— he had a son Vajradêva, and a daughter, Siriyâdêvî, who was married to the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Châvuṇḍa II., of the Sinda family of Yelburga.[4]

The period to which Bijjala belonged was remarkable for a revival of the worship of 'Siva, or for a fresh impetus to the 'Saiva faith with elaborated and improved rites and practices, which culminated in the establishment of a new sect of 'Sivabhaktas or worshippers of 'Siva, called technically Vîra-'Saivas, *i. e.* "brave, fierce, or strict 'Saivas," or "'Saiva champions," and popularly Liṅgâyats or Liṅgawants, *i. e.* "those who have the *liṅga* or phallic emblem." The Liṅgâyats— (using the appellation by which all average members of the sect would describe themselves)— are outwardly distinguished from the ordinary 'Saivas by the practice of carrying about with them a miniature *liṅga*, usually in a silver box suspended from the neck and hanging about the waist. And the chief characteristics of their faith and practices are, adoration of the *liṅga* and of 'Siva's bull Nandi, hostility to Brâhmaṇs, disbelief in the transmigration of the soul, contempt for child-marriage, and approval and habitual practice of the remarriage of widows. They are found chiefly in the Kanarese country; their vernacular is Kanarese; and it is due almost entirely to them that this beautiful, highly polished, and powerful language has been preserved, in later times, amidst the constant inroads of Marâṭhâs from the north. They now constitute about thirty-five per cent of the total Hindû population in the Belgaum, Bijâpur, and Dhârwâr Districts.[5] In

1 In an inscription at the temple of Gôpâlasvâmin at Chikka-Muddanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 120; verified, and corrected in respect of the *tithi*, from an ink-impression).

2 At a temple of Îśvara in front of the house of the Gireḍḍiyavaru (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 221; verified from an ink-impression).

3 On the premises of Akkivaravva of Saṅkanûr, in the fort (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 226; verified from an ink-impression).

4 See chapter VIII. below.

5 For detailed accounts of them in these districts, with their doctrines, customs, &c., and their divisions into Pure, Affiliated, and Half-Liṅgâyats, see the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XXI. Belgaum, pp. 149-151; Vol. XXII. Dhârwâr, pp. 102-116; and Vol. XXIII. Bijâpur, pp. 219-280.— For a more general account, see an "Essay on the Creed, Customs, and Literature of the Jaṅgams," by Mr. C. P. Brown, in the *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science*, Vol. XI. pp. 143-177.

Mysore and the Kôlhâpur State, they number about ten per cent. of the Hindû population. And they are also found, but in smaller proportions, in the districts of Poona, Shôlâpur, Sâtârâ, and North Kanara. Elsewhere, they are constantly met with; but as the result of the migration of isolated families, mostly in connection with trade and manufactures. In the Bijâpur and Dhârwâr Districts, and possibly in the neighbouring parts of the Nizâm's Dominions and Mysore, the sect appears to be still steadily gaining ground. And an interesting internal movement was observable in 1891, when large numbers of the members of it claimed to have themselves entered in the census returns under the designation of Vîra-'Saivas, in preference to that of Liṅgâyats, with which they had been content on previous similar occasions.

According to the tradition of the Liṅgâyats themselves, as embodied in their principal sacred writings, the *Basava-Purâṇa* and *Channabasava-Purâṇa*,[1] the establishment of the new sect, and certain events, connected with it, which ended in the assassination of Bijjala, were as follows:—

To a certain Mâdirâja and his wife Madalâmbikâ, pious 'Saivas of the Brâhmaṇ caste, and residents of a place named Bâgewâḍi which is usually supposed to be the subdivisional town of that name in the Bijâpur District there was born a son, who, being an incarnation of 'Siva's bull Nandi, sent to earth to revive the declining 'Saiva rites, was named Basava.[2] When the usual time of investiture had arrived, Basava, then eight years of age, having meanwhile acquired much knowledge of the 'Saiva scriptures, refused to be invested with the sacred Brâhmaṇical thread; declaring himself a special worshipper of 'Siva, and stating that he had come to destroy the distinctions of caste. This refusal, with his singular wisdom and piety, attracted the favourable notice of his uncle Baladêva, "prime minister"[3] of Bijjala, who had come to be present at the ceremony; and Baladêva gave him his daughter Gaṅgâdêvî or Gaṅgâmbâ in marriage.[4] The Brâhmaṇs, however, began to persecute Basava, on account of the novel practices propounded by him. And he consequently left his native town, and went to a village named 'Kappadi,' where he spent his early years receiving instruction there from the god 'Siva, in the form of the local idol Saṁgamêśvara.[5]

Meanwhile, his uncle Baladêva died. At the advice of the deceased minister's relatives, Bijjala decided on securing the services of Basava, whose ability and virtues had now become publicly known. After

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1 Abstract translations of these two works, by the Rev. G. Würth, have been published in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. pp. 65-97 and 98-221, from which I quote.

2 *loc. cit.* p. 67.—The word *basava* is treated as a corruption of the Sanskrit *vrishabha*, 'a bull,' in its special designation of Nandi, the bull on which 'Siva rides.—From Wilson's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*, p. 305, it would appear that some versions of the *Basava-Purâṇa* substitute, for Bâgewâḍi, Iṅgḷêshwar, which is a village in the same neighbourhood.

3 The *Mackenzie Collection*, however, gives the technical official title *Daṇḍanâyaka* or 'leader of the forces,' which would not necessarily denote a prime minister.

4 *loc. cit.* p. 67.

5 *loc. cit.* p. 68.

some demur, Basava accepted the office; having the hope that the influence attached to the post would help him in propagating his peculiar tenets. And, accompanied by his elder sister Nâgalâmbikâ, he proceeded from 'Kappadi' to Kalyâṇa, where he was welcomed with deference by the king, and was installed as prime minister, commander-in-chief, and treasurer,— second in power to only the king himself;[1] and the king, in order to bind him as closely as possible to himself, gave him his younger sister Nîlalôchanâ to wife.[2]

Somewhere about this time, from Basava's unmarried elder sister Nâgalâmbikâ, who was an incarnation of the intelligence of the goddess Pârvatî, there was born, by the working of the spirit of 'Siva, a son, who was an incarnation of 'Siva's son Shaṇmukha or Kârttikêya, the god of war.[3] Because, the *Chaṇṇabasava-Purâṇa* says, he was more beautiful than Basava in many respects, he was named Channabasava, *i. e.* "the beautiful Basava."[4] And he perhaps played a more important part than even Basava himself in the propagation of the tenets of the new sect; for, Basava is represented as receiving from him instruction on important points connected with it.[5]

The two *Purâṇas* are occupied, for the most part, with doctrinal expositions, recitals of mythology, praises of previous 'Saiva saints, and accounts of miracles worked by Basava. And it is only quite at the end of each of them, that we come again on any historical matter. They shew, however, that, with the influence that his official position gave the uncle, Basava and his nephew propagated with great energy and activity their doctrines, which included the persecution and extermination of all persons,— and especially the Jains,— whose creed differed from that of the Liṅgâyats.[6] Coupled with the lavish expenditure incurred by Basava, from the public coffers, on the support of the Jaṅgams or Liṅgâyat priests, the proceedings naturally aroused in Bijjala, who was of the Jain faith,[7] feelings of uneasiness and distrust, which appear to have been fanned from time to time by a rival minister named Mañchaṇṇa, in spite of the latter being himself, in secret, a Vîra-'Saiva.[8] And at length an event occurred, which ended in the assassination of Bijjala and the death of Basava.

At Kalyâṇa, there were two specially pious Liṅgâyats, named 'Halleyaga' and 'Madhuveyya,' whom Bijjala, in mere wantonness, caused to be blinded. Thereupon, says the *Basava-Purâṇa*,[9] Basava, — himself leaving Kalyâṇa for a place named 'Kudali-Saṅgamês-vara,'— deputed one of his followers, Jagaddêva, to slay the king. And Jagaddêva, with two unnamed friends, succeeded in making his way into the palace and accomplishing his errand,— stabbing the king even in the midst of his court. Civil war ensued. And, the news reaching Basava as he was journeying, he hastened on his way, and, reaching

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1 *loc. cit.* p. 69.
2 *loc. cit.* p. 70.
3 *loc. cit.* pp. 118, 119, 120.
4 *loc. cit.* p. 121.
5 *loc. cit.* p. 125.
6 *loc. cit.* p. 71.
7 *loc. cit.* p. 78.
8 *loc. cit.* pp. 78, 88, 128.
9 *loc. cit.* pp. 96, 97.

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'Kudali-Saṁgamêśvara,' was there absorbed into the god;[1] while Channabasava fled to Uḷavi, in North Kanara, where he found refuge in a cave.

The *Channabasava-Purâṇa* gives a somewhat different account.[2] It places first the death of Basava, who, it says, was absorbed in Saṁgamêśvara in the month Phâlguna, falling in A. D. 785, of the Raktâkshin *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 707 (current);[3] and the only reason that it assigns, is, that the news had reached Basava that a certain Prabhu, who was an incarnation of 'Siva,[4] had left Kalyâṇa, and had been absorbed into 'Siva in a plantain-tree at 'Srîśaila. On the death of Basava, Bijjala appointed Channabasava to the office that had been held by his uncle. After this, the king caused the pious 'Halleija' and 'Madhuveija' to be tied to a rope and dragged about the ground till they died. In revenge for this, Bijjala was slain by two torch-bearers, named Jagaddêva and Bommaṇa. Then Channabasava, who had meantime sent away many Liṅgâyats to Uḷavi under the pretext of celebrating a feast in honour of the god Jaṁgamêśvara (? Saṁgamêśvara), gathered together his horses and men, and left Kalyâṇa to follow and join them. The "son-in-law" of Bijjala started in pursuit. And a battle ensued, in which the pursuers were destroyed, and the king was taken captive. At the advice of Nâgalâmbikâ, however, Channabasava restored the slain army to life; and, having impressed upon the king that he should not persecute the Liṅgâyats, as his predecessor had done, but should walk in righteousness, he anointed him, and sent him back to govern his country.[5]

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[1] According to Sir Walter Elliot (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. IV. p. 22, note; and *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science*, Vol. VII. p. 214, note), the place of Basava's absorption is said to be Saṅgam, in the Hungund tâluka, Bijâpur District, at the junction of the Krishṇa and the Malparbhâ, where, he added, a depression in the *liṅga* at the temple of Saṁgamêśvara is still pointed out as the exact spot into which Basava entered. I am not prepared to deny the correctness of these statements. Still, as regards the true identification of the place, the prefix 'Kudali' seems to me to point rather to the historically much more important (see, *e.g.*, page 445 above note 1) Kûḍal-Saṅgam, at the junction of the Krishṇa and the Tuṅgabhadrâ.

[2] *loc. cit.* pp. 219, 220. This part of the narrative is put as a prophecy in the mouth of Channabasava.

[3] The *Channabasavanna-Kâlajñâna* (Wilson's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*, pp. 312, 313,) gives the month Phâlguna of 'Saka-Saṁvat 696, equivalent, as a current year, to A. D. 773-74.

[4] *loc. cit.* pp. 71, 72.

[5] The *Purâṇa* ends with various other prophecies, not connected with the present subject, to the effect that the king, thus anointed, should reign for sixty years from the death of Basava; that then, at a time when the Hoysaḷa kingdom was flourishing, the Turks,—(the original probably has Turushkas),—led by the giant Pîtâmbara, born among them by the blessing of 'Siva, should come and vanquish Bijjala, destroy Kalyâṇa, kill cattle in the temple of 'Siva, erect a mosque there, and build the town of Kalburigi; that the kings of Ânegundi should build the town of Vijayanagara, near Hampe; that Pîtâmbara and his house should reign over the land for seven hundred and seventy years; that then there should arise a king named Vasantarâya, who would drive the Turks out of the country and restore Kalyâṇa; that, all the 'Saiva saints coming to life again, Channabasava should become the prime minister of this king, and Basava the commander of his forces; and that thus the Liṅgâyat religion should be re-established and greatly increased.—This *Purâṇa* was written in A. D. 1585 (*loc. cit.* p. 221). And these "prophecies" are, of course, nothing but confused reminiscences of intervening history.

The Jain account, as given in the *Bijjalarâyacharitra*,[1] puts things very differently. Basava's influence with the king is attributed to the fact that he had a very beautiful sister, whom the king took as a concubine. And the end of Bijjala and Basava is related thus:— Bijjala had marched against and subdued the Kôlhâpur chief, *i.e.* the Silâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, who must have committed some act of rebellion. During a halt on the way back to Kaḷyâṇa, a Jaṅgam arrived, sent by Basava, and disguised as a Jain, and presented the king with a poisoned fruit, the mere smell of which caused his death. He had time, however, before dying, to tell his son Immaḍi-Bijjala, *i. e.* "the second Bijjala,"[2] that it was Basava who had sent the fruit, and to enjoin him to put Basava to death. Immaḍi-Bijjala accordingly ordered that Basava should be apprehended, and that all the Jaṅgams, wherever seized, should be executed. And, on hearing this, Basava threw himself into a well, and died; while his wife "Nîlâmbâ" poisoned herself. Channabasava, however, after Immaḍi-Bijjala's resentment was allayed, presented his uncle's treasures to the king, and was admitted to favour and to a ministerial office at court.[3]

Such are the traditional accounts. There are, however, no apparent reasons for attributing, either to the Liṅgâyat *Purâṇas*, or to the Jain poem, any greater historical accuracy than other Hindû works of the same class have been found to possess. And, on the contrary, there are fair grounds for questioning the correctness of the narratives given by them. The Liṅgâyat and Jain accounts differ very markedly; to a far greater extent than can be accounted for on simply the supposition of a representation of true facts from different sectarian points of view. In respect of the circumstances immediately attending the deaths of Bijjala and Basava, even the Liṅgâyat *Purâṇas* are not at all in accordance with each other. The *Channabasava-Purâṇa* allots to these events the absurd date of A. D. 785, which is too early by close upon four centuries. Even the Jain poem appears to place them,[4] not only twelve years before the time, in A.D. 1167, when Bijjala, still alive, abdicated in favour of his eldest son, but also even before the time, in A. D. 1156, when Bijjala established himself as king. No epigraphic mention of Basava and Channabasava has been obtained; which is peculiar, if they really held the high office that is allotted to them by tradition. And finally, in the only epigraphic record which has come to notice, containing an allusion of any kind to the revival of the Saiva faith and rites, the indication is that it was a Brâhmaṇ named Êkântada-Râmayya, to whom the movement owed its origin.

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[1] *loc. cit.* p. 97; and Wilson's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*, p. 320.

[2] This doubtless denotes Sôvidêva. But there is no epigraphic evidence for calling him Immaḍi-Bijjala.

[3] Sir Walter Elliot has said that Basava's sister, who became the king's mistress, was named Padmâvatî; that it was at Uḷavi that Basava drowned himself; and that these events occurred, according to the Jain poem, in Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4255 (expired), = Saka-Saṁvat 1077 (current), = A.D. 1154-55 (*i.e.*, before even the time when Bijjala commenced his independent career). But I have not been able to find the authority for these statements.

[4] See the preceding note.

Chapter V.
The Kaḷachuryas of Kalyâṇi.

The record in question is an undated inscription, of the time of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kâmadêva (about A. D. 1181 to 1203), of the family of the Kâdambas of Hângal, at Ablûr in the Dhârwâr District.[1] And it gives the following narrative, which, if we discount the supernatural agency and the miracle, is reasonable and verisimilar enough:—

Among the Brâhmaṇs at a town named Alande in the Kuntala country, where there was a temple of the god Śiva under the name of Sômanâtha, there was one named Purushôttamabhaṭṭa, of the Vatsa or Śrîvatsa *gôtra*, well versed in all the Vêdas and Vêdâṅgas. His wife was Padmâmbike. He and she lived together for some time, without having any offspring. And Purushôttamabhaṭṭa began to do special worship to Śiva, in order to obtain a son. One day, when Śiva, with Pârvatî, Brahman, Vishṇu, and Indra, and a countless host of his *Gaṇas* or attendants, was in public assembly on the mountain Kailâsa, a leader of the *Gaṇas*, named Nârada, stood out and represented that, while Ôhila, Dâsa, Chenna, Siriyâḷa, Halâyudha, Bâṇa, Udbhaṭa, Malayêśvara who came to Kailâsa in human form, Kêśavarâja,[2] and countless other *Gaṇas*, resigning the happiness of earthly life, had been dwelling in Kailâsa, engaged in the worship of Śiva, an opportunity had arisen for the Jains and Buddhists to become predominant and aggressive. Thereupon Śiva commanded his son or attendant Vîrabhadra to make a portion of himself incarnate, in the person of a man who should restrain these hostile rites. And Vîrabhadra appeared to Purushôttamabhaṭṭa in a dream, in the guise of a hermit, and announced to him that he should have a son, who was to be called Râma, and who should discomfit all those, in the *dakshiṇâpatha* or Dekkan, who had gone astray into the paths of the Jains. In due course, a son was born to Purushôttamabhaṭṭa. According to the god's command, he was named Râma. In conformity with his divine origin, he was taught to practise the Śaiva rites, with a view to ultimate absorption into Śiva. And, by the exclusiveness and intensity of his devotion to Śiva, he acquired the name of Êkântada-Râmayya or "the single-minded Râmayya." At various sacred Śaiva sites, with speech, body, and mind entirely given up to Śiva, he worshipped all the Sômanâthas of the south. And at length he did worship at the shrine of Sômanâtha at Huligere, *i.e.* at Lakshmêshwar in the Dhârwâr District. There the god appeared in person to him, and gave him the command to go to Ablûr,—to take up his abode there,— to enter fearlessly into controversy with the Jains,— and to defeat them by wagering his head. Accordingly, he established himself at Ablûr, and continued to practise ascetism at a place there known as the site of the god Brahmêśvara. One day, the Jains, led by one of the village-headmen named Saṅkagâvuṇḍa, assembled, and began to persistently sing the praises of Jina, as the sole god, in the vicinity of the image of Śiva which he worshipped. He remonstrated; maintaining that no other god deserved to be praised in

[1] At the temple of Sômanâtha, on the right of the god (*Carn-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 121; I quote, however, from an ink-impression).
[2] These persons were famous Śaiva saints, and are mostly mentioned in the *Basava-Purâṇa.*

the neighbourhood of 'Siva. And, on their refusing to desist, he then began to sing the praises of 'Siva, as the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer, and as the god whose essence pervades the whole universe. The Jains then challenged him to decapitate himself and offer his head to 'Siva, in the presence of all the people; promising that, if his head should be restored to him, they would admit that 'Siva was indeed the one god, and Êkântada-Râmayya his true disciple. And, being asked to wager something against his head, they further bound themselves by a writing on a palmyra leaf, to demolish their Jina and set up an image of 'Siva, in the event of his success. Then, singing the praises of 'Siva, Êkântada-Râmayya cut off his own head with a scimitar, and laid it at the feet of his god. On the seventh day, it was found by all the people that Êkântada-Râmayya's head was restored to him, without a scar. The Jains, however, failed to keep their word. And so he himself, in spite of their guards, their horses, their chieftains, and the troops that they sent against him, broke off the head of their Jina, and presented it as an offering to his own god; and, as is gathered from subsequent parts of the record, set up an image of 'Siva, under the name of Vîra-Sômanâtha, at Ablûr, and built a temple for it, "as large," the record says, "as a mountain."[1] The Jains went and complained to Bijjala, who became much enraged, and sent for Êkântada-Râmayya, and questioned him as to why he had committed so gross an outrage on the Jains. Thereupon Êkântada-Râmayya produced the writing on the palmyra leaf, which he asked Bijjala to deposit in his treasury, and offered that, if the Jains would wager their seven-hundred temples, including the Ânesejjeya-*basadi*,[2] he would repeat the feat; and he undertook even to allow his opponents to burn his head, and still to recover it. Wishing to see the spectacle, Bijjala called all the learned men of the Jain temples together, and bade them wager their temples, repeating the conditions on a palmyra leaf. The Jains, however, would not face the test again. So Bijjala, laughing at them, dismissed them with the advice that thenceforth they should live peaceably with their neighbours, and gave Êkântada-Râmayya, in public assembly, a *jayapatra* or certificate of success. Also, pleased with the unsurpassed daring with which Êkântada-Râmayya had displayed his devotion to 'Siva, he laved Râmayya's feet, and granted to the temple of Vîra-Sômanâtha a village named Gôgâve in the Sattalige seventy in the Banâvasi twelve-thousand.[3] Subsequently, the record says, when the Western Châlukya king

[1] A short inscription on a sculptured stone, somewhere outside the temple, commemorates "the bravery displayed by Êkântada-Râmayya at the place of the god Brahmêśvara, in cutting off his head when the Jina of the *basadi* was wagered against it;" and adds, that in spite of the forces which Saṅkagâvuṇḍa brought against hm, Râmayya fought and conquered, and broke the Jina. The sculptures shew, to the right, a fight, and on the left a *liṅga*, with a standing priest and a kneeling figure,— the latter being evidently intended for Râmayya in the act of offering the head of the Jina.

[2] This was,— and perhaps still is,— a celebrated Jain temple at Lakshmêshwar. It is mentioned in other records also.

[3] Êkântada-Râmayya is mentioned, with the story of his cutting off his head, in the *Channabasava-Purâṇa* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 198). But the controversy, in the course of which he cut off his head, is there attributed to a Jain having entered a 'Saiva temple without removing his shoes; and the occurrence is located at Kalyâṇa, where, it is said, Râmayya had gone in order to see Bijjala, whose fame had spread in all directions.

Chapter V.
The Kaḷachuryas of Kalyâṇi.

Sômêśvara IV. and his commander-in-chief Brahma were at 'Seleyahalliya-koppa, a public assembly was held, in which recital was made of the merits of ancient and recent 'Saiva saints. The story of Êkântada-Râmayya being told, Sômêśvara IV. wrote a letter summoning him into his own presence at his palace, and laved his feet, and granted to the same temple a village in the Nâgarakhaṇḍa seventy in the Banavâsi twelve-thousand. And finally, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kâmadêva went and saw the temple, heard all the story, summoned Êkântada-Râmayya to Hângal, and there laved his feet and granted to the temple a village named Mallavaḷḷi, near Muṇḍagôḍ, in the Hosanâḍ seventy in the Pâṇuṁgal five-hundred.

In this account, there is nothing inconsistent with the possibility of the revival of the 'Saiva religion having been largely helped on, and of the establishment of the Liṅgâyat sect having been actually effected, by persons named Basava and Channabasava; and even of Bijjala having been assassinated, after his abdication, in connection with some political opposition to the movement, which he may have instigated or favoured.[1] But the narrative plainly indicates a totally different person, Êkântada-Râmayya, as the originator of the movement. And, as the record describes Bijjala as simply a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* when he made his grant to the temple, the event has to be placed in the time of Taila III., before A.D. 1162, when Bijjala completed his usurpation of the sovereignty.

Sômêśvara-Sôvidêva.

As we have already seen, in A.D. 1167 Bijjala abdicated in favour of his eldest son Sômêśvara, who, to distinguish him from the Western Châlukya king of the same name who was almost contemporaneous with him, will be most conveniently spoken of by that form of his name, *viz*. Sôvidêva, which occurs most frequently in the records of his time.[2] He had the *birudas* of Bhujabalamalla, "the powerful wrestler," and Râya-Murâri, "a very Vishṇu among kings."[3] He used the paramount epithets and titles of *samastabhuvanâśraya*, *śrîpṛithivîvallabha*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*[4]; and he was also styled *Kaḷachurya-Chakravartin* and *Kaḷachurya-bhujabala Chakravartin*. His wife, or one of his wives, was Sâvaḷadêvî, who is described, not only as highly skilled in music and dancing, but also as displaying her accomplishments in public,— a performance, which the less generous Hindû customs of the present day would

[1] That the Kaḷachuryas met with some disaster about that time, may be inferred from the description of Saṅkama's *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kâvaṇa as *Kaḷachurya-râjya-samuddharaṇa*, "the upraiser of the sovereignty of the Kaḷachuryas."

[2] It occurs probably in all the formal preambles, and in all the dates which are given according to his regnal years; and it sometimes occurs even in ordinary passages; where one would expect a Sanskṛit form to be preferred.— He is called Sôma in, *e.g.*, the Baḷagâṁve inscription of A.D. 1168, which records the transfer of the sovereignty to him; and Sômêśvara in, *e.g.*, the Harasûr inscription of A.D. 1173, which gives one of the traditional accounts of the origin of the family.— The transcripts in *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* usually, if not quite always, represent the name as 'Sôyidêva,'— with *y*, instead of *v*. This, however, is not in accordance with any of the texts known to me. The form Sôyidêva does occur in other instances; but not in the case of Bijjala's son.

[3] The latter of these occurs in almost every record. The former is met with in an inscription of A.D. 1170 at the temple of Mallikârjuna at Kukkanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 138), and in the Kâḷigi inscription of A.D. 1173 (*ibid.* p. 165.)

[4] *e.g.*, in the Kâḷigi inscription of A.D. 1173 (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 165.)

render impossible.[1] The records shew that the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1090 current, = A. D. 1167-68, was counted as the first year of his reign.[2] One of them, dated in the month Chaitra (March April), falling in A. D. 1172, of the Nandana *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1094 (expired),[3] states that he was then reigning at Kalyâṇa, which undoubtedly was in his possession. But he had also a seat of government at a place named Modeganûr, or Modeganûra-Kuppaḍe, which has to be looked for somewhere in the Nizâm's Dominions.[4] The records do not disclose any historical events.[5] But they mention, as feudatories and officials,—the *Mahâsâmanta*, *Sên-âdi-bâhattara-niyôg-âdhishṭhâyaka*, *Mahâpradhâna*, *Sarvâdhikârin*, *Mahâpasâyita*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Boḷikeya-Kêśimayya, who is said, in a record of A. D. 1168, to have been governing the Tardavâḍi thousand, the Hânuṁgal five-hundred, and the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, for a long time, and for whom we have also dates in A.D. 1169, 1170, and 1172, in records which further describe him as *Heggaḍe* of the Banavâsi province and the Huligeṟe district, *Suṅka-paṇṇâyad-adhishṭhâyaka*, and *Kannaḍa-Heri-Lâḷa-saṁdhivigrahin*; Bijjala and Vikrama, sons of the Sinda *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Châvuṇḍa II., and nephews of Sôvidêva himself, who in A.D. 1169-70 were ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy, the Bâgaḍage seventy, and the Keḷavâḍi three-hundred; the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Têjirâja, *Adhikârin* of the Belvola district and *Bâhattara-niyôg-âdhipati*, with the date of A.D. 1170; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Îśvara, of the Sinda family, with the title of "lord of

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[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 272, 279.—Padmaladêvî, Châvalidêvî, and Boppadêvî, the three wives of the Hoysaḷa Ballâḷa I., are also described as highly accomplished in singing and dancing (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 330); and 'Sântaladêvî, one of the wives of Ballâḷa's son Vishṇuvardhana, who himself was "joyfully inclined to the cultivation of dancing and other sciences" and "skilled in the art of dancing and the various modes of music" (*id.* pp. 261, 263), is described as "perfect in song, music, and dancing" (*Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 56.)

[2] The following instances are reliable:— (1) An inscription in a Jain temple at Lakkuṇḍi in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 153; verified from an ink-impression), is dated in Paushha of the Nandana *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1095 current) which is cited as his sixth year. (2) An inscription at a temple of Basavaṇṇa at Yêûr, in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 170; verified from an ink-impression), is dated in Kârttika of the Vijaya *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1096 current), which is cited as his seventh year. (3) An inscription at Narsâpur, in either the Gadag or the Kôḍ tâluka of the same district (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 101), is dated in Pausha of the Vijaya *saṁvatsara*, which here again is cited as his seventh year. (4) An inscription on a beam in a temple in the fort at Lakkuṇḍi (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 179) is dated in Mârgaśîrsha of the Jaya *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1097 current), which is cited as his eighth year. And (5) an inscription at the temple of Gôpâlasvâmin at Chikka-Muddanûr, in the Nizâm's Dominions, which is represented in the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 136, as being dated in his third year, the Virôdhin *saṁvatsara*, is in reality dated, as plainly as could possibly be—(I quote from an ink-impression),—in Âśvina of the Manmatha *saṁvatsara*, ('S.-S. 1098 current), which is cited as his ninth year.

[3] At a temple of Basavaṇṇa at Yaḷawâḷ, in the neighbourhood of Ânawaṭṭi in Mysore (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 161).

[4] An inscription at the temple of Mallikârjuna at Kukkanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 138), dated in Kârttika, falling in A.D. 1170, of the Vikriti *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1092 (expired), says that he was then reigning at Modeganûra-Kuppaḍe. And the Kâḷigi inscription of A.D. 1173 (*ibid.* p. 165) mentions Modeganûr as the *neleviḍu* where he was then reigning.

[5] For one which has been published with the text, see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 269 (from Kokaṭnûr; of A.D. 1174).

Chapter V.

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Karahâṭa, the best of towns," who in A.D. 1172 was governing at Hallavûr; the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Vâsudêva, son of the Kêśimayya mentioned above, with the same date, A.D. 1172; the *Mahâpradhâna, Sênâdhipati, Bâhattara-niyôg-âdhipati,* and *Hiriya-Daṇḍanâyaka* Mâdhavayya, with the date of A. D. 1173; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Râmadêvarasa, "lord of Koppaṇa, the best of towns," and belonging to the lineage of Nâcharâja, with the same date; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Goṅkarasa, of the Bâṇa race, son of Udayâditya-Vîra-Kâḷarasa who was the son of Vîra-Goṅkarasa, with the same date; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Sôvidêvarasa, doubtless of the family of the Kâdambas of Hângal, and his *Pradhâna*, the *Haṭṭabôva* Âcharasa, with the same date, A. D. 1173; a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* of the Kâdamba stock, apparently named Pâṇḍyadêvarasa, with the date of A. D. 1174; the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Mahêśvaradêvarasa, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Mâyidêvarasa, *Suṅkaveggaḍe* of the Belvola and Huligere districts, and Indrakêśidêvarasa, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* of the Huligere district, with the same date; the *Mahâpradhâna, Sênâdhipati,* and *Daṇḍanâyaya,* the *kumâra* Bammidêvarasa, with the date of A.D. 1175;[1] and the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Sômadêva, son of the *Mahâpradhâna, Sênâdhipati,* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Ammanayya, with the date of A. D. 1176. Also contemporaneous records shew that in A. D. 1169 and 1170 the Pâṇḍya *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vijaya-Pâṇḍyadêva, "lord of Kâñchî, the best of towns," was ruling the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand at Uchchaṅgî;[2] and that, during part of Sôvidêva's reign, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras* Permâḍi and Vijayâditya, of the family of the Kâdambas of Goa, and, after them, Vijayâditya's son Jayakêśin III., for the rest of the reign, were ruling the Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred and the Palasige twelve-thousand: but it is doubtful whether the Kaḷachurya sovereignty was acknowledged by these powerful feudatories in such outlying parts of the kingdom. The latest date on record for Sôvidêva is the full-moon day of the month Mâgha of the Durmukha *saṁvatsara* (Saka-Saṁvat 1099 current), which is cited as his tenth year. The corresponding English date is, approximately, the 16th January, A.D. 1177.

Saṅkama.

Sôvidêva was succeeded by his younger brother Saṅkama, who had the *biruda* of Niśśaṅkamalla, "the wrestler, free from apprehension."[3] The records give him the same paramount epithets and titles that are allotted to Sôvidêva. And he was styled *Kaḷachurya-Chakravartin* and *Kaḷachurya-bhujabala-Chakravartin,* like his predecessors, and also *Niśśaṅkamalla-Chakravartin.* The earliest date actually connected with his name, is the new-moon day of Bhâdrapada of the Vilambin *saṁvatsara,* Saka-Saṁvat 1100 (expired), corresponding to the 13th September, A.D. 1178.[4] But his accession

[1] This is the Brahma who, about eight years later, restored the sovereignty to the Western Châlukyas in the person of Sômêśvara IV. (see page 464 above).

[2] Inscriptions at Dâvaṇgere and Harihar (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* Nos. 141, 118; *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 23, 51).

[3] This term appears also in connection with Permâḍi and Bijjala; but, in their cases, only in the full string of Kaḷachurya epithets and titles,— not in the customary place for a special *biruda*, to which, in the case of Saṅkama, the records transfer it.

[4] From the inscription at the temple of Maḥammâyi at Kukkanûr (see page 469 above, and note 3).

to the throne was probably in A.D. 1177. And there are indications that he was associated in the sovereignty, with Sôvidêva, from some time in A.D. 1176.[1] An inscription at Harihar, the date of which is illegible,[2] mentions Kalyâṇa as the capital of Saṅkama. And the Kukkanûr inscription of A.D. 1178 shews that he, also, had a second seat of government at Modeganûr. The records of his reign[3] mention, as feudatories and officials,—the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Lâḷakhaṇḍeyakâṛar-adhishṭhâyaka*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Lakhmidêvayya, with the date of A. D. 1178; the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kâvaṇa or Kâvaṇayya, "the upraiser of the sovereignty of the Kaḷachuryas," and the commander-in-chief of all the forces, who is mentioned in the Harihar inscription as having come to the Banavâsi province after having conquered the southern country, and in the Baḷagâṁve inscription of A. D. 1179 as having come to that place in the course of a pleasure-trip to the southern provinces, which he had made in company with the *Piriya-Daṇḍanâyaka* Lakmidêva, the *Bâhattara-niyôg-âdhishṭhâyaka* Chaṇḍugidêva, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Rêchaṇayya, and the *Sarvâdhikârin* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Sôvaṇayya;[4] the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Sênâdhipati*, *Banavâsi-nâḍa-hergaḍe*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kêśirâjayya, with the date of A.D. 1179, who is elsewhere mentioned as governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, at Baḷagâṁve, in conjunction with the *Mahâpradhânas* Kâvaṇa and Sômaṇa; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Sampakarasa,

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[1] The succession is said to have been immediate, without any interval (*tat-samanantaradoḷ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 46, text line 13). And some of the records tend to make his reckoning overlap with that of Sôvidêva. Thus, an inscription on a pillar near a well at Yêûr in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 216; verified from an ink-impression) is dated in Âśvina of the Vikârin *saṁvatsara* (Śaka-Saṁvat 1102 current), and cites the *saṁvatsara* as his fourth year. In agreement with this, an inscription on the premises of the *Pûjârî* Mahâdêvappa of the temple of Trikûṭêśvara at Gadag in the Dhârwâr District (*ibid.* p. 237; verified from an ink-impression), dated in Mârgaśîrsha of the Śârvarin *saṁvatsara* (Ś.-S. 1103 current), cites this *saṁvatsara* as his fifth year. And these two records point to the Durmukha *saṁvatsara*, Ś.-S. 1099 current, = A.D. 1176-77, — (or, at least, to the remnant of it, in A.D. 1177, after the latest date that is on record for Sôvidêva),— being reckoned as his first year. On the other hand, an inscription at Baḷagâṁve (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 183, the second part; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 152), dated in Chaitra of the Vikârin *saṁvatsara*, cites Vikârin as his third year; which would make the Hêmalambin *saṁvatsara*, Ś. S. 1100 current, = A.D. 1177-78, the first year of his reckoning. But another Baḷagâṁve inscription (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions* No. 189, the first part; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 75; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 45), dated in Vaiśâkha of the same *saṁvatsara* Vikârin, cites it as his fifth year; and this indicates, for his first year, the Manmatha *saṁvatsara* Ś.-S. 1098 current, = A.D. 1175-76, which was the ninth year, and not even the last year, of Sôvidêva. These are the only instances for which I can vouch. And the entries in the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* some of which are in agreement with the reckoning of the Durmukha *saṁvatsara* as the first year, while others differ far more than even the two dates quoted just above, cannot be relied on either way: for, *e.g.*, in the case of the Balagâṁve inscription which really cites Vikârin as the fifth year, the transcript (*op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 217) represents it as citing that *saṁvatsara* as the fourth year; an inscription at the temple of Basavaṇṇa at Hagariṭigi in the Nizâm's Dominions (*ibid.* p. 57) is represented as citing the Vikritin *saṁvatsara* (Ś.-S. 1093 current) as the third year of Saṅkama, though, in reality, it did not fall within his time at all; and another inscription at Hagariṭigi, on the premises of Pawâḍeppa (*ibid.* p. 58) is represented as citing the Vikârin *saṁvatsara* as his twelfth year.

[2] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions* No. 122; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60.

[3] For one which has been edited with the text, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 45 (at Baḷagaṁve; of A.D. 1179).

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 49.

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The Kalachuryas of Kalyâṇi.

evidently belonging to the Gutta family of Guttal, with the date of A.D. 1179; the Hoysala *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Ballâla II., who, in A.D. 1179, joined with his *piriy-arasi* or senior wife Rêmâdêvî in making a grant to the god Harihareśvara at Kaulûr in the Nizâm's Dominions; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras*, of some unknown family, Hariharadêvarasa and his son Mallidêvarasa, with the date of A. D. 1180 for the latter of them; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vikrama, of the Sinda family of Yelburga, who in the same year was ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy; and the *Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara* Vîra-Goṅkarasa, with the date of A. D. 1180. The latest date on record for Saṅkama, is the day of the winter solstice in the month Pausha of the 'Sârvarin *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1103 current), cited probably as his fifth year;[1] the corresponding English date is, approximately, the 24th December, A. D. 1180.

Âhavamalla.

Saṅkama was followed, probably in A.D. 1181, by a younger brother, whose proper name is not disclosed by the records, and who is only known, by one of his *birudas*, as Âhavamalla. He also had the *biruda* of Vîra-Nârâyaṇa. The records give to him, again, the same paramount epithets and titles which are allotted to Saṅkama; and perhaps also that of *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*. And, like his predecessors, he was also styled *Kalachurya-Chakravartin*, and *Kalachurya-bhujabala-Chakravartin*. The earliest date actually on record for him is in the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A. D. 1180, of the 'Sârvarin *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1103 current).[2] The *saṁvatsara* is cited as a year of Âhavamalla himself.[3] But the date falls before the latest date on record for Saṅkama. And other records shew that the first year of Âhavamalla's reckoning was the Vikârin *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1102 current, = A.D. 1179-80.[4] And this tends to shew that Âhavamalla was associated in the sovereignty, with Saṅkama, from some time in A. D. 1179, and possibly, with some other indications, that in that year the two brothers divided the kingdom between them,— Saṅkama retaining the northern and eastern por-

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[1] From an inscription at the temple of Râmaliṅga at Hoḍal in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 229).

[2] From an inscription at Baḷagâṁve (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions* No. 190; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 184).

[3] But here, as in one or two other records of this reign, the actual number of the year is omitted,— unless a certain indistinct work may be read as "two,"— though the syllables *neya* show that the intention was to give it.

[4] An inscription at Baḷagâṁve (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 192; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 115) cites the Plava *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1104 current) as his third year. And, in agreement with this, an inscription at the temple of Gôpâlasvâmin at Chikka-Muddanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions (I quote from an ink-impression) cites the 'Subhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, ('S.-S. 1105 current) as his fourth year.— These are the only regnal years that I can verify. The entries in *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* indicate a different result. But they are not to be relied on. For instance, in the transcript of the Baḷagâṁve inscription (*op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 241), the Plava *saṁvatsara* is represented as the sixth year; and, in the transcript of the Chikka-Muddanûr inscription (*ibid.* p. 251), 'Subhakṛit is represented as the seventh year: though, in both records, the true readings are absolutely certain.— I may mention here that Sir Walter Elliot confused Âhavamalla with Saṅkama,— evidently taking Âhavamalla as a *biruda* of Saṅkama; and that, in his Collection, the records of Âhavamalla are entered under the name of Saṅkama. I made the same mistake, when I prepared my *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions.*

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tions, and Âhavamalla receiving the country more to the south.[1] The records do not mention Âhavamalla's capital; but there seems no reason for thinking that he did not hold Kalyâṇa after his predecessor. They mention, as feudatories and officials,— the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Antaḥpura-vergaḍe*, and *Mahâpasâyita*, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kêśimayya, who was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, at Baḷagâmve, in A. D. 1181, and in respect of whom a later record, of the same year, tells us that Âhavamalla, bidding him govern the region of the south in peace and quiet, gave him the Banavâsi province, and that he ruled it, including the Hayve, Sântaḷige, and Eḍedoṛe districts;[2] the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Chaṇḍugidêva, who is mentioned in the same record, of A. D. 1181, as having burned the territory of Vijayâditya, *i.e.* Vijayâditya II. of the family of the Kâdambas of Goa, and taken the kingdoms of the Chôḷa and the Hoysaḷa; the *Daṇḍanâyakas* Lakshmaṇa, Rêchaṇa, and Kâvaṇa, mentioned in the same record; the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Bâhattara-niyôg-âdhipati*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Hiriya-Sôvaṇayya, and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras* Vîra-Goṅkarasa and Mallidêvarasa, with the same date; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Jôyidêva I., of the Gutta family, with the same date; and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Vikramâditya II., son of Jôyidêva, with the date of A. D. 1182. The latest date on record for Âhavamalla is Bhâdrapada krishṇa 13 of the Sôbhakrit *saṁvatsara* (Saka-Saṁvat 1106 current).[3] The corresponding English date is, approximately, the 17th September, A. D. 1183. And the date on record for his successor shews that his reign must have terminated almost immediately afterwards.

Siṅghaṇa.

Âhavamalla was succeeded, in A. D. 1183, by his younger brother Siṅghaṇa, of whom only one record has come to light,— the copper-plate charter from Bêhaṭṭi in the Dhârwâr District,[4] recording the grant, by Siṅghaṇa, of the village of Kukkanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions, — which is dated on the new-moon day of the month Âśvina of the Sôbhakrit *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1105 (expired), corresponding, approximately, to the 18th October, A. D. 1183. This record gives Siṅghaṇa the paramount title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, which shews that he actually ascended the throne. But we know nothing further about him. He was the last of his line. And in the same year, A. D. 1183, and probably in the early part of it, the sovereignty was restored, by the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Brahma or Barmarasa, to the Western Châlukyas, in the person of Sômêśvara IV.

[1] The latest records of Saṅkama, of A.D. 1180, are at Kaulûr, Hagariṭigi, and Hoḍal in the Nizâm's Dominions, and Gadag, Rôṇ, and Sûḍi, in the Dhârwâr District. And the earliest records of Âhavamalla, of the same year, are at Baḷagâmve.

[2] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 192; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 115.—As regards the nature of his authority over the province, see page 428 above, note 4.

[3] From an inscription at Baḷagâmve (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 193; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 184).— I have read the details as Phâlguna śukla 5. The copy which I now have of the photograph, does not enable me to check the reading either way. And I now adopt Mr. Rice's reading, which seems more probably correct.— Both Mr. Rice and myself found the *saṁvatsara* to be cited as the eighth year of Âhavamalla. But there must be some mistake about this. It is, indeed, in accordance with the transcripts in *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.*, which represent Plava as the sixth year, and Subhakṛit as the seventh. But those transcripts are themselves undeniably wrong on that point (see page 488 above, note 4).

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 274.

Chapter VI.

The Hoysaḷas of Dôrasamudra.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HOYSALAS OF DORASAMUDRA.

The Hoysaḷas, whose family name appears in the various forms of Poysaḷa, Poysaṇa, Hoysaḷa, and Hoysaṇa, claimed, like the Râshṭrakûṭas and various other great families, to belong to the lineage of Yadu, in the Sômavaṁśa or Lunar Race. On the basis of this claim, they usually styled themselves *Yâdava-kul-âmbara-dyumaṇi*, "suns in the sky which is the family of the Yâdavas." And, in connection with Dvâravatî, Dvârâvatî, or Dvârakâ,— the modern Dwârkâ, at the western extremity of Kâṭhiâwâḍ,— which was the legendary capital of Krishṇa, who was an incarnation of the god Vishṇu, born in the same lineage, they assumed the hereditary title of *Dvârâvatî-puravar-âdhîśvara*, "supreme lord of Dvârâvatî, the best of towns." Their Purâṇic genealogy, which is presented first in a record of A. D. 1117,[1] was probably devised in the time of Vishṇuvardhana, who brought the family prominently to the front. And, in connection with it, the origin of the family name is explained as follows :[2]— In the lineage of Yadu, there was born a certain Saḷa. In company with a Jain ascetic, who was versed in all the science of incantation, he was worshipping the goddess Padmâvatî of 'Saśakapura, with a view to bringing her into their power, and so acquiring sovereignty for Saḷa.[3] A tiger sprang out, threatening to interrupt and spoil the efficacy of their rites. On the appeal of the ascetic, who cried out "*poy, Saḷa*,— slay, O Saḷa !," Saḷa slew the tiger. And, from this exclamation and the slaughter of the tiger, he and his descendants acquired the name of Poysaḷa, and the crest or banner, or both, bearing the representation of a tiger.[4] Also,[5] because, when the goddess conferred her boon, the season of spring was at the height of its beauty, Saḷa gave her the name of Vâsantikâdêvî, and con-

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[1] A copper-plate grant from Bêlûr in Mysore (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 18 ; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 260).

[2] From an inscription of about A.D. 1117 at Haḷêbîḍ in Mysore (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* Nó. 232 ; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 213), and an inscription of A. D. 1124 at the temple of Hariharêśvara at Harihar in Mysore (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 123 ; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 30).

[3] Mr. Rice says (*Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I. Introd. p. 18) that 'Saśakapura is Aṅgaḍi in the Mudgere tâluka, Mysore. But I have not been able to trace the statement of his grounds for this identification.

[4] The Bêlûr record, of A. D. 1117 (note 1, above) says, in verse (text lines 12, 13), that the Hoysaḷas were *dvîpi-lâñchhanâh* ; *i.e.* that they had the crest of a tiger. The Haḷêbîḍ record, of about the same date (note 2, above) says, also in verse (text line 12), that they had the *śârdûla-chihna* or sign of a tiger. The Gadag inscription, of A. D. 1192 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 299), says, again in verse (text lines 6, 7), that the tiger was the emblem of the *dhvaja* or banner.

[5] From a passage in the Haḷêbîḍ record (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 232, lines 12, 13) which is left unnoticed in Mr. Rice's translation.

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tinued to worship her under that appellation, by which she is mentioned in various other records as the family-goddess.[1]

Such is the myth that is presented in the records. But no attempt is made to give the lineal descent from Saḷa to the historical members of the family. He is, doubtless, nothing but an eponymous hero, whose existence was invented, when the pedigree was being manufactured, simply to explain a somewhat peculiar name. And the historical genealogy stands as shewn in the table on page 493 below. The town with which the historical authority of the Hoysaḷas was first connected, —in the case of Ballâḷa I., by a later record; but by contemporaneous records in the case of Vishṇuvardhana,— is Vêlâpura or Bêlâpura,[2] which is the modern Bêlûr, the chief town of the Bêlûr tâluka in the Hassan District, Mysore.[3] But in the time of Vishṇuvardhana the seat of government was moved to Dôrasamudra,[4] which is the modern Haḷêbîḍ, about ten miles east by north from Bêlûr. From the story about Saḷa and the Jain ascetic, from the statement that Vinayâditya owed his rise to power to a Jain teacher named 'Sântidêva, from the mention of Vishṇuvardhana's wife, 'Sântaladêvî, as a lay disciple of a Jain teacher named Prabhâchandra, and from the specification of his minister Gaṅgarâja, and of Huḷḷa, a minister of Narasiṁha I., as two out of three very special promoters of the Jaịn faith, it is plain that the Hoysaḷas were originally Jains by religion. But it is said that they were subsequently converted to the Vaishṇava faith.[5] And this is borne out by the assertion that Vîra-Ballâḷa II. acquired the sovereignty by the favour of the god Nârâyaṇa or Vijaya-Nârâyaṇa; and by the description of Polâḷva, a minister of the same king and of Narasiṁha II., as an eminent leader among the Vaishṇavas.

Vinayâditya.

The earliest mention of Hoysaḷas is to be found in an inscription at Kaliyûr in the Tirumakûḍlu-Narasîpur tâluka of the Mysore District,[6] dated in the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A. D. 1006, of the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 929 (current); the record appears to mention a certain Apramêya, "lord of the Kotta *maṇḍala*," an officer of the Chôḷa king Râjarâjadêva, and to tell us that he defeated a Hoysaḷa minister named Nâgaṇṇa, and pursued or repulsed the Hoysaḷas in war. But the first historical person in the family of Dôrasamudra,— beyond whom the records do not carry back the pedigree,— is the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vinayâditya, whose wife was

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[1] Among the full string of Hoysaḷa titles, in the expressions *Vâsantikâdêvî-labdha-vara-prasâda* (in the Bêlûr inscription of A.D. 1117; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No.18), and *'Saśakapurî-Vâsantikâdêvî-labdha-vara-prasâda* (in the Haḷêbîḍ inscription; *id.* No. 232).

[2] The name appears also as Bêlupura; but apparently only for metrical convenience (*e.g.*, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 240, text line 21).

[3] Lat. 13° 9′; long. 75° 54′.

[4] This name occasionally appears as Dhôrasamudra, with the aspirated *dh* (*e.g.*, *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 123, line 47, and No. 148, line 12; and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 240, text line 21). Which form is the more correct one, depends upon whether the first component of the name represents *dvâra* or *dhruva*.— It would seem that the form Dvârasamudra sometimes occurs. But I cannot quote an actual instance of it just now.

[5] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. lxxvi.

[6] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, No. TN. 44; and see Introd. pp. 9, 14.

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Keḷeyabbe or Keḷeyaladêvî. He is represented as having been born at 'Saśapura, *i.e.* the 'Saśakapura or 'Saśakapurî which is mentioned in the myth about Saḷa. And he is said to have owed his rise to power to service done to a Jain teacher named 'Sântidêva.[1] No records actually referable to his own time have come to light. But a date is furnished for him by an inscription at Sindigere in Mysore,[2] which, written in A. D. 1137, states that, as *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, he ruled all the territory included between the Koṅkaṇ, the Bhadadavayal province or district, Taḷakâḍ, and Sâvimale; and that on Phâlguna śukla 3 of the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, apparently coupled, and, if so, by mistake, with 'Saka-'Saṁvat 961, in his presence, his wife gave a girl named Adekavve in marriage to the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Mariyâne, and conferred on the latter the lordship of Sindigere in the Âsandi district or province. The corresponding English date appears to be, approximately, the 20th February, A. D. 1048.[3] The discrepancy between the *saṁvatsara* and the 'Saka year of course detracts somewhat from the value of the date, which must have been taken from some family archive. But the date is a perfectly possible one. The record may, therefore, be accepted, as fixing the period of Vinayâditya with sufficient closeness. And, at the time established by it, he must have been a feudatory of the then reigning Chôḷa king. The same record would give him the *biruda* of Tribhuvanamalla; but this seems to be only borrowed from the fact that that *biruda* did belong to Vishṇuvardhana and his son and grandson. So, also, the description of the boundaries of the territory which, it says, Vinayâditya governed, appears to be largely borrowed from the boundaries of the territory which was first acquired in full by Vishṇuvardhana.

Ereyaṅga.

The son of Vinayâditya and Keḷeyabbe was Ereyaṅga, whose wife was Êchaladêvî.[4] The Sindigere inscription of A. D. 1137 would give him the *biruda* of Vîra-Gaṅga; but this seems to be only borrowed from one of the *birudas* of Vishṇuvardhana. No records of his time have come to light. But, that he succeeded his father in the government, and was a feudatory of either Sômêśvara I., Sômêśvara II.,

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[1] *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 54.

[2] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 329.—The preamble refers the record to the time of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya. The proper context of the preamble, however is, not the immediately following passage which mentions Vinayâditya, but that part of the record which introduces his grandson Vishṇuvardhana, who was ruling at the time when the whole record was drawn up.

[3] I take the *saṁvatsara* to be stated correctly; and I adjust the 'Saka year to it by the southern luni-solar system, according to which it coincided with 'Saka-Saṁvat 969 expired or 970 current. By the mean-sign system, Sarvajit coincided with 'S.-S. 967, partly as a current and partly as an expired year. It seems, therefore, just possible that the original has not been read correctly. But, on the other hand, the habitual use of the mean-sign system had ceased before this time, in Southern India.— Another date for Vinayâditya is perhaps given by the Nirgunda inscription (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 307), which connects with the name of Vishṇuvardhana the Anala or Nala *saṁvatsara*, coupled with 'Saka-Saṁvat 987 by mistake for 998 expired or 999 current. The date is an impossible one for Vishṇuvardhana. But it has somewhat the appearance of a correct date for Vinayâditya, mistakenly quoted in connection with his grandson.

[4] *e. g.*, *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 18; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 260 (where, however, as in various other places, the translation gives the name wrongly as Achaladêvî).

Vinayâditya ;
married Keḷeyaladêvî.
(A. D. 1048)

Ereyaṅga ;
married Êchaladêvî.

Ballâḷa I.;
married Padmaladêvî, Châvalidêvî, and Boppadêvî.
(A. D. 1103)

Tribhuvanamalla-Bhujabalavîragaṅga-Vishṇuvardhana ;
married 'Sântaladêvî and Lakshmâdêvî.
(A. D. 1117 and 1137)

Udayâditya.

Tribhuvanamalla-Bhujabalavîragaṅga-Narasiṁha I. ;
married Êchaladêvî.
(A. D. 1159 and 1169)

(1) Tribhuvanamalla-Bhujabalavîragaṅga-Vîra-Ballâḷa II. ;
married Remmâdêvî, Kêtaladêvî, and Padmaladêvî.
(A. D. 1173, and 1191 to about 1212)

(2) Narasiṁha II. ;
married Kâḷaledêvî.
(A. D. 1224 and 1234)

(3) Vîra-Sômêśvara ;
married Sômaladêvî, Bijjalârâṇî, and Dêvalamahâdêvî.
(A. D. 1234-35 and 1253)

By Bijjalârâṇî.

(4) Vîra-Narasiṁha III.
(A. D. 1254 and 1290)

(5) Vîra-Ballâḷa III.
(A. D. 1310)

By Dêvalamahâdêvî.

Vîra-Râmanâtha.

Ponnambalâ.

or Vikramâditya VI., is indicated by the statement that he was "the strong staff of the arm of the Châlukya king."[1] Later records say

[1] *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 124.

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that, in a conquest of the north, he took Dhârâ, the stronghold of the lords of Mâlava, which had been made prosperous by king Bhôja;[1] and that he burnt that town, struck fear into the camp or city of the Chôlas, laid waste Chakragoṭṭa, and broke the power of Kaliṅga.[2] This is possible, if he was employed as a general by the Western Châlukya sovereign; but it is equally likely that the statement is simply an invention of poets.

Ballâḷa I.

By his wife Êchaladêvî, Ereyaṅga had three sons,— Ballâḷa I., Vishṇuvardhana, and Udayâditya. Of the eldest of them, Ballâḷa I., the Sindigere inscription of A. D. 1137[3] tells us that he ruled at Bêlâpura, *i.e.* Bêlûr; that he wedded three sisters, Padmaladêvî, Châvalidêvî, and Boppadêvî, who were daughters of a second *Daṇḍanâyaka* Mariyâne, and were highly accomplished in the sciences, and in singing and dancing;[4] and that, as a marriage-gift, he conferred the lordship of Sindigere on the second Mariyâne, on Kârttika śukla 10 of the Svabhânu *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1025 (expired), corresponding, approximately, to the 13th October, A. D. 1103. And the Gadag inscription of A. D. 1192 tells us that he overthrew a certain Jagaddêva,[5] who may be an ancestor of, or possibly even identical with, the Śântara prince Jagaddêva of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura, who has been mentioned in connection with the Western Châlukya kings Perma-Jagadêkamalla II. and Taila III.

Vishnuvardhana.

Ballâḷa I. was followed by his younger brother, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vishṇuvardhana, whose name appears also in the forms of Vishṇu, Biṭṭidêva, and Biṭṭiga,[6] and who had the special *biruḍas* of Tribhuvanamalla and Bhujabala-Vîra-Gaṅga, and some others, derived from his conquests, such as Taḷakâḍu-goṇḍa and Kâñchî-goṇḍa, "the taker of Taḷakâḍu and Kâñchî." One of his wives was Śântaladêvî, daughter of the *Piriya-pergaḍe* Mârasiṅgayya: in the Bêlûr record of A. D. 1117, she is described as the *piriy-arasi* or "senior queen," and *paṭṭa-mahâdêvî* or "crowned queen-consort;" another record states that she was "perfect in song, music, and dancing;"[7] she was a lay disciple of the Jain teacher Prabhâchandrasiddhântadêva; and she died on Chaitra śukla 5 of the Virôdhikrit *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1053 (expired), corresponding, approximately, to the 6th March, A. D. 1131.[8] Another was Lakshmâdêvî[9] or Lakumâdêvi,[10] who was the mother of Narasiṁha I. And the relations between them seem to have been not very comfortable: for, Śântaladêvî was styled *savati-gandhahasti*[11] and *udvṛitta-savati-gandhavâraṇe*,[12] "a rutting

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1 *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 18; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 260.
2 *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 138.
3 *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 329.
4 Compare page 484 above.
5 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 301.
6 As regards the latter two forms, see page 410 above, note 1.
7 *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 56.— Compare page 484 above.
8 *Id.* No. 53.
9 *Id.* No. 124.
10 *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 123; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 32.
11 *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 18; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 264.
12 *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Nos. 53, 56.

elephant towards ill-mannered co-wives;" and the name was perpetuated by the Jain temple named Savati-gandhavâraṇa-Jinâlaya and Savati-gandhahasti-basadi which she built at 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa.[1] The earliest authentic date for Vishṇuvardhana is Chaitra śukla 5 of the Hêmalambin *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1039 (expired), corresponding, approximately, to the 10th March, A. D. 1117, which is furnished by a copper-plate grant, of his own time, from Bêlûr in Mysore.[2] The latest is Pausha śukla 10, the day of the *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti* or winter solstice, of the Piṅgala *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1060 (current), corresponding, approximately, to the 24th December, A. D. 1137, which is furnished by the Sindigere inscription also of his own time.[3] The Bêlûr grant tells us that he first acquired the wealth of the Hoysaḷa rule or dominions;[4] that, pushing on so far as to take Taḷakâḍ,[5] he was the first to promote the race of Yadu to the rule or dominions of the Gaṅgas; and that he burnt the capital city of the Gaṅgas. The meaning of this is, that he first brought his family into a really prominent position, by acquiring the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand province, which seems to have been then in the possession of the Chôḷa king, being ruled for him by feudatories, of whom three are mentioned by the names of Adiyama or Iḍiyama, Dâmôdara, and Narasiṁha or Narasiṁhavarman. And other records[6] shew that this was accomplished by the agency of a *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* named Gaṅgarâja, who plainly himself belonged to the Gaṅgâ stock, and that the conclusive battle was fought at Taḷakâḍ. As regards the general conquests that are attributed to Vishṇuvardhana, the same record claims that in A. D. 1117 he had defeated the Paṇḍyas (evidently of Noḷambavâḍi), conquered the Tuḷu kings, destroyed the power of Jagaddêva,[7] overthrown a prince named Narasiṁha (a feudatory of the Chôla king), subdued the Kaḷa, Cheṅgiri,[8] and Mala kings (apparently, the chiefs of the Malepas or Malapas, who were the people of the Malenâḍ or the territory along the Western

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[1] *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa* No. 56.

[2] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 18; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 260.—An inscription at Nirgunda in Mysore, written about A. D. 1250 (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 307), purports to give for him a date in the month Pausha, falling in A. D. 1076, of the Anala or Nala *saṁvatsara*, coupled with 'Saka-Saṁvat 987 by mistake for 998 (expired). But this is rendered impossible by, among other considerations, the intervening date of A. D. 1103 for Ballâḷa I. And, as I have already said (page 492 above, note 3), it seems to be very possibly a true date for his grandfather Vinayâditya, mistakenly quoted in connection with himself.

[3] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 329.

[4] *i.e.*, probably, some limited territory in the immediate neighbourhood of Bêlûr.

[5] Also called Taḷavanapura. It is on the Kâvêrî, about one hundred miles south-east from Bêlûr.

[6] *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Nos. 45, 90, 144; *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Ml. 31.

[7] See page 494 above.

[8] Mr. Rice here gives 'Veṅgiri.' In his *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, he gives the same form in No. 138; but 'Beṅgiri' in No. 144, and in *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 308. I myself adopted, from him, these two alternative forms. But looking again at the photograph of the Sinda record at Paṭṭadakal (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 67, line 27), where, alone, the first syllable is quite distinct, I think the name must be read 'Cheṅgiri,' as it was originally taken by me (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As Soc.* Vol. XI. pp. 261, 270). In the earlier Kanarese characters, *ch* and *b* are sometimes very liable to confusion. But here there is a very marked difference between the *ch* in *Cheṁgiri-Chêra-Chôḷa* and the *b* in *Noṇaṁbavâḍi-Banavâse-Kadaṁbale* in the next line.

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Ghauts), broken the power of Iruṁgôḷa, made Taḷavanapura (*i.e.* Taḷakâḍ) his own, accepted (by surrender) the Koṅkoṅga country, made Noḷambavâḍi dependent on him, accepted the town of Kôḷâlapura, uprooted Kôvatûr (this, with Kôyatûr, which occurs elsewhere, is probably a shorter form of Kôyimuttûr, *i.e.* 'Coimbatore'), shaken the foundations of Tereyûr, passed over Vallûr, caused the town of Kâñchî to tremble, and punished the Malapas. A record of A. D. 1123[1] states that he had subjugated the Gaṅgavâḍi province by reducing fortresses of the three kinds,— on the plains, on hills, and surrounded by water, — at Taḷakâḍ, Nîlagiri, Koṅgu, Naṅgali, Kôḷâla, Tereyûr, Kôyatûr, Koṅgaḷi, Uchchaṅgî, Taleyûr, Pombuchcha, Vandhâsurachauka, and Baḷeyapaṭṭaṇa.[2] A record of A. D. 1131[3] claims that he was the sole preserver of the rule of Paṭṭi-Perumâla; that he burnt up Chakragoṭṭa; that he was like a fierce forest-fire to the territory of the Toṇḍa chieftains (*i.e.* the Pallavas); that he took Hânuṁgal; that he slew the Koṅgas; that he drove out Heñjeṟu; that he plundered Sâvimale; that he laid waste the ghauts; that he dragged (as captives) the Tuḷuvas; that he was a terror to Gôyindavâḍi;[4] that he pillaged Râyarâyapura, *i.e.* Taḷakâḍ, so renamed after the Chôḷa king Râjarâja;[5] and that he made the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand obedient to his commands as far as Lokkiguṇḍi, which is Lakkuṇḍi near Gadag, in the Dhârwâr District.[6] Another record[7] claims that he acquired the whole of the Male and Tuḷu countries; that Kumâranâḍu as well as Taḷakâḍ, fell into his hands on his merely making preparations to march against them; that Kâñchî obeyed his commands; that the Koṅga kings gave up their elephants to him; that he destroyed the pride of the Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, and Kêraḷa kings, and slew the Andhra king; that, like a gale, he dispersed the clouds which were the Lâṭa and Varâṭa kings;[8] that he was like a forest fire to the Kadamba heroes; that he was the lord of Gaṇḍagiri; and that he was like a gale to the cloud which was Jayakêśin (the second of that name in the family of the Kâdambas of Goa): and it enumerates the provinces and districts which he had seized, as Taḷakâḍ, Koṅgu, Naṅgali,

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[1] *Inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 56.

[2] Before Taḷakâḍ, the translation mentions 'Chakragoṭṭi.' But it seems that there must be some mistake about this. The word can hardly denote any place except Chakragoṭṭa, which, being in Mâlwa, can have had nothing to do with the subjugation of the Gaṅgavâḍi province. And (though it is true there are other omissions also) no such name appears in the very similar enumeration which is given, *e.g.*, in No. 144 of the same series of inscriptions.

[3] *Inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 53.—Here, and further on, I quote mostly the additions that appear from time to time in the records; omitting conquests already stated.

[4] Located by Mr. Rice (*Inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, translations, p. 158, note 3) on the south-east of the Jain village of Maleyûr, in the Châmrâjnagar tâluka in the Mysore District.

[5] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., Introd. p. 10.

[6] So, also, No. 144 of *Inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa* seems to state that he extended his possessions as far as Lokkiguṇḍi.

[7] The inscription of about A. D. 1117 at Haḷêbîḍ in Mysore (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 232; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 213).

[8] This country is also mentioned in *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 14, 20, 70, and, similarly indirect connection with Lâṭa.

Gaṅgavâḍi, Nolambavâḍi, Mâsavâḍi, Huligeṛe, Halasige, Banavâsi, and Hânuṅgal. Another record[1] adds, to the list of his conquests, Siṅgamale, Rodda, Kollagiri,[2] Ballare, Polalu (probably Holal in the Bellâry District), Baṅkâpur (in Dhârwâr), Râjêndrapura, the Bayalu *nâḍ*, and the Belvola country, with Lokkiguṇḍi, as far as the river Krishṇa. And the Sindigere inscription of A. D. 1137[3] further claims that he squeezed, as if he held it in his hand, the southern Madhurapura, and that, by means of his general, he burnt Jananâthapura, *i.e.* Mâyilaṅgai, the modern Mâliṅgi, opposite Talakâḍ, on the other side of the river.[4] A later record, of A. D. 1159-60,[5] states that, with the dust of his army of foot-soldiers, he made muddy the waters of the Malaprahâriṇî, which is the modern Malaprabhâ or Malparbhâ, flowing through the south of the Belgaum District and along the north of the Nawalgund and Rôṇ tâlukas of Dhârwâr; and that, from east to west, he acquired by his sword the whole of the territory that was bounded ôn the north by the Krishṇavêṇî, *i.e.* the Krishṇa, into which the Malparbhâ flows at Kapila-Saṅgam in the Bijâpur District. And another later record, of A. D. 1192,[6] says much the same thing, in stating that he invaded all the territory from his own abode up to the Belvola country, and washed his horse in the Krishṇavêrṇâ; and it adds that, recognising that, among all princes, the Hoysaḷa was the most impracticable to deal with, Permâḍi, *i.e.* the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., treated Vishṇuvardhana with just the same respectful behaviour which Vishṇuvardhana displayed towards himself. When he thus carried his arms as far as the Krishṇa, he seems to have been in conflict, not so much with Vikramâditya VI. himself, who is recognised in the records as his paramount sovereign, as with the Sinda feudatories of the Western Châlukya king. And, though he may really have penetrated as far as the Krishṇa, still his expedition does not seem to have been quite as successful as the records of his own family claim: for, the Sinda records maintain that, at the request or command of Vikramâditya VI., Âchugi II. pursued and prevailed against the Hoysaḷas; and also that Permâḍi I. went to the mountain passes of the "marauder" Biṭṭiga,— besieged Dôrasamudra,— pursued him till he arrived at and took his city of Bêlupura,— drove him on further to the mountain pass of Vâhaḍi,— and thus seized upon his royal power.[7] Some of the successes attributed to Vishṇuvardhana are undoubtedly fictitious or hyperbolical: for instance, it is impossible,— unless he may have been employed, on distant expeditions, as a general of Vikramâditya VI.,— that he can have had anything to do with Chakragoṭṭa in Mâlwa, and with the Lâṭa province in Gujarât; it is not likely that he ever really went as far to the east

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1 *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Sr. 74.

2 This seems to have been a name of Kôlhâpur (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 23, note 22). But Kôlhâpur can hardly be the place intended here.

3 *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 331.

4 *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., Introd. p.11.

5 *Inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 138.

6 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 299.

7 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. pp. 234, 244, 270.

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as Vallûr and Kâñchî; his *biruda* of "taker of Kâñchî" is doubtless based upon nothing but the local defeat of the Chôḷa feudatories Adiyama or Iḍiyama, Narasiṁha, and Dâmôdara; and it is not probable that he held, for any appreciable length of time, any of the possessions of the Kâdambas of Goa, or even of the Hângal branch of that family. But there appear no reasons for refusing to accept the successes that are claimed for him in the Gaṅgavâḍi province, and in connection with places which can be identified and located in that neighbourhood. The only title connected with his name is that of *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*; and his feudatory position, first under Vikramâditya VI. and then under Sômêśvara III., is made clear, not only by this, but also by the description of him, in the Sindigere inscription of A. D. 1137, as *Châlukya-maṇi-maṇḍalika-chûḍâmaṇi* or "crest-jewel among the feudatory chieftains of the jewel of the Châlukyas,"— by the use, in the same record, of the feudal expression *tat-pâdapadm-ôpajîvin*, "subsisting like a bee on the water-lilies which are the feet (of the paramount sovereign),"— and by the formal preambles of the same record and of one of the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa inscriptions, [1] which distinctly mention Vikramâditya VI. as the paramount sovereign. At the same time, the terms which were used in speaking of his rule. indicate plainly, not only that, like the Silâhâras of the Koṅkaṇ and of Karâḍ, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, the Kâdambas of Hângal and of Goa, the Sindas of Yelburga, and the Guttas of Guttal, the Hoysaḷas belonged to the class of the more powerful *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras* who enjoyed a certain amount of independence and exercised much freedom of action, but also that Vishṇuvardhana himself aimed at, and probably even enjoyed, still greater power than was conceded to his peers; for, while most of his records shew simply the use of the technical expression of intermediate rank and authority, belonging properly to him and to the princes of the other families mentioned above,[2] a few of them disclose the fact that, even though he did not assume any higher title than that of *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, he occasionally described his authority by the technical expression of paramount sovereignty.[3] The records usually describe him as ruling over the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand province,[4] the boundaries of which seem to be defined by the Bêlûr record of A. D. 1117, which says that then, at Vêlâpura, after having established the Hoysaḷa power by marching to Talakâḍ and burning the capital city of the Gaṅgas and acquiring their

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1 *op. cit.*, No. 144. This record is not dated.— The preamble of the Sindigere record, which is actually dated after the end of the reign of Vikramâditya VI., furnishes another instance of the imaginary continuation of his reign (see page 447 above, note 4).

2 *viz.*, *sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôdadiṁ râjyaṁ-gêyu* (see page 428 above, note 4); or, as it sometimes occurs in his case, *sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôdadiṁ pṛithvîrâjyaṁ-gêyu* (*e.g.*, *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Md. 29).

3 *viz.*, *vijaya-râjyam uttar-ôttar-âbhivṛiddhi-pravardhamânam â-chandr-ârka-târaṁbaraṁ saluttam-ire* (see page 428 above, note 4); for instance, *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Nos. 45, 53, 56, and *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Ml. 31.

4 *e. g.*, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 308; *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 144.

possessions, he was ruling all the territory included between the lower ghaut of Naṅgali on the east, Koṅgu, Chêra, and Anamale on the south, the Bârakanûr pass through the ghauts to the Koṅkaṇ on the west, and Sâvimale on the north.[1] And a record of A. D. 1127[2] states that he was then ruling that province at Yâdavapura, which, Mr. Rice says, is the modern Mêlukôṭe, in Mysore. But a record of A. D. 1132[3] claims that he was then ruling, at Dôrasamudra, over the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand, the Nolambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand, the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, and the Hânuṁgal five-hundred. And the Sindigere inscription of A. D. 1137 states that then, at Dôrasamudra, he was still ruling the Nolambavâḍi and Banavâsi provinces, in addition to the Gaṅgavâḍi territory. And one of the Sinda records[4] incidentally enumerates the countries, over which he had ruled, as Cheṅgiri, Chêra, Chôḷa, Malaya, Male, the seven Tuḷus, Kolla, Pallava, Koṅgu, Nolambavâḍi, Banavâsi, Kaḍambale, and Hayve. A most valuable servant to him appears to have been the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* or *Hiriya-Daṇḍanâyaka* Gaṅgarâja, of the Gaṅga family, already mentioned as the person through whose agency he acquired the Gaṅgavâḍi province.[5] This officer is mentioned as one of three special promoters of the Jain religion,—the other two being Râya, a minister of the Western Gaṅga king Râchamalla, and Huḷḷa, a minister of Vishṇuvardhana's son Narasiṁha I.[6] And we are also told that he restored the ruined Jain temples of the Gaṅgavâḍi province,[7] which had possibly been laid waste at the time when the Chôḷas invaded the Belvola country, and destroyed the Jain temples there, in the reign of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I. He is constantly mentioned in terms which describe him as the chief support of Vishṇuvardhana's rule.[8] It was he who, in securing the ancient possessions of the Gaṅgas for Vishṇuvardhana, by ousting the Tiguḷas or Tamil people who then held them, —*i. e.* the imported followers of the Chôḷa invaders,—defeated Adiyama or Iḍiyama, a feudatory of the Chôḷa, who, when encamped at Taḷakâḍ, refused to give up quietly the territory which the Chôḷa king had entrusted to him.[9] It was he, again, who actually put to flight Dâmôdara and Narasiṁhavarman, and all the other feudatories of the Chôḷa above the ghauts, and thus made

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[1] See pages 298, 299, above, and page 299, note 1.

[2] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. My. 16.

[3] *ibid.* No. Md. 29.

[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 259.

[5] He seems to be the *Mahâmaṇḍaléśvara* Gaṅgarasa, who is mentioned in the Nirgunda record (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 302) as governing the Arabala seventy.—Mr. Rice says (*Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Introd. p. 23) that a record at Haḷêbîḍ shews that he died in A. D. 1133.

[6] *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 137.

[7] *id.* Nos. 47, 59, 90.

[8] *e. g.*, *id.* Nos. 43, 44, 47, 90.

[9] *id.* No. 90; *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Ml. 31.

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the country subject to the sole authority of Vishṇuvardhana; in recognition of which, the latter gave him the district or town of Gôvindavâḍi and the village of Tippûr.[1] And he appears to have on one occasion, in or just before A.D. 1118, led a successful night attack against the forces of Vikramâditya VI. himself, when they were encamped, under the command of twelve feudal chiefs, at a place named Kaṇṇegâl; in recognition of which Vishṇuvardhana presented him with the village of Parama, on the north-east of 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa.[2]

Udayâditya.

The next name on the list is that of Udayâditya, the younger brother of Vishṇuvardhana. He is, however, only mentioned as one of the sons of Eṛeyaṅga.[3] No historical facts are stated in connection with him. And it seems altogether unlikely that he had any part in the government of the Hoysaḷa territory.

Narasiṁha I.

Vishṇuvardhana, then, was followed by his son, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Narasiṁha I., whose name appears also in the forms of Nṛisiṁha and Nârasiṁha. He, again, had the special *birudas* of Tribhuvanamalla and Bhujabala-Vîra-Gaṅga; and he was also styled Pratâpa-Hoysaḷa. His wife, from whom Vîra-Ballâḷa II. was born, was Êchaladêvî.[4] That he actually succeeded, as *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara,* to the government of the Hoysaḷa territory, is shewn by one of the 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa records, which states that he ruled over the *dakshiṇa-mahî-maṇḍala* or "territory or province of the southern land," [5] — meaning probably all the country to the south of the Wardâ and of the Tuṅgabhadrâ after the confluence of the Wardâ with it.[6] Dates for him in A. D. 1127 and 1135, during his father's lifetime, are furnished for him by inscriptions at Tippûr and Bannûr.[7] But the earliest date for him as *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* is contained in one of the 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa records,[8]

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[1] See the records referred to in the preceding note; also see page 496 above, and note 4.

[2] *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 45.

[3] *e. g.*, in the Bêlûr grant (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 18; *Mysore Inscriptions* p. 260); in the Haḷêbîḍ inscription (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 232: *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 213); and in the Sindigere inscription (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 329).

[4] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 18; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 266 (where the name is wrongly given as Achaladevî): also *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 138, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 302.

[5] *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 137, the first part.

[6] An inscription at Heggere in Mysore (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 328) seems to indicate that he was entrusted with some share of the government during his father's lifetime. But the value of this record is doubtful. Amongst the persons with whose aid, it says, he governed, there is mentioned, his own mother, the celebrated Sâtavve" (*sic*); but his own mother was Lakshmâdevî (see page 494 above). And the date is very questionable. If it is really the eighteenth year of the Châlukya-Vikrama-varsha, = A. D. 1093-94, it falls before the time of even Ballâḷa I. While, if it is the seventy-eighth year, = A. D. 1153-54, — (in Kanarese, a damaged 'seven' may easily be misread as 'one'), — it falls twenty-two years after the death of 'Sântavve (see page 494 above).

[7] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., Nos. My. 16, TN. 129.

[8] *op. cit.* No. 138.—Mr. Rice has found another date for him, in A. D. 1171, from *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 81 (see the Introd. p. 54). But the Narasiṁha

and is in the month Pausha, falling in December, A. D. 1159, of the Pramâdin *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1081 (expired). A later date for him, probably in the month Vaiśâkha (April-May), falling in A. D. 1169, of 'Saka-Saṁvat 1091 (expired) is furnished by an inscription at Sattûru.[1] The earlier of these dates falls in the period when the possession of the Western Châlukya kingdom was in dispute between Taila III. and Bijjala; and it is very likely that the Hoysaḷa prince was then practically independent: the later date falls in the reign of Bijjala's son Sôvidêva. He is said to have carried his standards as far north as the peaks of Dêvagiri,[2] which is possible, if he was employed as a general, under one of the Western Châlukya or the Kaḷachurya kings, against the then growing power of the Yâdavas of Sêuṇadêśa; but the statement remains to be verified. And he is described as "as the taker of Taḷakâḍ, Koṅgu, Naṅgali, Noḷambavâḍi, Banavâsi, and Hânuṁgal;"[3] this, however, plainly rests entirely upon the successes of his father, as the records indicate nothing necessitating a fresh reduction of those places by Narasiṁha himself.[4] An important officer under him was the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Sarvâdhikârin*, *Hiriya-Bhaṇḍâri*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka*, Huḷḷa, Huḷḷapa or Huḷḷamayya,[5] who has been already mentioned[6] as one of three special promoters of the Jain religion. Another record mentions the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Sarvâdhikârin*, and *Sénâdhipati*, the *Daṇḍanayaka* Lakmaya, with the date of A. D. 1169.

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Vîra-Ballâḷa II.

Narasiṁha I. was followed by his son Ballâḷa II., more usually called Vîra-Ballâḷa, who at first was a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* like his ancestors, but afterwards established himself as an independent king. He, again, had the special *birudas* of Tribhuvanamalla and Bhujabala-Vîra-Gaṅga. And from the commencement of his career he was called Pratâpa-Hoysaḷa and Yâdava-Nârâyaṇa. An inscription at Kaulûr, near Koppal in the Nizâm's Dominions,[7] mentions, as his *piriy-arasi* or senior wife, a certain Remmâdêvî, who, partly because of her name, and partly because the record speaks of the Mâsavâḍi district, in which Kaulûr was situated, as her own (native) district, probably belonged to the family of the Pemmâḍi or Hemmâḍidêva, prince of Mâsavâḍi, who is mentioned in a 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa inscription of A. D. 1181, and in the Hirê-Waḍawaṭṭi inscription of A.D. 1218 which is noticed at the end of this account of Vîra-Ballâḷa II.:[8] it records that, in the month

mentioned there is styled *Pratâpa-Chakravartin*. Therefore, he must be Narasiṁha II.; and the Khara *saṁvatsara*, which is quoted, must be 'Saka-Saṁvat 1154 current, = A.D. 1231-32.

[1] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Nj. 175.
[2] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 308.
[3] *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 137.
[4] This description was also assumed by Vîra-Ballâḷa II.,—mostly, if not entirely, on the same grounds.
[5] *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Nos. 40, 80, 137, 138.
[6] Page 491 above.
[7] Part of the record at the temple of Hariharêśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II, p. 199; the transcript gives the name of Vîra-Ballâḷa's wife as Rêmâdêvî; I take the correct form, Remmâdêvî, from the Hirê-Wadawaṭṭi inscription).
[8] Page 506 below, note 2.

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Vaiśâkha (April-May), falling in A. D. 1179, of the Vikârin *saṁvatsara* (Saka-Saṁvat 1102 current), he and Remmâdêvî joined in making a grant of land at Kaulûr, in the Mâsavâḍi district, to the temple in which the record stands ; and, the *saṁvatsara* being cited as the fourth year of the Kaḷachurya king Saṅkama, it shews that Saṅkama was the recognised sovereign of Vîra-Ballâḷa, whom it styles *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*. And an inscription of A. D. 1203, at Aḷawaṇḍi, in the same neighbourhood,[1] mentions another *piriy-arasi*, also styled *paṭṭa-mahâdêvî*, named Kêtaladêvî, who made an allotment to a local god, out of the *hejjuṅka*-tax of the Masavâḍi district, and thus seems to have been some connection of the other wife, Remmâdêvî ; and, perhaps a son, born from her, named Billayya. But the son who succeeded him, Narasiṁha II., was born from a wife named Padmaladêvî.[2] The earliest date for Vîra-Ballâḷa II. is supplied by an inscription at Bujagauḍanapura in Mysore,[3] which mentions him as a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, ruling at Dôrasamudra in the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A.D. 1173, of the Vijaya *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Saka-Saṁvat 1094 by mistake for 1095 (expired). And one of the Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa inscriptions[4] mentions him as a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* ruling the *dakshiṇa-maṇḍala* or "southern territory," with a date in the month Pausha, falling in December, A. D. 1181, of the Plava *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1104 (current). To the earlier period of his career belongs also the statement in the Nirgunda inscription, that, as *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, he ruled over the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand at Dôrasamudra.[5] Within the next ten years, however, he accomplished a very great change in his position. From his Gadag inscription of A. D. 1192,[6] and from another record of his time, dated in A. D. 1202, at Aṇṇigere,[7] we learn that, pushing on to the north of the Dhârwâr District, he defeated Brahma, the general of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara IV., Bhillama, the Yâdava king of Dêvagiri, and a certain Jaitrasiṁha, who may perhaps be, as was originally thought, Jaitugi I., the son of Bhillama, but seems now more likely to be a minister of Bhillama who

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[1] At the temple of Îśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 297).—According to the transcripts, there is no doubt as to the identity of the husband of Remmâdevî and Kêtaladêvî : the Aḷawaṇḍi inscription specifies him as Vîra-Ballâḷa ; and the Kaulûr inscription does the same, and further makes the matter quite clear by styling him *Dvârâvatî-puravar-âdhîśvara* and Yâdava-Nârâyaṇa.

[2] The Harihar inscription, of A. D. 1224, noticed more fully in connection with Narasiṁha II.—One of the inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa (No. 128) seems to mention a *kumâra* or son named Sômêśvara. But there is nothing in support of this in any other known record. And there is probably some mistake about either the original or the transcript.

[3] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. My. 58.

[4] *Inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 124.

[5] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 308.—In addition to the inscriptions quoted in the text above, other records, belonging to the earlier part of his career, are—*Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. My. 18, at Hemmanahaḷḷi, dated in A. D. 1175 ; No. Md. 44, at Âtakûr, dated in A. D. 1177 ; No. TN. 106, at Tumbala, dated in A. D. 1180 ; No. TN. 4, at Taḷakâḍ, dated in the same year (wrongly suggested by Mr. Rice to be dated in A. D. 1300, and to belong to Vîra-Ballâḷa III.) ; and No. Ml. 83 at Chaṅgavâḍi, dated in A.D. 1184.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 299 ; and see page 464 above, note 4, for the correction regarding Brahma.

[7] At the temple of Amṛitêśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 301).

is mentioned as Jaitasiṁha in a record at Gadag of A. D. 1191;[1] and that thus, according to the claim that is made for him in these records, by the favour of the god Nârâyaṇa he acquired the supremacy over the Kuntala country, and the universal sovereignty of the Western Châlukyas. This must have happened soon after June, A. D. 1191, when, as the record of that date at Gadag[2] shews, the country in that neighbourhood was in Bhillama's possession. He then, as is shewn by his own Gadag inscription and subsequent records, assumed the paramount epithets and titles of *samastabhuvanâśraya*, *śrîpṛithivîvallabha*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, and the style of *Pratâpa-Chakravartin*, *Bhujabala-Chakravartin*, *Bhujâbalapratâpa-Chakravartin*, *Hoysaḷa-Chakravartin*, *Bhujabalapratâpa-Hoysaḷa-Chakravartin*, and *Yâdava-Chakravartin*.[3] And he established a reckoning of his own, running from the first year of his reign as paramount sovereign, which, the records shew, was the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1114 current, = A. D. 1191-92.[4] This position he maintained; and it was enjoyed also, though with a more limited extent of territory, by his successors. But he certainly did not acquire the whole of the Kuntala country, and the entire possessions that had belonged to the Western Châlukyas: the northern boundary of the Hoysaḷa kingdom, thus established, was evidently the Malparbhâ river, and the Kṛishṇa from the point where the Malparbhâ joins it: for, the records of Vîra-Ballâḷa, in that neighbourhood, are found at Aṇṇigere in the Nawalgund tâluka, Narêgal in the Rôṇ tâluka, and Baḷagânûr, Gadag, Mulgund, Mêyuṇḍi, and Nâgâvi, in the Gadag tâluka, of the Dhârwâr District, and nowhere on the north of the rivers mentioned; while, on the north of those rivers, inscriptions of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava kings Bhillama and Jaitugi I., the dates of which fall during the reign of Vîra-Ballâḷa II., exist, or were extant some fifty years ago, at Bhairwâḍgi and Managôli in the Bâgewâḍi tâluka, and Hippargi in the Sindagi tâluka, of the Bijâpur District, and at

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 217.

[2] See the preceding note.

[3] Some of the later records, however, in Mysore, describe him, even after this time, as simply a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*; *e.g.*, *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 130, dated in A.D. 1195, and *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Nj. 71, at Motta, dated in A. D. 1192 (wrongly suggested by Mr. Rice to be dated in A. D. 1312, and to belong to Vîra-Ballâḷa III.), and No. TN. 31, at Taḍi-Mâlingi, dated in A. D. 1195-96.

[4] The following instances are in accordance with this:—(1) In an inscription at the temple of Gachchina-Basappa at Aṇṇigere in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 289; verified from an ink-impression), the Piṅgala *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1120 current) is cited as his seventh year; the month is Mârgaśîrsha. (2) In the inscription, mentioned above, at the temple of Amṛitêśvara at Aṇṇigere (*ibid.* p. 301; verified from an ink-impression), the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1125 current) is cited as his twelfth year; the month is Jyêshṭha. (3) In an inscription at Baḷagâṁve in Mysore (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 197; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 137), the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1128 current) is cited as his fifteenth year; the month is Chaitra. (4) In another inscription at Baḷagâṁve (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 198; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 137), the Prabhava *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1130 current) is cited as his seventeenth year; the month is Kârttika. And (5) in an inscription at the temple of Mahâbalêśvara at Nâgâvi in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 334), the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1134 current) is cited as his twenty-first year; the month is Kârttika.— I expect that the majority of his dates will be found to be in accordance with the above. But two instances to the contrary are known to me. In an inscription

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Bijâpur itself. That Bhillama had held, as was only to be expected, the country south of the Malparbhâ and the Krishṇa, as well as the northern provinces, is shewn by an inscription of A. D. 1189, the third year of his reign, at Aṇṇîgere, and by his Gadag inscription of June, A. D. 1191. Vîra-Ballâḷa must have been, nominally at least, then a feudatory of Bhillama. But his defeat of the Western Châlukya general Brahma must have taken before that date. And it was doubtless that success that put him in a position to measure his strength against that of Bhillama himself. The final decisive battle between the Hoysaḷas and the Yâdavas, which must be placed soon after June, A. D. 1191, is located in the neighbourhood of Gadag by the Aṇṇîgere inscription of A. D. 1202, which, describing Vîra-Ballâḷa as "a submarine fire in the ocean which was the army of Bhillama," tells us that, though Bhillama held himself to be unconquerable on account of his great array of elephants and horses and foot-soldiers, Vîra-Baḷḷâḷa pursued him from Soraṭûr (twelve miles south of Gadag) to Lokkiguṇḍi (Lakkuṇḍi, six miles east of Gadag), and there destroyed his forces. The record seems also to state that Bhillama himself was killed on this occasion; and, as the Virôdhikrit *saṁvatsara*, A. D. 1191-92, was the first year of the reign of Jaitugi I. on the north of the boundary line, as well as of Vîra-Ballâḷa on the south of it, it appears not unlikely that such was really the case. A reference to the same battle is made in a Harihar inscription of A. D. 1224, of the time of Narasiṁha II.,[1] which claims that the army of the Sêuṇa king,[2] consisting of two hundred thousand men with twelve thousand cavalry, was pursued by Vîra-Ballâḷa from Soraṭûr to the banks of the Krishṇavêṇî, and was there destroyed. This latter record adds that, in the same campaign, when, after the pursuit, he had halted and reformed his forces, Vîra-Ballâḷa II. reduced all the forts between Soraṭûr, Erambarage (Yelburga, in the Nizâm's Dominions), Kurugôḍ (near Bellâry), Gutti (about fifty miles east of Bellâry), Beḷḷiṭṭage (possibly 'Belatti' or 'Belhuttee,' near Lakshmêshwar, close to which is the hill-fort of Srîmantgaḍ), Raṭṭapaḷḷi (Raṭṭêhaḷḷi, in the Kôḍ tâluka), and "the proud" Virâṭana-kôṭe (Hângal). And an inspection of the map will shew that the possession of these strongholds made his power

at the temple of Veṅkaṭaramaṇa at Mêyuṇḍi in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 284), the Anala or Nala *saṁvatsara* (S.-S. 1119 current) is cited, not as his sixth year as given in the transcript (to make it accord with the other dates), but, as I find from the ink-impression, as his fifth year; the month is Vaiśâkha. And, in another of the Baḷagâṁve records (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 195; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 162), the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara* (S.-S. 1125 current; really his twelfth year) is cited as his eleventh year; the month is Chaitra. These two instances require the Paridhâvin *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1115 current, as his first year.

[1] At the temple of the god Hariharêśvara (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 123; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 30).

[2] The name in the original is Sêvuṇa; not Sômana, as in Mr. Rice's translation. And in view of the facts that the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri came from the Sêuṇadêśa country, and that, in the Gadag inscription of A. D. 1191, Bhillama is described as rendering highly prosperous the rule of the family of the Sêvaṇa, *i. e.* Sêuṇa, kings (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 217), there can now be no doubt that the expressions *Sêvuṇa-sainya* and *Sêvuṇa-nṛipa-bala* indicate the forces, not of an individual named Sêvuṇa, but of "the Sêuṇa king," *i. e.* of Bhillama.

secure over all the southern part, north of Mysore itself, of the dominions which had passed from the Kalachuryas to the last Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara IV., and from the latter to Bhillama of Dêvagiri. When the Gadag inscription of A.D. 1192 was written, Vîra-Ballâḷa's *vijaya-skandhâvâra* or victorious camp was still at Lakkuṇḍi. And a Baḷagâṁve inscription, dated slightly later in the same year,[1] speaks of that same town as the *nelevîḍu* or capital, at which, having accomplished his victories in the north, he was then reigning. It was probably early in A. D. 1193 that he started on the tour in the course of which the forts in question were reduced. A record of A. D 1195[2] mentions him as then reigning at Erambarageya-kuppa; evidently in the course of this campaign. And the campaign was doubtless brought to an end in the month Âśvina (Sept.-Oct.) falling in A. D. 1196, of the Anala *saṁvatsara*, (Saka-Saṁvat 1119 current), when, encamped at the Ânekere tank at Hângal, he laid siege to the latter town.[3] Another record, of his own time, states that he held the umbrella of southern sovereignty through the favour of the god Vijaya-Nârâyaṇa; that he took Uchchaṅgî; and that, when the Pâṇḍya (of Noḷambavâḍi, where Uchchangî was situated) threw himself on his mercy, he restored him his kingdom:[4] and, coupling this with a statement in one of the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa records,[5] it would seem that, during his absence on the campaign mentioned above, one of the Pâṇḍya chieftains of the Noḷambavâḍi province, named Kâmadêva, rebelled, and had to be forcibly reduced to submission. But, with this exception, his reign appears to have been free from internal troubles. Some of the recods, indeed, describe him as "the taker of Taḷakâḍ, Koṅgu, Naṅgali, Noḷambavâḍi, Banavâsi, and Hânuṁgal," — to which list others add Gaṅgavâḍi, Lokkiguṇḍi, Kummaṭa, and Erambarage; but it is plain that, as in the case of Narasiṁha I., this is derived mostly from the achievements of Vishṇuvardhana. The records mention, as his feudatories and officials,—the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Sarvâdhikârin*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Biṭṭimayya, with the date of A. D. 1175; the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Gaḍada-Siṅgayya, with the date of A. D. 1184; the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Sarvâdhikârin*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Eṟeyaṇṇa or Eṟaga, who in December, A. D. 1192, was in charge of the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Sântaḷige thousand; the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Sarvâdhikârin*, and *Hiriya-Bhaṇḍâri* Huḷḷayya, who had also held office under Narasiṁha I.; the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Sarvâdhikârin*, and *Paramaviśvâsin*, or most confidential agent, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Armativaḷa, of Kûrûr, who is described as ruling[6] over the Târanâḍ, Hadinâḍ, and Kunâḍ districts, at Sâtarûr, in A. D. 1195;

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[1] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 200; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 103.

[2] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. TN. 31.

[3] An inscription on a *virgal* at the temple of Târakêśvara at Hângal (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 605).

[4] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 18; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 266.— Vijaya-Nârâyaṇa was a god at, apparently, Bêlûr. The preceding part of the record registers grants made to the temple of that god by Vishṇuvardhana.

[5] *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 90.

[6] See page 428 above, note 4.

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the Kâdamba *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kâmadêva, who was ruling at Hânuṁgal in A. D. 1196; the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka*, the *kumâra* or junior Lakshma, Lakshmîdhara, or Lakhmîdêva, with the date of A. D 1997; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Râyadêvarasa, "lord of Âsaṭimayûrapura, the best of towns," who, having become a minister, was governing at Haḷḷaharada-koppa in A. D. 1199; the *Samasta-bâhattara-niyôg-âdhipati* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Amritêśvara, with the date of A. D. 1202; the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Mallaṇa, with the date of A. D. 1203; the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kamaṭhada-Malliśeṭṭi, who, in the same year, was governing the Sântaḷige seventy [1] and the Nâgarakhaṇḍa seventy in the Banavâsi province; a certain Mâdhavayya, who was governing the Beḷvola three-hundred in A. D. 1207; and the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Ballayya, who was in charge of the royal city of Aṇṇigeṛe in A. D. 1208. Also, the Harihar inscription of the time of Narasiṁha II., dated in A. D. 1224, mentions a *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Polâḷva, who, it says, was a minister of Vîra-Ballâḷa II. as well as of Narasiṁha II., and who probably had much to do with the successes that were achieved by the first of his two masters. The latest date on record for Vîra-Ballâḷa II. is the full-moon day of the month Kârttika of the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, cited as his twenty-first year.[2] The year is Saka-Saṁvat 1134 current. And the corresponding English date is, approximately, the 23rd October, A. D. 1211. It is probable that he died soon after this date. For, an inscription at Gadag, dated early in A. D. 1213,[3] shews that the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa had then recovered some at least of the territory south of the Malparbhâ and the Krishṇa.

Narasiṁha II.

Vîra-Ballâḷa II. was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha II., who maintained the position of an independent king, but plainly lost most, if not all, of the territory north of the Wardâ and the Tuṅgabhadrâ.

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[1] This is perhaps a mistake for "Sântaḷi seventy," which might be identified with the Sântaḷi *maṇḍala* that is mentioned in the next note.

[2] From the Nâgâvi inscription (see page 503 above, note 4, No. 5).— The Ballâḷa, who married Tuḷavaladêvî, daughter of the Gutta prince Vîra-Vikramâditya II., mentioned in *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 234,—which record is dated in Chaitra, falling in A.D. 1213, of the 'Srîmukha *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1136 (current), and is, I have now ascertained, at Haraḷahaḷḷi in the Dhârwâr District, and not at Haḷêbîḍ,— is not the Hoysaḷa king, but a son of a feudatory chief named Siṁha, Siṅga, or Siṅgidêva, lord of the Sântaḷi *maṇḍala*, and belonging to the Sûryavaṁśa or Solar Race.— The name Ballâḷa seems to have become of rather favourite use during this period. And it occurs in the Mâsavâḍi family itself, which has been mentioned on page 501 above. I take this from the inscription at the temple of Sômêśvara at Hirê-Waḍawaṭṭi near Lakshmêshwar, which gives the following account (quoted from an ink-impression):— Among the lords of the Mâsavâḍi *vishaya*, born in the Yâdava family, there was Peṁmâḍi. His son was Kuppa, whose wife was Remmâdêvî. Their son was Ballâḷa, who married Lakshmî, Lakmâdêvî, Lakhumâdêvî, or Lakhmaladêvî. And their sons were Sômêśvara or Sôyidêva, and Virûpâksha. The record registers grants that were made, in the Mâsavâḍi hundred-and-forty, by the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Ballâḷadêva, his *piriy-arasi* Lakmâdêvî and their son Sômêśvara, to the gods Ballâḷêśvara, Remmêśvara, and Kêśavadêva, of Voḍavaṭṭi, in the month Vaiśâkha, falling in A.D. 1218, of the Bahudhânya *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1141 current), wrongly cited as the nineteenth, instead of the ninth, year of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa II.

[3] At the temple of Trikûṭêsvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.*, Vol. II. p. 379; and see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 297, No. 1).

His name, again, appears also as Nârasiṁha and Nṛisiṁha. And a later record, of his son's time,[1] tells us that his wife, the mother of Sômêśvara, was Kâḷaledêvî. Of this reign we have at present only three records. One is an inscription at Harihar in Mysore,[2] dated in the month Mâgha (Jan.-Feb.), falling in A. D. 1224, of the Svabhânu *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1145 (expired). The second is an inscription at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa,[3] dated at the time of the winter solstice, in December, A. D. 1231, of the Khara *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1154 current). And the third is an inscription at Basarâḷ,[4] dated in Vaiśâkha (April-May), falling in A. D. 1234, of the Jaya *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S 1157 (current). The Harihar and 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa records give him the paramount epithets and titles of *samastabhuvanâśraya*, *śrîpṛithivîvallabha*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*; but the Basarâḷ inscription styles him *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*. The 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa record styles him *Pratâpa-Chakravartin*; and the Basarâḷ record, *Niśśaṅkapratâpa-Chakravartin*. The Harihar and Basarâḷ records mention Dôrasamudra as his capital. In the Harihar and 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa records, he is called "the uprooter of the Makara or Magara kingdom or sovereignty," and "the establisher of the Chôḷa kingdom or sovereignty;" and the Basarâḷ record claims that the valour of his arm broke the pride of the Sêvuṇa king. The Harihar record claims also that he was the king of the Male kings; that, like a thunderbolt, he cleft open the rock that was the Pâṇḍya king; and that he was a very Janârdana (Vishṇu) in destroying the demon Kaiṭabha in the form of the Kâḍava king. The same record mentions, as a person of considerable importance, the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Polâḷva, the son of a certain Attirâja or Attarasa, born at Nâraṇapura in the Andhra country; it styles him *Vaishṇava-Chakravartin*, or, freely, "an eminent leader among the Vaishṇavas;" it says that he was a minister of both Vîra-Ballâḷa II. and Narasiṁha II., and that none others protected the Hoysaḷa sovereignty as he did; and it records that he built the great temple at which the inscription is. And the Basarâḷ inscription mentions a hereditary minister, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Harihara, of Aḍḍâyida, who, it says, was the person who actually defeated the Sêvuṇa troops when they had laid siege to some place in the Hoysaḷa territory.

Vîra-Sômêśvara.

Narasiṁha II. was succeeded by his son Sômêśvara, whose name appears also as simply Sôma, and as Sôvidêva, and who was usually alled Vîra-Sômêśvara. Of his time, we have nine records. The earliest of them would appear to be an inscription at Badanâḷu,[5] which purports to say that he was reigning at Kaṇṇanûr, in the Chôḷa kingdom,— identified by Dr. Hultzsch with the village of that

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1 *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Md. 122.

2 At the temple of Harihareśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 386, where it is wrongly classed under the records of Vîra-Ballâḷa II.; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 123; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 30).

3 *Inscriptions at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 81.— Mr. Rice (*id.* Introd, p. 54) has taken the date as being A. D. 1171, and so has referred this record to the time of the first Narasiṁha; but the designation *Pratâpa-Chakravartin* shews that this cannot be correct. It may possibly, however, be a record of Narasiṁha III., dated in A. D. 1291.

4 *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Md. 121.

5 *ibid.* No. Nj. 36.

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name five miles north of 'Srîraṅgam in the Trichinopoly District, Madras Presidency,[1] — in the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A. D. 1128, of the Sarvadhârin *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1151 (current). But this date, as also that of another record[2] which appears to say that he was reigning at Dôrasamudra in the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A. D. 1233, of the Hêmalambin *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1160 current), overlaps the latest date for his father. And the earliest consistent date for him is furnished by an inscription at Jôḍi-Basavanapura,[3] which says that, having taken the Chôla kingdom, he was reigning there in the Vikârin *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1161 (expired), = A. D. 1139-40. Kaṇṇanûr is again mentioned as his capital in a record of A. D. 1250 at Râyaseṭṭipura; [4] and a copper-plate grant, now in the Bangalore Museum,[5] which is dated in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March), falling in A.D. 1253, of the Paridhâvin *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1175 (current), mentions the same place by the name of Vikramapura,[6] and speaks of it as "the great capital, which had been built, in order to amuse his mind, in the Chôla country, which he had conquered by the power of his arm." The latest date for him is furnished by an inscription at Arakere,[7] dated in the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A. D. 1254, of the Ânanda *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1177 current); and this record, citing the *saṁvatsara* as his twenty-first year, shews that the first year of his reign was the Jaya *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1157 current, = A.D. 1234-35. The records give him all the paramount titles,[8] and style him *Pratâpa-Chakravartin* and *Niśśaṅkapratâpa-Chakravartin*. The copper-plate charter mentions Sômaladêvî, daughter of Viṭṭarasa, as his *paṭṭamahishî* or crowned queen. But he had also a *mahishî* or queen named Vijjalâ, Bijjalâ, or Bijjalârâṇî, from whom his son and successor Narasiṁha III. was born.[9] The Pâṇḍya records tell us that 'Srîraṅgam was taken from Sômêśvara by the Pâṇḍya king Jaṭâvarman, otherwise called Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva; [10] and also disclose the fact that he had another wife, of the Châlukya stock, named Dêvalamahâdêvî, who bore him a son named Vîra-Râmanâtha, and a daughter named Ponnambalâ: [11] Vîra-Râmanâtha appears to have held local authority under the Pâṇḍyas. The record of A. D. 1233 mentions, as a minister of Vîra-Sômêśvara, the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Paramaviśvâsin*, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Harihara, who had previously held office under Narasiṁha II.; and it speaks of Vîra-Sômêśvara as having fought against the "famous" Kṛishṇa-Kandhara, *i. e.* the Yâdava king Kṛishṇa of Dêvagiri.

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 8.
2 *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Md. 122.
3 *ibid.* No. TN. 103.
4 *ibid.* No. Md. 62.
5 *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 321.
6 For the identification, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. pp. 8, 9.
7 *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Sr. 110.
8 One of them, however, (*Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Md. 62, of A.D. 1250), styles him *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*.
9 *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* Nos. 19, 20, 147, 148 (*Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 7, 11, 272, 275, where, however, the name is not given quite accurately); *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. TN. 97.
10 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 7.
11 *ibid.* p. 8.

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Vîra-Narasiṁha III.

Sômêśvara was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha III., also called Vîra-Narasiṁha, whose name, again, appears also in the forms of Nârasiṁha, Nṛisiṁha, and Nârasiṅga. Of his time we have twelve records, all from Mysore. The earliest date for him is furnished by a copper-plate grant from Bêlûr,[1] and is in the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A.D. 1254, of the Ânanda *saṁvatsara* (Saka-Saṁvat 1177 current). The latest is furnished by an inscription at Mâliṅgi,[2] and is in the month Mârgaśira (Nov.-Dec.), falling in A. D. 1290, of the Vikṛiti *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1212 expired. The records give him the customary paramount epithets and titles, and style him *Pratâpa-Chakravartin*, and *Niśśaṅkapratâpa-Chakravartin*. And they represent him as reigning at Dôrasamudra. They mention a *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* named Perumâḷedêva, also called Râuttarâya and Javanike-Nârâyaṇa, with dates in A. D. 1261, 1286, and 1290, who is said to have conquered and slain a king named Ratnapâla; and a minister named Chikka-Kêtayya, who is said, in a record of A. D. 1277-78, to have just returned from a successful expedition with the army of the "eastern kingdom." But, with these exceptions, they disclose no history. One of the Bêlûr grants of A. D. 1279,[3] makes local provision for, amongst other things, "the tax which had to be paid to the Turashkas," *i.e.* the Musalmân kings of Delhi, "by all people from the Kanarese country residing at Benares."

Vîra-Ballâla III.

Narasiṁha III. was succeeded by his son Ballâḷa or Vîra-Ballâḷa III. Of this reign, we have some eleven or twelve records; similarly, all from Mysore. The earliest of them is an inscription at Hemmaragâl,[4] which furnishes for him a date in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March), falling in A. D. 1292, of the Khara *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1213 (expired). And the latest unquestionable one is an inscription at Tigaḍahalli,[5] which is dated in the month Mârgaśira (Nov.-Dec.), falling in A. D. 1337, of the Îśvara *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1260 (expired). The records give him all the customary paramount epithets and titles, and style him *Pratâpa-Chakravartin*; and they mention Dôrasamudra as his capital in A. D. 1310, 1316, and 1336. But it seems unlikely that he exercised much sovereign power after A. D. 1310. As will be seen in the next chapter, Allâ-ud-dîn, the second of the Khiljî emperors of Delhi, had then already invaded the Dekkan, and had commenced and almost completed the conquest of the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri. As yet, the Hoysaḷas had remained free from attack. But, in A. D. 1310, Allâ-ud-dîn sent an army, under Malik Kâfur and Khwâjâ Hâjî, to reduce Dôrasamudra. Leaving part of their forces at Paiṭhaṇ on the Gôdâvarî, Malik Kâfur and Khwâjâ Hâjî continued their march to the south,— entered and laid waste the Hoysaḷa kingdom,— engaged, defeated, and captured Vîra-Ballâḷa III.,— and took

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[1] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 18, the last part; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 267.
[2] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. TN. 27.
[3] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 20; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 275.
[4] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., No. Nj. 103.
[5] *ibid.* No. Ml. 109.— It is doubtful whether No. Md. 85 belongs to the time of this king, in A. D. 1311, or whether it should be placed in A. D. 1221 and referred to Vîra-Ballâḷa II.

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and despoiled his capital.[1] The complete subjugation of the Hoysaḷa kingdom, and the annexation of it to the empire of Delhi, were not effected till A. D. 1327, in the reign of Muhammad Tughlak.[2] Meanwhile, it would appear, after his defeat and capture in A. D. 1310, Vîra-Ballâḷa III. was liberated, and continued, for a short time longer, the semblance of a reign, at the original capital of Bêlûr, rather than at Dôrasamudra; and it seems that, after the events of A. D. 1327, when Dôrasamudra is said to have been entirely demolished by the Musalmâns, he retired to Toṇḍanûr,—the modern Toṇṇûr near Seringapatam,—which continued to be the seat of an enfeebled power for about fifty years more under him and some successor.[3] The power of the Hoysaḷas as a dynasty, however, was practically extinguished in A. D. 1310.

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[1] *Ferishta* (Brigg's Translation), Vol. I. p. 373; and Elphinstone's *History of India*, Cowell's edition, p. 396.

[2] *Ferishta*, Vol. I. p. 413.

[3] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. lxxix; and Mr. Rice's *Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. II. p. 297.—Ferishta (Vol. I. pp. 418, 419) tells us that, in A. D. 1338, Bâhâ-ud-dîn, more commonly known by his original name of 'Koorshasip,' rebelled against his uncle, Muhammad Tughlak, and, being defeated, deserted his government of Sâgar, and fled to the Hoysaḷa court; and that he was given up to the king by the then representative of the family, whom Ferishta calls Ballâḷadêva.

CHAPTER VII.

THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

Chapter VII.

The Yâdavas of Dêvagiri.

The Yâdava kings of Dêvagiri were descended from a line of feudatory nobles, some of the members of which have already been mentioned in connection with the Râshtrakûta and Western Châlukya kings. Their claim to be "Yâdavas" probably rests on nothing but their Purâṇic genealogy, which appears first in a record of A. D. 1000, and must have been devised during the preceding century. And, since their original territory was called the Sêuṇa country, and the expression "the Sêuṇa king" is actually used to denote the first king Bhillama,[1] and he is also described as rendering highly prosperous the rule of the family of "the Sêvaṇa (*i.e.* Sêuṇa) kings,"[2] they would undoubtedly be more correctly called Sêuṇas. But they were known as Yâdavas to the Musalmân historians. So, also, the Hindû *Pratâparudrîya* speaks of them as the Yâdava kings of Sêvaṇa, *i.e.* of the Sêuṇa country.[3] And the name has become so thoroughly well established, that it seems both unnecessary and undesirable to now set it aside in favour of simply a more technically correct appellation.

The early history of the family is to be found partly in epigraphic records, and partly in the introduction to Hêmâdri's *Vratakhaṇḍa*.[4] The Purâṇic genealogy is perhaps given most fully by Hêmâdri. Among epigraphic records, it is found first in the Saṅgamnêr copper-plate grant of the *Mahâsâmanta* Bhillama II., dated in A. D. 1000,[5] and finally in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of king Râmachandra, dated in A. D. 1272.[6] And the essence of it is as follows :— In the beginning of things, there was the god Vishṇu ; in connection with whom, the Yâdavas claimed to belong to the Vishṇuvaṁśa or race of Vishṇu.[7] From the water-lily that grew from Vishnu's navel, there sprang the god Brahman. His son was Atri. And his was Sôma, Chandra, or Indu, the Moon ;[8] whence

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1 See page 504 above, note 2.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 217.

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 199.

4 Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884), Appendix C.

5 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 212.

6 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 314.

7 *e. g.*, Bhillama II. is styled *Vishṇu-vaṁś-ôdbhava* (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 219, text line 49) ; so also Bhillama III. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 120, text line 17), and Sêuṇadêva (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 126, text line 3). For later instances, in the regal line, see page 517 below, note 6.

8 Hêmâdri gives this part of the descent rather differently. He says that the couch of Vishṇu was the ocean of milk ; and that the Moon was produced from that ocean.

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the Yâdavas belonged also to the Sômavaṁśa or Lunar Race. The descent is then taken through various persons, until we come to Yadu, the founder of the Yaduvaṁśa, or race of Yadu, in the Lunar Race. Hêmâdri, who professes to give an absolutely complete pedigree, then proceeds to name all the descendants of Yadu in the line to which the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri belonged. The epigraphic records, however, do not aim at such completeness; and simply say that in the lineage of Yadu there was born that particular person with which each of them commences the genealogy.

Subâhu.

Coming to historical, or supposed historical, times, Hêmâdri says that there was a king named Subâhu, who had four sons, among whom he divided the earth. This person, however, is not mentioned in any of the epigraphic records that have come to light.

Dṛidhaprahâra.

According to Hêmâdri, the second son of Subâhu— (the others are not named)— was Dṛidhaprahâra, who received, as his portion, the "southern land," and established himself at a city named Śrînagara. This person is mentioned in the Bassein grant of A. D. 1069,[1] which, however, says that he came from the city of Dvârâvatî, and implies that his capital was a town named Chandrâdityapura; as suggested by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji,[2] this name is very possibly intended to denote the modern Chândôr in the Nâsik District. From an extract given by the Pandit, it seems that Dṛidhaprahâra is mentioned in the *Nâsakakalpa* of Jinaprabhusûri.[3]

Sêuṇachandra I.

According to the *Vratakhaṇḍa* and the Bassein grant of A. D. 1069, the son of Dṛidhaprahâra was Sêuṇachandra I., who is said to have founded a town named Sêuṇapura.[4] This person is the first member of the family who is mentioned in the Saṅgamnêr grant of A. D. 1000, and in the Kalas-Budrûkh grant of A. D. 1025.[5] And the former record says that he named both his territory and the people of it after himself,— a statement which will now be recognised as of importance in connection with the true appellation of his descendants. So, also, Hêmâdri says, more plainly, that, from his name, the territory was named Sêuṇadêśa. And this appellation of it occurs in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A. D. 1272.[6]

Dhâḍiyappa.

The son of Sêuṇachandra I. was Dhâḍiyappa, according to the Kalas-Budrûkh grant, and probably the Saṅgamnêr grant; Dhâḍiyasa, according to the MS. of the *Vratakhaṇḍa*: and Dvâḍiyappa, according to the Bassein grant of A. D. 1069: doubtless, the first of these three forms of his name is the correct one. The Bassein

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 119.
2 *ibid.* p. 124.
3 *ibid.* p. 124.
4 *ibid.* p. 121.— Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji rendered the verse as saying that he "founded the town of Sêuṇapura in the good Sindinêra." But this seems rather wanting in sense; Sindinêra itself being, not a country, but a town,— the modern Sinnar in the Nâsik District. And the text appears, to me, rather intended to state that it was at Sindinêra that Sêuṇachandra's son was born.
5 *id.* Vol. XVII. p. 117.
6 *id.* Vol. XIV. p. 314.

grant probably says[1] that he was born at Sindinêra, which, as pointed out by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji,[2] is the modern Sinnar, the chief town of the Sinnar tâluka in the Nâsik District.

Bhillama I.

Dhâḍiyappa's son was Bhillama I. No historical facts are stated in connection with this person.

Râja, or Râjagi.

The son of Bhillama I. was Râja, according to the Saṅgamnêr, Bassein, and Kalas-Budrûkh grants, and Râjagi, according to the *Vratakhaṇḍa*.[3] In connection with him, again, no historical facts are stated.

Vaddiga.

The son of Râja or Râjagi was a person whose name was Bâdagi according to Hêmâdri,—Vandiga according to the Saṅgamnêr grant,—and Vaddiga according to the Kalas-Budrûkh and Bassein grants; on the analogy of the name of one of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings, the last seems to be the correct form. The Saṅgamnêr record states that he married Voddiyavva, daughter of a person named Dhôrappa, whom Prof. Kielhorn has proposed to identify with the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dhruva.

Dhâḍiyama.

According to Hêmâdri, the son of Vaddiga was a person whose name was Dhâḍiyama according to the manuscripts, but whom Dr. Bhandarkar has preferred to look upon as more probably called Dhâḍiyasa. He is not mentioned in the Saṅgamnêr, Kalas-Budrûkh, and Bassein grants.

Bhillama II.

According to the three copper-plate records, Vaddiga was succeeded by Bhillama II., who, however, according to Hêmâdri, came next after the Dhâḍiyama mentioned just above: his precise relationship with his predecessor is not specified; the text, in each case, may mean either that he was born from Vaddiga (according to the copper-plate records) or from Dhâḍiyama (according to Hêmâdri), or, equally well, that he simply came next in order after one or other of those two persons, and not necessarily that he was the son of either of them. The Kalas-Budrûkh record tells us that his wife was Lakshmî, and that she illumined both the Yâdava and the Râshṭrakûṭa families; and the Bassein grant, speaking of her by the Prâkṛit name of Lachchhiyavvâ, mentions her as a daughter of a person named Jhañjha, and as belonging to the Râshṭrakûṭa lineage.[4] The Sangamnêr grant, from the Ahmednagar District,[5] is a record of Bhillama II. himself. It styles

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[1] See page 512 above, note 4.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 124.

[3] From the three copper charters, his name might quite possibly be taken as Srîrâja. But the *srî* is not repeated in any of them, as (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8, note 3) was customary when it was an inherent part of a name. And, in connection with this point, I think that the verse in the *Vratakhaṇḍa*, in which *srî* is not used at all, proves that his name was simply Râja or Râjagi.

[4] From a further expression in the same passage, tending perhaps to connect her with three kingdoms or sovereignties, Dr. Bhandarkar (*Early History of Dekkan*, 1884, p. 77, and note 2) considered that it was on her mother's side that she was of Râshṭrakûṭa descent, and that her father is to be identified with the prince Jhañjha of the Northern Koṅkaṇ branch of the Silâhâra family (see chapter VIII. below). But, as the Silâhâra Jhañjha's period was two full generations before A. D. 997, this identification is impossible; and I take Lakshmî's father to be a member of some northern offshoot of the Râshṭrakûṭa stock.— The name Jhañjha is not unique. It occurs also in one of the branches of the Maurya family, in the direction of Khândêsh (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 222).

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 212.

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him a *Mahâsâmanta,*— mentions him as a pious worshipper of the god Bhava ('Siva),— gives him the hereditary title of "supreme lord of the town of Dvârâvatî," and describes him as born in the race of Vishṇu,— and records that he granted to Brâhmaṇs a village situated just on the west of the modern Saṅgamnêr. The grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Bhâdrapada of the 'Sârvarin *saṁvatsara,* 'Saka-Saṁvat 922 (expired). The English date would be the 2nd August, A.D. 1000, for the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada, and the 31st August, for the *amânta* Bhâdrapada; but there was no eclipse on either of these days. Coupled with his feudatory title, the date shews that Bhillama II. was a vassal of the Western Châlukya king Iṛivabeḍaṅga-Satyâśraya.

Vêsû.

The son of Bhillama II. was Vêsû according to the Kalas-Budrûkh grant,— Vêsugi according to Hêmâdri,— and probably Vêsûka according to the Bassein grant.[1] And the latter record tells us that his wife was Nâyiladêvî or Nâyaladêvî, the daughter of a chieftain named Gôgi, who may probably be identified with Goggi, son of the Chaulukya Bârapppa of the Lâṭa country.[2]

Arjuna, and Râja.

Hêmâdri places after Vêsû a person named Arjuna, and after the latter a person named Râja. But these names are not mentioned in the copper-plate records.

Bhillama III.

The Kalas-Budrûkh and Bassein grants tell us that the son of Vêsû was Bhillama III. The former also tells us that his capital was Sindînagara, which is identical with the Sindinêra mentioned above in connection with Dhâḍiyappa, *i.e.* with Sinnar in the Nâsik District. And the latter says that his wife was Hâmmâ or Avvalladêvî, daughter of Jayasiṁha II. and sister of Âhavamalla-Sômêśvara I. of the Western Châlukya dynasty. The Kalas-Budrûkh charter, from the Ahmadnagar District,[3] is a record of Bhillama III. himself. It gives him the *biruda* of Yâdava-Nârâyaṇa. It styles him a *Mahâsâmanta,* and describes him as born in the lineage of Vishṇu. And it records that he granted the village of Kalas-Budrûkh itself to some Brâhmaṇs. The grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun in the month Kârttika of the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara,* 'Saka-Saṁvat 948 (current). And the corresponding English date is the 23rd November, A. D. 1025; on which day there was an annular eclipse of the sun,

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[1] Where, however, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji read the name as Têsûka.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 203, where the name is wrongly given as Goṅgi; this person was the great-grandfather of Trilôchanapâla, for whom the same record furnishes the date of A.D. 1051, and the father of Kîrtirâja, for whom another record furnishes the date of A. D. 1017-18 or 1018-19.—The expression in the printed text of the Bassein grant is *Châluky-ânvaya-maṇḍalika-tilaka*; but there must be a mistake, whether of the original or otherwise, for *Chauluky-ânvaya, &c.*— Dr. Bhandarkar (*loc. cit.* p. 77, and note 4) considered that these words make Gôgi or Goggi, not himself a Châlukya (Chaulukya) chieftain, but a feudatory of some member of that family, and proposed to identify him with Goggi, the brother of the 'Silâhâra prince Jhañjha. But whatever the grammatical possibilities may be, the words, on the analogy of all similar expressions in epigraphic records, unavoidably stamp this Gôgi or Goggi as himself a Châlukya (Chaulukya). And further, as the 'Silâhâra prince Goggi stands two generations before A. D. 997 (see chapter VIII. below), his date is too early for the proposed identification.

[3] *id.* Vol. XVII. p. 117.

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visible in India.[1] This date, coupled with his feudatory title, shews that Bhillama III. was a vassal of the Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha II.

Vâdugi, Vêsugi, and Bhillama IV.

According to Hêmâdri, Bhillama III. was succeeded by Vâdugi; Vâdugi, by Vêsugi; and the latter, by another Bhillama, the fourth of that name. These names, however, do not occur in the Bassein grant, which is the only epigraphic authority for the period immediately after Bhillama III.

Sêuṇachandra II.

Next after Bhillama III., but without any attempt to define the exact relationship, the Bassein grant mentions Sêuṇachandra II.,[2] who by Hêmâdri is called simply Sêuṇa and is placed after Bhillama IV. The charter further tells us that, just as the three worlds were raised from the ocean by the god Vishṇu in his incarnation as a boar, so, after the death of Bhillama, Sêuṇachandra II. conquered all the kings and lifted up the sovereignty, with its dignity; and the text conveys the impression that the Yâdavas underwent some deprivation of their rank and authority after the time of Bhillama III., and that their position was eventually regained by Sêuṇachandra II. Hêmâdri adds that he saved Paramardidêva, *i.e.* the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., from a coalition of his enemies, and that he established that "light or glory of the Châlukya family" in the sovereignty of Kalyâṇa. The Bassein charter,[3] from the Ṭhâṇa District, is a record of Sêuṇachandra II. himself. It styles him a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*. And it registers the fact that in the month Śrâvaṇa (July-Aug.), falling in A. D. 1069, of the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 991 (expired), he granted to his royal family-priest Sarvadêvâcharya, who was versed in all the Śaiva precepts, a village named Chiñchuli, which may be identified, as was done by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji,[4] with the modern Chiñchôli, about ten miles south-east of Nâsik and eight miles north-west of Sinnar. Coupled with his subordinate title, the date of this record shews that Sêuṇachandra II. was a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara II. Another record of his time is an inscription at Wâghlî in Khândêsh,[5] dated somewhat earlier, in the month Âshâḍha (June-July), in the same year, recording a grant by Sêuṇachandra II. himself, and others by a subordinate of his named Gôvindarâja, of the Maurya family, belonging to a long lineage which traced back its origin to the city of Valabhî in Surâshṭra or Kâṭhiâwâḍ.[6] It seems possible that Sêuṇachandra II. is the Sêvaṇa whom a Gadag inscription of A. D. 1191[7] speaks of as the first ancestor, therein mentioned, of the then reigning king Bhillama.

Sêuṇadêva.

The only other epigraphic record, bearing on the earlier history of the family, is an inscription at Añjanêrî in the Nâsik District,[8] which

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[1] Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 212, 213, and Plate 106.
[2] In line 20 his name appears in the form of Sêuṇêndu; it occurs as Sêuṇachandra in line 26.
[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 119.
[4] *ibid.* p. 124.
[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 221.
[6] See page 284 above.
[7] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 217.
[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 126.

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gives us the name of the *Mahâsâmanta* Sêuṇadêva.[1] It allots to him the *biruda* of Yâdava-Nârâyaṇa; and it styles him "supreme lord of the town of Dvârâvatî," and describes him as born in the race of Vishṇu, and as a very sun to cause to burst open the bud of the water-lily that was the Yâdava family. And it records a grant made by him in the month Jyêshṭha (May-June), falling in A.D. 1142, of the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Saka-Saṁvat 1063 by mistake for 1064 (expired).[2] This record contains no genealogical information. But we can hardly doubt that this person, Sêuṇadêva, was a descendant, or a collateral relative, of Sêuṇachandra II. And his date, coupled with his subordinate title, shews that he was a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Perma-Jagadêkamalla II.

Parammadêva, Siṁhirâja, Mallugi, Amaragâṅgêya, Gôvindarâja, Amaramallagi, and Kâlîya-Ballâla.

Sêuṇadêva is not mentioned by Hêmâdri, who places the following names after that of Sêuṇa or Sêuṇachandra II. That person, he says, was succeeded by Parammadêva; and the latter, by his younger brother Siṁhirâja, who is said to have brought an elephant named Karpûra-tilaka from a town called Lañjîpura or Trañjîpura.[3] Siṁhirâja was succeeded by Mallugi, who is alleged to have taken from his enemies a city named Parṇakhêṭa, and to have captured a troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala, *i.e.* Orissa. Mallugi was succeeded by his son Amaragâṅgêya.[4] This person was succeeded by Gôvinda-râja. The latter was succeeded by Amaramallagi, another son of Mallugi. And Amaramallagi was succeeded by Kâlîya-Ballâla. The succession is said to have then gone from this person to his paternal uncle Bhillama, in preference to his own sons. And the names given by Hêmâdri, immediately after this, shew that this person is the Bhillama who will be mentioned more fully just below,— the first paramount king in the family.

It is rather curious that a leading discrepancy occurs at this point,— just before the introduction of Bhillama, and in connection with his parentage. Hêmâdri leads us to infer that his father was Mallugi, the son of Siṁhirâja; no other paternal uncle of Kâlîya-Ballâla being mentioned by him. And his father is distinctly named as Mallugi in an undated record, of the period A.D. 1210 to 1247, at Ânawaṭṭi in Mysore,[5] and in the Haralahaḷḷi grant of A.D. 1238;[6] and it seems to be implied by the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 1272, which adds that Mallugi's father was Siṅghaṇa,— evidently identical with Hêmâdri's

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[1] His name occurs as Sêuṇadêva in line 4. In line 12 he is spoken of as "the great king who has the appellation of Sêuṇa (*Sêuṇ-âkhya-mahâ-nṛipa*)."

[2] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 422.

[3] Dr. Bhandarkar suggests that the modern Tanjore is meant (*loc. cit.* p. 79, note 1). — Tanjore is mentioned as Tañjâpurî in the spurious Sûḍi grant of Bûtuga (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 183).

[4] The Haraḷâhaḷḷi grant of A.D. 1238 places a person of this name at some indefinite position among the ancestors of Mallugi (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 386, text line 7).

[5] At the temple of Kaitabhêśvara. The record stands below one of A.D. 1070, of the time of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara II. (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 200; verified from an ink-impression). It does not give the name of Mallugi's father.— In the transcription, the name of Mallugi himself is written 'Vellugi;' how the mistake occurred, is obvious to any one acquainted with the Kanarese characters of the period.

[6] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 383. This record, again, does not give the name of Mallugi's father.

Siṁhirâja,—who, it says, subdued the king of Karṇâṭa, punished the Pâṇḍyas, and repulsed the leader of the Gurjaras.[1] These statements seem, at first sight, fairly conclusive. Nevertheless, a record of A. D. 1191, of the time of Bhillama himself,[2] tells us that his father was Karṇa: it says that there was a certain Sêvaṇa; that Sêvaṇa's son was Mallugi; that Mallugi had two sons, Amaragaṅga and Karṇa; and that Karṇa was the father of the then reigning king, Bhillama. We can hardly avoid holding, with Prof. Kielhorn, that this statement regarding the parentage of Bhillama must be accepted; for it is difficult to believe that the author of the record could be mistaken in respect of the name of the father of the sovereign whose grant he was registering. And,—though it is not easy to make them fit in with Hêmâdri's account, unless we assume that the name of Sêvaṇa or Sêuṇa was turned into Siṁhirâja or Siṅghaṇa by some copyist or through some other mistake,—there is also no apparent reason why the other names, immediately preceding that of Karṇa, should be rejected. Accordingly, this record being followed in preference to the others, the table of the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri will now stand as given on page 519 below. The kings of this dynasty had, like the Hoysalas of Dôrasamudra, the hereditary title of *Dvârâvatî-purâvar-âdhîśvara*, or "supreme lord of Dvârâvatî, the best of towns,"[3] with reference to Dvâravatî, Dvârâvâtî, or Dvârakâ,—the modern Dwârkâ in Kâṭhiâwâḍ,—the city of Krishṇa, the incarnation of Vishṇu; the *birudas*, evidently borne by all them, of Yâdava-Nârâyaṇa, "a very Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu) among the Yâdavas,"[4] and Râya-Nârâyaṇa, "a very Nârâyaṇa among kings;"[5] and the epithet of *Vishṇu-vaṁśôdbhava*, "born in the race of Vishṇu:"[6] and they carried the *suvarṇa-Garuḍa-dhvaja* or banner of a golden Garuḍa,[7] which device also appears, instead of a separate crest, on the seals of their charters, sometimes alone,[8] and sometimes in conjunction with a representation of the monkey god Hanumat,[9] which appears alone in one instance,[10] and may perhaps have been their *lâñchhana* or crest.

Sêvaṇa, Mallugi, Amaragaṅga, and Karṇa.

As already indicated, the names of Sêvaṇa, Mallugi, Amaragaṅga, and Karṇa, are taken from an inscription of A. D. 1191, at Gadag, of the time of Karṇa's son Bhillama. The record states no historical facts in connection with any of them. Sêvaṇa may possibly be

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 314.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 217.

[3] For instances in print, see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 7, line 10, in the case of Siṅghaṇa; *ibid.* p. 34, line 13, in the case of Krishṇa; and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 46 (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 125), in the case of Râmachandra.

[4] Instances in print are, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 44, text line 53, in the case of Krishṇa; and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 127 (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 202), in the case of Râmachandra.

[5] Instances in print are *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 72 (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 201) in the case of Siṅghaṇa; *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 42, text line 14, in the case of Krishṇa; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 317, line 58, in the case of Râmachandra.

[6] *e.g.*, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 219, text line 11, in the case of Bhillama; *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 7, text line 10, in the case of Siṅghaṇa; and *ibid.* p. 35, line 13, in the case of Krishṇa.

[7] *e.g.*, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 35, text line 14.

[8] *e.g.*, *id.* Vol. XV. p. 383; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. pp. 68, 314.

[9] *e.g.*, *id.* Vol. XII. p. 4.

[10] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 303.

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Bhillama.

identical with the Sêuṇachandra II. of the Bassein and Wâghlî records, for whom we have the date of A. D. 1069.

The first paramount sovereign in this family was Karṇa's son Bhillama, who, in one of the Hoysaḷa records, is called "the Sêuṇa king."[1] Of his time, we have three certain records. Two are stone inscriptions, at Muttagi in the Bijâpur District,[2] and at Aṇṇîgere in Dhârwâr:[3] they are both dated on the occasion of the winter solstice, falling in December, A. D. 1189, of the Saumya *saṁvatsara* (Saka-Saṁvat 1111 expired); and, citing that *saṁvatsara* as the third year of his reign, they fix the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1110 current, = A.D. 1187-88, as his first year, and place his attainment of the sovereign power probably in A.D. 1187. The third is an inscription at Gadag in the Dhârwâr District,[4] dated on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Sunday, the new-moon day of the month Jyêshṭha of the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1113 (expired): the corresponding English date is Sunday, 23rd June, A. D. 1191, when there was a solar eclipse, visible in India; and this is the latest reliable date that we have for Bhillama.[5] These records give him the paramount epithets and titles of *samastabhuvanâśraya*, *śrîpṛithivîvallabha Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*,[6] and the style of *Pratâpa-Chakravartin*. Prior to A. D. 1187, he must have been a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara IV., from whom, in the last year or two of his reign,— with which his own reign overlapped,— he wrested the northern and eastern portions of the Châlukya kingdom. The Aṇṇîgere inscription claims that then, in December, A. D. 1189, "he had become the beloved of the goddess of sovereignty of the Karṇâṭa country, and was reigning

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[1] See page 504 above, note 2.

[2] At the temple of Narasiṁha (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 353; verified from an ink-impression.)

[3] At the temple of Amṛitêśvara (*ibid.* p. 356; verified from an ink-impression).

[4] At the temple of Trikûṭêśvara (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 217; this inscription is not in the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.*).

[5] The *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* includes (Vol. II. p. 361) the text of an inscription in front of the temple of Basappa at Bhairwâḍige in the Bijâpur District, which, according to the transcription, refers itself to the reign of Bhillama, and is dated on the occasion of the winter solstice, falling in December, A. D. 1191, of the same *saṁvatsara*, Virôdhikṛit coupled with Saka-Saṁvat 1114 (current). The date is a possible one; but not altogether probable, because that *saṁvatsara* was the first year of the reign of Bhillama's son and successor Jaitugi I., and the date is rather a late one in it. This record seems to be not now extant; at any rate, my men did not secure an ink-impression of it.— It also includes (*ibid*, p. 362) the text of an inscription in the temple of Îśvara at Dêvara-Hippargi in the Sindagi tâluka of the same district, which, also, according to the transcription, refers itself to the reign of Bhillama, and is dated on the occasion of the Kanyâ-saṁkrânti, or passage of the sun into Virgo, on Monday, the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Bhâdrapada of the Paridhâvin *saṁvatsara*, S.-S 1115 (current). Here, the approximate English date for the *tithi* is Monday, 31st August, A.D. 1192; the *saṁkrânti* having occurred on the preceding Thursday. This falls in the second year of Jaitugi I. And I think that there must be some mistake in the transcription, either in respect of the mention of Bhillama as the reigning king, or in connection with the *saṁvatsara* and the Saka year. So much of the surface of the stone has been worn away, by constant smearing and rubbing in worshipping it, that a legible ink-impression can probably not be made now. And, when I was at Dêvara-Hippargi, the date had not attracted my attention; and so I made no attempt to read it on the original stone, if it can be read there.

[6] The last two appear first in the Gadag inscription.

- Sêvaṇa.
  - Mallugi.
    - Amaragaṅga.
    - Karṇa.
      - (1) Bhillama. (A.D. 1187 to 1191)
        - (2) Jaitugi I. (A.D. 1191 to 1210)
          - (3) Siṅghaṇa. (A.D. 1210 to 1247)
            - Jaitugi II.
              - (4) Krishṇa. (A.D. 1247 to 1260)
                - (6) Râmachandra. (A.D. 1271 to 1309-10)
                  - Śaṁkara. (A.D. 1309-10 to 1312)
                  - Bhîma.
                  - (A daughter, married to Harapâla)
              - (5) Mahâdêva. (A.D. 1260 to 1271)
                - Âmaṇa.

over the whole kingdom." But the Gadag inscription, of June, A. D. 1191, stating that his victorious camp was then at Hêrûr,— *i. e.*, probably, Bêlûr in the Bijâpur District, about thirty miles north by east from Gadag,[1]— indicates that at that time he was still engaged in a campaign in the direction of the south. And passages in the records of his grandson Siṅghaṇa, shew pretty plainly that, — in addition to the Hoysaḷas and the Pâṇḍyas of Gutti in the Noḷambavâḍi country,— the Raṭṭas of Saundatti; the Śilâhâras of Karâḍ, and the Kâdambas of Hângal and of Goa, did not recognise the sovereignty either of Bhillama or of his son, and, consequently, that a good deal of the central and western portion of the Western Châḷukya kingdom remained unsubdued. Bhillama subsequently lost the southern provinces to the Hoysaḷa king Vîra-Ballâḷa II., who extended his own kingdom up to a boundary constituted by the Malparbhâ and the Krishṇa, from the point where the Malparbhâ joins it.[2] And he seems to have been killed in

[1] The original name of Bêlûr was Pêrûr, *i. e.* Hêrûr (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 271).
[2] See pages 503, 504, above.

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the decisive battle between the Yâdavas and the Hoysalas, which was fought in the neighbourhood of Soratûr and Lakkuṇḍi near Gadag,[1] and is to be placed at some time in the latter half of A. D. 1191. In addition to mentioning his acquisition of the sovereignty of Kalyâṇa, *i. e.* of the Western Châlukyas, and his successful opposition, at first, to the Hoysala king, Hêmâdri seems to say[2] that Bhillama captured a town called Śrîvardhana from a king named Aṁsala,—that he vanquished in battle the king of Pratyaṇḍaka,—and that he put to death the ruler, named Vajrin, of Maṅgalavêshṭaka, which place Dr. Bhandarkar has identified, doubtless correctly, with Maṅgalvêḍhêṁ, between the Shôlâpur and Bijâpur Districts. And Hêmâdri also says that he founded the city of Dêvagiri in the Sêuṇa country,[3] which is the modern Daulatâbâd, near Auraṅgâbâd, in the Nizâm's Dominions.[4] The truth of this assertion about the founding of Dêvagiri is quite possible: but the earliest epigraphic reference to the city is in a record of A. D. 1210, in which it is mentioned as the capital at which Bhillama's grandson Siṅghaṇa was reigning; and the Muttagi inscription of December, A. D. 1189, says that Bhillama was then reigning at a place named Tenevalage.[5] The same record incidentally describes him as a wrestler against the Mâlavas, and a goad to the elephants that were the Gurjaras. And a record of his grandson's time, belonging to A. D. 1222, claims that he defeated the Lâṭas, as well as the Gurjaras and the Karṇâṭa king.[6] The Muttagi inscription, of A. D. 1189, mentions, as officials of his, the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Bâhattara-niyôg-âdhipati*, *Paṭṭasâhaṇâdhipati*, and *Sênâpati* Peyiya-Sâhaṇi, and a certain Malleya-Sâhaṇi, who joined with the former in making the grant that is registered in the record. The Aṇṇîgere inscription, of the same date, mentions, as a feudatory, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Bâchaṇa or Bâchidêva, apparently also called Bhâskara, who was governing the Belvola district, of which, it says, Aṇṇîgere was the royal city or chief town. And the Gadag inscription, of June, A. D. 1191, mentions a *Mantrin* or counsellor named Jaitasiṁha, at whose request Bhillama granted the village of Hiriya-Handigôḷ, in the Belvola three-hundred, to the temple of the god Trikûṭêśvara at Gadag: this person is probably the Jaitrasiṁha, "the right arm, as it were, of Bhillama," by destroying whom, the Hoysala inscription of A. D. 1192 at Gadag says, Vîra-Ballâla II. acquired the lordship of the country of Kuntala.[7] Another record of this period mentions the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Vikramâditya II., of the Gutta family, as ruling the Banavâsi province, towards the end of A. D. 1191, at his own capital of Guttavolal: this record does not refer to any paramount

[1] See page 504 above.
[2] Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884), p. 81, and Appendix C.
[3] *id.* p. 117, verse 19.
[4] Lat. 19° 57′; long. 75° 18″; Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 38,—'Dowlutabad.'
[5] I cannot identify this place. It is probably to be looked for somewhere in the Nizâm's Dominions.
[6] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 344.
[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 303; and see page 502 above.

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sovereign; and the Gutta prince may have acknowledged either Bhillama or his son Jaitugi I., or the Hoysala king Vîra-Ballâḷa II., as his master, or he may have been practically independent, pending the issue of the contest between the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri and the Hoysalas for the southern provinces.

Jaitugi I.

Bhillama was succeeded in the sovereignty, probably in the latter half of A.D. 1191, by his son Jaitugi I., also called Jaitapâla and Jaitrapâla.[1] Of his time, we have three certain records, which mention him as the reigning king.[2] One is a stone inscription at Bijâpur,[3] dated in the month Pausha, on a *tithi* falling in December, A. D. 1196, of the Anala or Nala *saṁvatsara* (Saka-Saṁvat 1118 expired); it cites the *saṁvatsara* as the sixth year of his reign, and thus fixes the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1114 current, = A. D. 1191-92, as his first year. Another is an undated stone inscription at Managôḷi in the same district.[4] And the third is a stone inscription at Dêûr in the same district:[5] it was dated; but the date seems to be now illegible. The Bijâpur and Dêûr records style him *Pratâpa-Chakravartin*; and the Managôḷi record gives him the paramount epithets of *sâmastabhuvanâśraya* and *śrîpṛithivîvallabha*.[6] The Bijâpur record mentions an officer of his, the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Sênâpati*, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Saṁkara, who then, in A. D. 1196, was governing the Tardavâḍi thousand. The Dêvara-Hippargi inscription, which may or may not belong to his time,[7] gives the name of a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Goṇamarasa, who had preceded Saṁkara in the charge of that district and was governing it in A. D. 1192. An inscription of his son's time, written about A. D. 1222, mentions two brothers, Sôidêva and Hêmâḍidêva, of the Nikumbha family, who in A. D. 1207 were governing a district containing sixteen hundred villages in the neighbourhood of Pâṭṇa in Khândêsh,[8] and must have been feudatories of Jaitugi I.; and it also tells us that Jaitugi appointed Lakshmîdhara, son of the well-known astronomer Bhâskarâchârya, to the post of chief paṇḍit in his service. And a later record of his son's time, of A.D. 1240,[9] mentions a *Mahâpradhâna* and *Bâhattara-niyôg-âdhipati* named Pârisaśeṭṭi,— then holding, under Siṅghaṇa, the office of *Sarvâdhikârin* or general manager of the

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[1] His name appears as Jaitugi in his Managôḷi and Dêûr records; as Jaitapâla in his Bijâpur record; and as Jaitrapâla in a later record of about A.D. 1222 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 338), and in the *praśastis* of Hêmâdri's *Vratakhanda*.

[2] To his time belong also the Kaḷhoḷi inscription of A. D. 1204 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 220), and the Bhôj copper-plate grant of A. D. 1208 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 242). But they do not mention him or any paramount sovereign.

[3] On a pillar in the southern gateway of the citadel (*Carn.-Dêsa Incsrs.* Vol. II. p. 369; verified from an ink-impression).

[4] At the temple of Hanumanta (*ibid.* p. 370; verified from an ink-impression).

[5] At the temple of Râmaliṅga (*ibid.* p. 373; verified from an ink-impression).

[6] His name is not actually extant in this part of the record; but it must be his name that stood here.

[7] See page 518 above, note 5.

[8] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 338.— As regards the date which it furnishes for Sôidêva and his brother, wrongly coupling the Prabhava *saṁvatsara* with Saka-Saṁvat 1128 instead of with 1129 (expired), see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 422.

[9] At a temple of the Ṛishis at Hagariṭige in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 437).

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Hagarattage three-hundred,— who, it says, had done something, probably by quelling local opposition, to effect the development of the sovereignty of Jaitugi I. The Pâṭṇa record, of about A. D. 1222, and some later records, claim that Jaitugi I. defeated the Andhras. Hêmâdri says that, in the battle-field, he "performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the lord of the Tailaṅgas,"[1] *i. e.* the king of the Andhra, Trikaliṅga, or Têluṅga country; this person must be the Kâkatîya king Rudradêva, for whom the Anamkoṇḍ inscription[2] furnishes the date of A. D. 1163. And the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A. D. 1272, mentioning the same matter, in the statement that he slew the king of Trikaliṅga and seized the whole of his kingdom, adds that he took Gaṇapati out of prison and made him lord of his country;[3] this person, Gaṇapati, is Rudradêva's nephew, for whom we have the later date of A. D. 1250-51.[4]

Siṅghaṇa.

Jaitugi I. was succeeded, probably in A. D. 1210, by his son Siṅghaṇa, whose name appears also as Siṁha, Siṁhala, and Siṁhaṇa, Of his reign, some fifty records are now known.[5] The earliest of them, at Iṅgali in the Nizâm's Dominions,[6] is dated in the month Âśvina (Sept.-Oct.), falling in A. D. 1210, of the Pramôdûta *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1132 (expired); and the latest is the Kaḍakoḷ inscription, from the Dhârwâr District,[7] dated in the month Mârgaśira (Nov.-Dec.), falling in A. D. 1246, of the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara* (S.-S. 1169 current), which is quoted as the thirty-seventh year of his reign. This latter record indicates the Pramôdûta *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1133 current, = A. D. 1210-11, as his first regnal year; and, taken in connection with the actual date of the Iṅgali inscription, this would place the commencement of his reign in A. D. 1210, on or before Âśvina śukla 13, corresponding, approximately, to the 3rd October.[8] His records are found at various places in the Khândêsh,

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1 *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884), p. 82.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 9.

3 *id.* Vol. XIV. p. 314; and see Vol. XXI. p. 198.

4 *id.* Vol. XXI. p. 197.

5 For some of his own records which have been published with the texts, see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 7 (at Khêdrâpur; of A. D. 1213); *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 110 (at Bahâḷ; of A. D. 1222); *id.* Vol. I. p. 338 (at Pâṭṇa; of about the same year); *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 11, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 233, and Vol. III. p. 116 (at Manôḷi; of the same year); *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 383 (from Haraḷahaḷḷi; of A. D. 1238); and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 100 (at Kaḍakoḷ; of A. D. 1246).— For other edited inscriptions of his time which do not mention him, see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 240 (at Nêsargi; of A. D. 1218), and p. 260 (at Saundatti; of A. D. 1228).

6 An inscription at the temple of Mûlappayya (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 377).

7 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 100.

8 There appear to be seventeen other records which agree in indicating the Pramôdûta *saṁvatsara* as the first year of his reign; *viz.*, inscriptions at Kurtakôṭi (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 655; below an undated record of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI.), Kuppaṭûr (*id.* Vol. II. pp. 387, 414), Ablûr (*ibid.* p. 388), Chikka-Kerûr (p. 390), Muḷgund (pp. 396, 397), Kallukeri (pp. 398, 413), Saṅgûr (p. 411), Gobbûr (p. 412), Tiḷawaḷḷi (p. 415), Hagariṭige (p. 437), Sâtênhaḷḷi (p. 440), Yaḷawâḷ (p. 443), Hosahaḷḷi (p. 444), and Kaulûr (p. 447): but I have not been able to verify them. The months of the records which agree, or appear to agree, with this result, run all through the year, from Chaitra to Phâlguna.— Differing from it, there is an inscrip-

Bijâpur, Belgaum, and Dhârwâr Districts, from Bahâl and Pâtna on the north to Rattêhalli in the extreme south,— at Kôlhâpur, and in its neighbourhood,— at Ambâ, Chikka-Muddanûr, Gobbûr, Hagaritige, and Ingali, in the Nizâm's Dominions,— and at Ânawatti, Balagâmve, Kuppatûr, and Yalawâl, in Mysore; and it is thus plain that he eventually established his sway over the whole of the Western Châlukya kingdom. They give him the full paramount epithets and titles, including *Paramabhattâraka*;[1] and they style him *Pratâpa-Chakravartin*, and occasionally *Praudhâpratâpa-Chakravartin*,[2] and *Bhujabalapratâpa-Chakravartin*,[3] and perhaps also *Yâdava-Chakravartin*. The Ingali inscription of October, A. D. 1210, says that he was then reigning at Dêvagiri, and so also the Manôli inscription of A. D. 1222; the Khêdrâpur inscription of A. D. 1213 speaks of Dêvagiri as the place where he was established; and an inscription of A. D. 1216-17, at Yalawâl in Mysore,[4] states that the same town headed a list of eighty-four fortresses. And the records mention, as feudatories and officials,—the *Mahâpradhâna* Nârâyana-Lakshmîdêva, who was the *Dandanâyaka* for the *dakshina-mahî* or southern part of the kingdom and was governing "many districts," and the *Mahâmandalêśvara* Vîra-Bijjarasa, son of Ânegadêva, with the hereditary title of "supreme lord of Mâhishmatî, the best of towns,"— both with the date of October, A. D. 1210; a member of the Jîmûtavâhana lineage and the Khachara race, named Mallidêva; the *Mahâpradhâna*, *Sarvâdhikârin*, and *Mahâparamaviśvâsin* or most confidential agent Mâyidêvapandita, under whom, in A. D. 1215, a certain Hemmeyanâyaka was *Sunkâdhikârin* of the Banavâsi province, and who was himself governing the Halasige twelve-thousand in A. D. 1226; the *Mahâmandalêśvara* Ballâladêva, of the Mâsavâdi country, with the date of A. D. 1218;[5] the *Dandanâyaka* and *Sarvâdhikârin* Jagadala-Purushôttama, who appears to have been governing the Toragale six-thousand, and his younger brother, the *Dandanâyaka* Jôgadêva, with the date of A. D. 1222; the *Dandanâyaka* Vîchana, Bîcha, Bîchidêva, or Bîchirâya, who was the viceroy for the southern

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tion at the temple of Kalamêśvara at Gudigere, within the limits of the Dhârwâr District, which (I quote from an ink-impression) mentions the Îśvara *samvatsara* (Śaka-Samvat 1140 current), with a date in the month Śrâvana (July-Aug.), as his seventh year. And this would make the Prajâpati *samvatsara*, Ś.-S. 1134 current, = A. D. 1211-12, his first year.— I have come across two altogether anomalous instances (I quote them from ink-impressions). The inscription at the temple of Sômêśvara at ...irê-Wadawatti near Lakshmêshwar (see page 506 above, note 2), and an inscription at the temple of Gôpâlasvâmin at Chikka-Muddanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions, both quote the Bahudhânya *samvatsara*, Ś.-S. 1141 current, = A.D. 1218-19, as his nineteenth, instead of his ninth year; the month is Vaiśâkha in the former record, and Jyêshtha in the latter. This difference of ten years seems altogether unexplainable, except on the supposition of pure mistake: and, how such a mistake should occur in the first decade of his reign, itself seems impossible to understand; unless, indeed, the reckoning runs in these two cases from an appointment of Singhana as *Yuvarâja*.

[1] If the transcription of the Ingali inscription is correct, that record gives him the *biruda* of Tribhuvanamalla. But I have not met with it anywhere else; and I therefore look on it as doubtful.

[2] *e. g.*, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 388, text line 55.

[3] *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 100, text line 1-2.

[4] Near a temple of Îśvara outside the village (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 459).

[5] See page 506 above, note 2.

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part of the kingdom,—a subordinate of his, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Chikkadêva,—and the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Jôyidêva II., of the Gutta family,—with the date of A.D. 1238; a minister named Râmadêva or Râmarâja, with the date of A. D. 1240, apparently in charge of the territory in the neighbourhood of Ambâ near Auraṅgâbâd; the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Bâhattara-niyôg-âdhipati* Pârisaśeṭṭi, who in the same year was *Sarvâdhikârin* of the Hagaraṭṭage three-hundred; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Lakshmîpâladêvarasa, who in A. D. 1241 was governing the Nâgarakhaṇḍa district; and the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Bâhattara-niyôg-âdhipati*, the *Sênâpati* Bâchirâja, who, in May-June, A. D. 1247, was in charge of all the Karṇâṭaka provinces, and was stationed at Pulikaranagara, *i.e.* Lakshmêshwar. An inscription of A. D. 1213 at Gadag, coupled with the statement in the Paiṭhaṇ grant that he overthrew "Ballâla," shews that, even before the end of the reign of Vîra-Ballâla II., Siṅghaṇa succeeded in wresting back from the Hoysaḷas some of the territory that lay south of the Malparbhâ and the Krishṇa. And a record of A. D. 1215 at Baḷagâṁve shews still greater success, in the same direction, within the next two years. Meanwhile, the Banavâsi province was still held by the Gutta *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Vikramâditya II., whom a record of A.D. 1213 mentions as then ruling that territory at his capital of Guttavoḷal, and who may, as on a previous occasion, have been practically independent, pending the issue of the contest between Siṅghaṇa and the Hoysaḷas of Dôrasamudra. The Khêdrâpur inscription of A. D. 1213, and one of A. D. 1218-19 at Kôlhâpur, shew that Siṅghaṇa very speedily subjugated the Silâhâra territory also,—subduing Bhôja II., the last member of the Karâḍ branch of that family.[1] And the subjugation of the central, western, and south-western portions of what had been the Western Châlukya dominions, was effected by the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Vîchaṇa,—his viceroy for the southern part of the kingdom,—who reduced the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, and the Kâdambas of the Koṅkaṇ, *i.e.* of Goa:[2] this officer was also employed, more to the south and south-east, against the Hoysaḷas, and the Pâṇḍyas of Gutti, in the Noḷambavâḍi province, which is now the chief town of the Anantapur District, Madras Presidency;[3] and he claims to have carried his invasion so far as to set up a pillar of victory in the neighbourhood of the river Kâvêrî.[4] The references to Siṅghaṇa's success against the Hoysaḷas, whose dynasty was the principal rival of his own, are naturally rather numerous. Other passages describe him as a goad to the elephants that were the Gurjaras, a wrestler against the Mâlavas, an uprooter of the water-lily that was the head of the Têluṅga king, and, subsequently, an estab-

[1] An inscription at the temple of Îśvara at Tiḷawaḷḷi in the Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 416, and *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 112, lines 10, 11) speaks of Siṅghaṇa as *Paṇṇâḷa-nilaya-prabala-Bhôja-bhûpâla-vyâla-vidrâvaṇa-vihaṅgarâja*,—"a very king of the birds (Garuḍa) in putting to flight the serpent, the mighty Bhôja whose habitation was Paṇṇâla."—There are references to the overthrow of Bhôja, in several other records; and it seems to have been regarded as an achievement of rather special importance.

[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 385.

[3] Lat. 15°6'; long. 77°41'; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 58,—'Gooty.'

[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 385.

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lisher of the Têluṅga king,[1] — as destroying the elephants of Jâjalladêva,[2]— as defeating the kings of Mathurâ and Kâśî, and the Hammîras, *i.e.* the Musalmâns,— as conquering the Gaula and Chôḷa kings,— and as overthrowing the Andhra king, and Kakkalla,[3] and the lord of Bhambhâgiri, and Arjuna.[4] Hêmâdri, referring to his success against the Mâlavas, in the statement that with his troops of horses he besieged or obstructed the ruler of the Dhârâ territory, adds the name of Lakshmîdhara, "the lion of Bhaṅgârika," to the list of kings defeated by him. And one of the records claims, hyperbolically, that he enforced obedience to his commands from the kings of Mâlava, Chêra, Chôḷa, and Magadha, the Gurjaras and the Pâṇḍyas, the people of Lâḷa (*i.e.* Lâṭa) and Nêpâl, the Turashkas (*i.e.* the Musalmâns), the Barbarigas, the Kêralas, and the Pallavas, and the rulers of Aṅga, Veṅgî, Pâñchâla, Kaliṅga, and Sind, and thus reigned over the whole of India. As regards his alleged achievements in the north, it is a fact that he did invade the Gurjara country, or Gujarâṭ, on more than one occasion.[5] One expedition appears to have been led by a Brâhmaṇ general named Khôlêśvara. This was in the time of Lavaṇaprasâda, and his son Vîradhavala, *Râṇâs* of Ḍhôlkâ, of the Vâghêlâ branch of the Chaulukya family of Aṇhilwâḍ, when the nominal king was Bhîmadêva II.[6] On this occasion, Siṅghaṇa's forces crossed the Taptî, and, penetrating as far as the Mahî, overran and ravaged all the territory round Broach. And this campaign ended in a treaty of alliance[7] between Siṅghaṇa and Lavaṇaprasâda, which was concluded in April or May A.D. 1231 or 1232. Another expedition was led by Khôlêśvara's son Râmadêva or Râmarâja, in the time of Vîsaladêva, son of Vîradhavala, while he was still *Râṇâ* of Ḍhôlkâ, and before he appropriated the sovereignty of Aṇhilwâḍ.[8] This seems to have been about A.D. 1237-38. Râmadêva himself was slain in battle, on the banks of the Narmadâ. And, as Vîsaladêva claims to have, on some occasion, defeated Siṅghaṇa's army,[9] perhaps this expedition then turned back, unsuccessful. The Pâṭṇa inscription, written about A.D. 1222, furnishes some interesting literary information.[10] It mentions the well-known

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[1] On the other hand, the Têluṅga king himself, Gaṇapati,— for whom we have the date of A.D. 1250,— claims to have defeated Siṅghaṇa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 197).

[2] Evidently mentioned as Jajjala by Hêmâdri.

[3] Doubtless identical with the Kakkûla of Hêmâdri.

[4] Doubtless Arjunadêva, king of Aṇhilwâḍ, of the Vâghêlâ branch of the Chaulukya amily. His date, as king, was A.D. 1261-62 to 1274-75 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 213). ut he may have held a command under his father Vîsaladêva (A.D. 1243-44 to 1261-62), nd so have been contemporaneous with Siṅghaṇa.

[5] From the Ambâ inscription (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 85); and from madêva's *Kîrtikaumudî*, and the *Lêkhapañchâśikâ*, as quoted by Dr. Bhandarkar *Early History of the Dekkan*, 1884, pp. 83-85).

[6] The date of Bhîmadêva II. was A.D. 1178 to 1241-42 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 213). Lavaṇaprasâda, at first his feudatory, established his own independence just before A.D. 1219-20 (*ibid.* p. 190). Vîradhavala's period was A.D. 1219-20 to about 1238-39.

[7] Quoted in the *Lêkhapañchâśikâ*.

[8] Vîsaladêva's date as *Râṇâ* was about A.D. 1238-39 to 1243-44; and as king, from A.D. 1243-44 to 1261-62 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 213).

[9] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 191, 212.—The record says also that Vîsaladêva married a daughter of the king of the Karṇâṭa. Whether Siṅghaṇa is intended, or the Hoysaḷa king, is not clear.

[10] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 338.— The record is also of linguistic interest, being written partly in Sanskṛit and partly in some old variety of Marâṭhî.

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astronomer Bhâskarâchârya, and his father Mahêśvara.[1] It tells us that Bhâskarâchârya's son Lakshmîdhara was made chief paṇḍit by Jaitugi I.; and that Lakshmîdhara's son Changadêva was the chief astrologer of Singhaṇa. And it records that Changadêva founded a college for the study of the *Siddhântaśirômaṇi* and other works, written by his grandfather and other unnamed relations.

Jaitugi II.

Singhaṇa's son was Jaitugi II., who seems to have died in his father's lifetime. He certainly did not reign. And no historical facts are stated in connection with him.

Kṛishṇa.

Singhaṇa was succeeded, probably early in A.D. 1247, by his grandson Kṛishṇa, whose name appears also in the Prâkṛit forms of Kanhara, Kanhâra, Kandhara, and Kandhâra.[2] The Bêhaṭṭi grant, from the Dhârwâr District,[3] dated on the new-moon day of the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A.D. 1253, of the Pramâdin *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1175, wrongly described as current instead of expired, says that that day fell in his seventh year; and this indicates the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1170 current,=A.D. 1247-48, as his first year. On the other hand, an inscription at Hulgûr, in the same district,[4] represents the full-moon day of Phâlguna (Feb.-March), falling in A.D. 1255, of the Ânanda *saṁvatsara* (S.-S. 1177 current), as being in his ninth year; and this would point to the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1169 current,=A. D. 1246-47, as his first year. But at any rate the whole of the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara* did not belong to his reign; for it is cited, with a date in November-December, A. D. 1246, as the thirty-seventh year of Singhaṇa.[5] And possibly the explanation is that Kṛishṇa succeeded nearly at the end of that *saṁvatsara*, in the first three months of A.D. 1247; and that, consequently, the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara* was more usually reckoned as the first year of his reign. In addition to the Bêhaṭṭi and Hulgûr records, others have been obtained at Beṇḍigeri,[6] Chikka-Bâgewâḍi,[7] Mamdâpur, and Manôḷi,[8] in the Beḷgaum District, and at Chauḍadâmpur, Gadag, Hûvina-Sigaḷḷi, Kallukeri, and Nâgâvi, in Dhârwâr. And, coupled with the statements in the Manôḷi and Bêhaṭṭi records that he reigned and held his court at Dêvagiri, the localities suffice to shew that he kept together the kingdom to which he had succeeded. The earliest of the records is the Chikka-Bâgewâḍi grant, dated in the month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A. D. 1249, of th[e] Saumya *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1171 expired; the latest is a

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[1] Mahêśvara is also mentioned in the Bahâḷ inscription of A.D. 1222 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 110), with a great-grandson named Anantadêva.

[2] The transcriptions in the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* would add 'Kannara.' But in two cases, at any rate (the Manôḷi and Chauḍadâmpur inscriptions), this is a mistake for, respectively, 'Kandhara' and 'Kanhara.'

[3] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 42.

[4] At the temple of Kalamêśvara, and below an earlier record of A.D. 1038. I quote from an ink-impression.

[5] See page 522 above.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 68.

[7] *id.* Vol. VII. p. 303.

[8] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 34.

inscription at Chaudadâmpur,[1] dated in Chaitra (March-April), falling in A.D. 1259, of the Siddhârthin *samvatsara* (S.-S. 1182 current). The Bêhaṭṭi grant gives him all the paramount epithets and titles, except *samastabhuvanâśraya*; and the records shew generally that he was styled, successively, *Pratâpa-Chakravartin*, *Bhujabalapratâpa-Chakravartin*, and *Bhujabalapraudhapratâpa-Chakravartin*. They mention, as officials, an *Amâtya* or minister and *Sarvadêśâdhikârin* named Malla or Malliśeṭṭi,— an elder brother of the Vîchaṇa who has been mentioned in connection with Siṅghaṇa,— who, in A.D. 1249, when residing at Mudgal in the Nizâm's Dominions, granted the village called Santeya-Bâgevâḍi, *i.e.* the modern Hirê-Bâgewâḍi in the Huvvalli or Mugutkhân-Hubḷi twelve in the Kuhuṇḍi country, which was one of the provinces subject to him, and in the same year granted the village of Tâmbrapurî in the Vêṇugrâma or Belgaum country; the *Râyarâjaguru* or royal preceptor Sômêśvaradêva, with the date of A.D. 1251; and Malliśeṭṭi's son, the *Mahâmâtya* and *Mahâpradhâna* Chauṇḍiśeṭṭi or Chauṇḍarâja, who obtained the Chikka-Bâgewâḍi and Beṇḍigeri charters which register the above two grants, and who himself in A.D. 1253 visited Kukkanûr in the Nizâm's Dominions, in the course of a victorious progress through the country, and granted that town, the chief town of a circle of thirty villages in the Beḷvola country. They contain vague expressions which claim successes for Krishṇa against the Mâlavas, the Gurjaras, and the Chôḷas, and in the Koṅkaṇ; they say that he destroyed Tripura, which seems to be the modern Têwar near Jabalpur, the capital of the Kalachuris of Central India; and they call him, like Siṅghaṇa, "an establisher of the Têluṅga king:" but otherwise they do not disclose any historical facts.

Mahâdêva.

Krishṇa was succeeded, in A.D. 1260, by his younger brother Mahâdêva, also called Vîra-Mahâdêva. Of this reign, eighteen records are now known,— at Renadâḷ near Kôlhâpur, and at Kôlhâpur itself; at Paṇḍharpur in the Shôlâpur District;[2] at Iṅglêshwar in the Bijâpur District; at Âlûr, Chauḍadâmpur, Hulgûr, Kalluk̇eri, Mêdûr, Pura, and Saṅgûr, in Dhârwâr; and at Kuḷigeri and Yâḷige, in the Nizâm's Dominions. One of the Chauḍadâmpur inscriptions,[3] dated in the month Vaiśâkha (April-May), falling in A. D. 1262, [o]f the Dundubhi *samvatsara* (Saka-Samvat 1185 current), cites the [sa]*mvatsara* as the third year of his reign, and thus establishes the [R]audra *samvatsara*, S.-S 1183 current, = A. D. 1260-61, as his [fir]st year:[4] and, there being nothing in the dates of his predecessor [o]pposed to the assumption, we may take it that his accession was in

[1] At the temple of Muktêśvara (*Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 473; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 110,— the four lines round the top of the stone).

[2] *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884), pp. 87-88.

[3] At the temple of Muktêśvara (*Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 480; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 110).

[4] In agreement with this, the record at Alûr— (in the Hângal tâluka; the inscription is at the temple of Kalamêśvara; and I quote from an ink-impression)— cites the Sukla *samvatsara* (Saka-Samvat 1192 current), = A.D. 1269-70, as his tenth year. And the Yâḷige, Saṅgûr, and Kalluker̤i records cite, if the transcriptions in the *Carn.-Désa Inscrs.* are correct, other regnal years in further accordance.

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the first part of the *saṁvatsara*, in A. D. 1260. The earliest of the records is the Renadâḷ inscription,[1] which is dated vaguely in the Durmati *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1183 (expired), = A. D. 1261-62, without any mention of the month, &c. The latest of them is the Kalluker inscription,[2] dated in the month Jyêshṭha (May-June), falling in A. D. 1270, of the Pramôdûta *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1193 current), cited as his eleventh year. But an inscription of his successor's time, at Dâvaṇgere in Mysore,[3] quoting vaguely the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1194 current), = A. D. 1271-72, seems to connect him with a date in that year,— probably in the early part of it. The Iṅglêshwar and Kuḷigeri inscriptions, dated in A. D. 1265, mention Dêvagiri as his capital; and the latter of them gives him all the paramount epithets and titles: others of the records style him *Prauḍhâpratâpa-Chakravartin*, *Bhujabalapratâpa-Chakravartin*, and *Bhujabalaprauḍhapratâpa-Chakravartin*. The Paiṭhaṇ grant of his successor, dated in A. D. 1272, claims that he overthrew Vîsala,[4] *i.e.* the Chaulukya king Vîsaladêva of Aṇhilwâḍ.[5] And Hêmâdri claims for him successes against also the kings of the Tailaṅga, Karṇâṭa, and Lâṭa countries, and against a certain Sôma or Sômêśvara in the Koṅkaṇ, possibly a member of the northern Koṅkaṇ branch of the 'Silâhâra family,[6] who must have broken out into some act of rebellion against his sovereign. The records mention, as feudatories and officials,— the Gutta *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Gutta III. who was ruling at Guttavoḷal, with dates in A. D. 1261, 1262, and 1265; the *Mahâpradhâna* Dêvarâja, who in A. D. 1264 was governing the southern part of the kingdom; the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Sarvâdhikarin* Toṟagaleya-Dêvarasa,— in all probability identical with the preceding,— with dates in the same and the next years; the *Mahâpradhâna* Siṅgayya-Dêvaṇaṇâyaka, with the date of A. D. 1264; a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* of the Hagarattage district named Gaṇapatidêvarasa, with the date of A. D. 1265; the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Sarvâdhikârin* Tipparasa, with the date of A. D. 1269; and the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Sarvâdhikârin* Viṭṭarasa, with the date of A. D. 1270. And Hêmâdri himself was one of his *Mantrins* or counsellors.[7] It appears that this person was a zealous builder of temples; and that the Hêmâḍpantî style of architecture, of which there are so many instances in the Dekkan districts and the Nizâm's Dominions, owes its name to him.[8]

Amaṇa.

Mahâdêva's son Âmaṇa is mentioned in only the Paiṭhaṇ gra[nt] of A. D. 1272.[9] As the record describes Râmachandra as forcib[ly] wresting the kingdom from him, he seems to have made an attem[pt] to succeed his father, but to have failed in it.

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1 At the temple of Kalamêśvara. I quote from an ink-impression.
2 On a pillar in the temple of Sômêśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 507).
3 *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 142; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 20.
4 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 314.
5 A. D. 1243-44 to 1261-62 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 213).
6 *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884), p. 87.
7 *ibid.* p. 88.
8 *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 93.
9 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 314.

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Râmachandra.

The succession accordingly went to Krishṇa's son Râmachandra, also called Vîra-Râmachandra, Râmadêva, and sometimes simply Râma, the date of whose accession may be placed in A. D. 1271. Of his time we now have twenty-three records,— copper-plate grants from Paithaṇ in the Nizâm's Dominions, and from Ṭhâṇa; and stone inscriptions at Kôlhâpur and Sidnûrle, at Benkankoṇd, Chauḍadâmpur, Kâginelli, Kargudarî, Kyâsanûr, Lakshmêshwar, Nâgâvi, Narêgal (in both the Hângal and the Rôṇ tâlukas), Raṭṭêhaḷḷi, Shiggaon, and 'Sirûr (Gadag tâluka) in the Dhârwâr District, and at Balagâmve, Ballêshwar, Dâvangere, Harihar, and Sorab in Mysore. The earliest of them, with a specific date, is the Paithaṇ grant,[1] which is dated on Mâgha śukla 12, corresponding approximately to the 13th January, A. D. 1272, of the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1193 (expired). An inscription at Narêgal in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr District,[2] cites the 'Srîmukha *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1196 current),= A. D. 1273-74, with a date in the month Vaiśâkha (April-May), as his third year; and thus indicates the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1194 current,= A. D. 1271-72, as his first year. Various other records are in accordance with this.[3] And, there being nothing in his predecessor's dates opposed to the assumption, we may take it that his accession was in the first part of the *saṁvatsara*, in A. D. 1271. The latest of his records is the Raṭṭêhaḷḷi inscription,[4] which gives a date in the month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A. D. 1298, of the Vilambin *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1221 current). But later dates are furnished for him by the Musalmân chronicler, as noted further on. The records give him all the paramount epithets and titles, and style him *Prauḍhapratâpa-Chakravartin*, *Bhujabalaprauḍhapratâpa-Chakravartin*, and *Yâdava-Chakravartin*. They mention, as feudatories and officials,—the *Mahâpradhâna* Achyutanâyaka, who in A. D. 1272 was governing the Sâsati district, *i.e.* Sâlsette, in the Koṅkaṇ; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* and *Maneya-samastasainyâdhipati*, or commander of all the household troops, Sâḷuva-Tikkamadêva, with dates in A. D. 1277 to 1280; the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Bandaṇikeya-Sôyidêva, with the date of A. D. 1282; a certain Krishṇadêva, who was

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 314.— The Dâvangere inscription (see page 528 above, note 3), which refers vaguely to the same *saṁvatsara*, and perhaps connects Mahâdêva with a date in the early part of it, may have been engraved at any later time.

2 Near a temple of Basavaṇṇa in Survey No. 50 (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 513; I quote, however, from an ink-impression).

3 The only instances not in agreement with this, that I can quote, are— (1) the Sorab inscription (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 225; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 207), which quotes the Svabhânu *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1206 current), = A. D. 1283-84, as his twelfth year. (2) The Raṭṭêhaḷḷi inscription (on a pillar in the temple of Kadambêśvara; *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 529), which appears to quote the Vilambin *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1221 current), = A. D. 1298-99, as his twenty-seventh year. These two require that the Âṅgirasa *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1195 current), = A. D. 1272-73, should be taken as his first year. And (3) the Kyâsanûr inscription. (I quote from an ink-impression) which cites the Nandana *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1215 current), = A. D. 1292-93, as his twenty-fourth year. This requires that his first year should be put back to the 'Sukla *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1192 current, = A. D. 1269-70; and this conflicts with the latest date for his predecessor Mahâdêva.

4 See the preceding note, No. 2.

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governing the whole of the Końkaṇ in A. D. 1289; and the *Pradhâna* Mallidêva, who was governing the Huligere three-hundred in A. D. 1295-96. And Hêmâdri continued in office as a minister under Râmachandra, — holding specifically the post of *Śrîkaraṇâdhipa* or superintendent of the business connected with the drawing-up of documents.[1] The Harihar inscription[2] describes Sâḷuva-Tikkamadêva as an establisher of the Kâdamba king and a plunderer of the Hoysaḷa king, and says that in March-April, A.D. 1277, he had come to Harihar on the way back from a victorious expedition, in which he had reduced the city of Dôrasamudra, and had levied tribute, especially of elephants and horses, and that, in celebration of this, he built there a temple of the god Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu) in the name of his former master Mahâdêva, and made grants to it. But, with this exception, the records do not seem to disclose any historical events. There is a literary mention of Râmachandra, as the reigning king, in Jñânêśvara's Marâṭhî commentary on the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, completed in A. D. 1290-91;[3] and another in a manuscript of the *Nâmaliṅgânuśâsana* of Amarasiṁha, the writing of which was finished in June, A.D. 1297.[4]

Saṁkara.

The dynasty of the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri practically ended with Râmachandra. After his death, indeed, which occurred in A.D. 1309 or 1310, his son Śaṁkara did enjoy some limited power. But the Dêvagiri kingdom had then fallen under the Musalmân yoke; and Śaṁkara can in no way be said to have succeeded to the sovereignty of his forefathers. For the period after A. D. 1298, no epigraphic records, throwing any light on the history of this dynasty, have as yet come to notice. Our knowledge of what occurred then, and of the leading incidents, during the previous few years, which led up to it, is derived only from the pages of the Musalmân chronicler Ferishta.[5] And the course of events was as follows.

The downfall of the Yâdavas.

In A. D. 1294, Allâ-ud-dîn,— the nephew, and subsequently the successor, of Jalâl-ud-dîn or Fîrûz Shâh, the first of the Khiljî emperors of Delhi, and then holding the post of governor of Karrah-Mânikpur on the Ganges, near Allahâbâd,—with the permission of the king, collected a body of eight thousand chosen horse, and set out to invade the Dekkan. Crossing the Narmadâ, which was then the northern boundary of the Dêvagiri kingdom, he proceeded by way of Ellichpur, and pressed on by forced marches till he arrived in the neighbourhood of Dêvagiri itself. Râmachandra, or Râmadêva, as he is called in the Musalmân chronicle, collected such forces as he could muster on the spur of the moment, and opposed the invaders at a distance of about four miles from his capital. But being defeated, he was forced to retire into the hill-fort above the

1. *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884), p. 88; and the Ṭhâṇa grant of A. D. 1272 (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. V. p. 183). — *Śrîkaraṇa* means literally (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 244, note 12) "the making of *śrî* (at the beginning of documents)."
2 *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 125; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 44.
3 *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884), p. 90.
4 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 51.
5 Briggs' Translation, Vol. I. pp. 304 to 420; see also Elphinstone's *History of India*, Cowell's edition, pp. 386 to 408.

city; and the city itself was easily taken, entered, and pillaged by Allâ-ud-dîn's troops. Allâ-ud-dîn having given out that his force was only the advance-guard of the emperor's army,—the neighbouring chiefs, each busy with his own preparations for defence, were prevented from coalescing with Râmachandra against the invaders; and Râmachandra, seeing that he must soon be obliged to surrender, and apprehending that the king of Delhi intended to make an entire conquest of the Dekkan, became anxious to secure peace before any other forces arrived. He accordingly offered a large amount of gold and jewels, sufficient, with the booty that Allâ-ud-dîn had already obtained, to indemnify him for the expenses of his expedition; and his proposals were accepted by Allâ-ud-dîn, who released his prisoners, and promised to quit the town on the morning of the fifteenth day from his first entrance. Meanwhile, Râmachandra's son Śaṁkara, who, on the first appearance of the enemy, had retired to collect troops, advanced with a large army to within a few miles of the city. Râmachandra sent word to him that peace had been concluded. But Śaṁkara, relying on the numerical superiority of his forces, disregarded the injunctions of his father, and sent a message to Allâ-ud-dîn, calling on him to restore whatever plunder he had taken, and to leave the province quietly. Thereupon, Allâ-ud-dîn left a force of a thousand horse to invest the fort and prevent a sally, and marched with the rest of his army to attack Śaṁkara. A battle ensued, in which the Musalmân troops, overpowered by numbers, fell back on all sides. They were joined, however, by the force which had been left to invest the fort. And the Hindûs, prevented by the dust from discovering the numbers of this force, supposed that the king's army, of which they had heard, had arrived. A panic seized them; and they broke and fled in all directions. Allâ-ud-dîn did not think it prudent to pursue them, but returned and again invested the fort. Râmachandra now found himself to be in great difficulties; especially because a number of bags, supposed to contain grain, which had been taken into the fort for the support of the garrison, were found to contain only salt. He accordingly again commenced negociations. And peace was ultimately concluded; the terms being that Allâ-ud-dîn should receive, on evacuating the country, "six hundred *maunds* of pearls, two *maunds* of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, one thousand *maunds* of silver, and four thousand pieces of silk, besides," says Ferishta, "a long list of other precious commodities, to which reason forbids us to give credit." Also, the cession of Ellichpur and its dependencies was demanded, in order that Allâ-ud-dîn might leave there a garrison for the collection of the revenues which were to be remitted to him at Karrah-Mânikpur. Allâ-ud-dîn, accordingly, released all his prisoners, and, on the twenty-fifth day from his first arrival before Dêvagiri, marched in triumph out of the city and proceeded on his return to Karrah.

It was shortly after these events that Allâ-ud-dîn inveigled the king, Jalâl-ud-dîn, into meeting him, with only a small retinue, at Karrah-Mânikpur. On the 19th July, A.D. 1295, Jalâl-ud-dîn was

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treacherously murdered there by Allâ-ud-dîn's adherents. And Allâ-ud-dîn then ascended the throne of Delhi.

For some years after this, the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri remained unmolested. But, Râmachandra having become irregular in the payment of his tribute, in A. D. 1306 Allâ-ud-dîn placed an army of a hundred thousand horse under the command of one of his eunuchs, Malik Kâfur, and sent him to subdue the Dekkan. The expedition was reinforced on its way by the troops of Ain-ul-Mulk Multâni, the governor of Mâlwa, and of Alaf Khân, the governor of Gujarât; and one of the principal objects of it was to recover Dêvaladêvî, the daughter of Kauladêvî, who, on the defeat and flight of her husband, Karṇarâya of Gujarât,[1] in A. D. 1297, had been taken into the harem of Allâ-ud-dîn and had become a favourite with him. Karṇarâya, taking Dêvaladêvî with him, had fled to Bâglâṇ, one of the districts dependent on Gujarât and bordering on the Dêvagiri dominions.[2] He refused the demand of Malik Kâfur that she should be given up; and eventually, listening to overtures from Dêvagiri, he promised her, then in her thirteenth year, in marriage to Śaṁkara. Shortly after this, however, Karṇarâya was attacked by a division of the army under Alaf Khân, and, being totally defeated, fled to Dêvagiri. Bhîmadêva, the brother of Śaṁkara, who had conducted the negociations for the marriage, and with only a small retinue was conveying Dêvaladêvî to Dêvagiri, was intercepted by a small body of Alaf Khân's troops. And, in the skirmish that ensued, Dêvaladêvî was captured and taken to Alaf Khân's camp. Alaf Khân straightway returned with her to Delhi; and she was soon after married to Allâ-ud-dîn's eldest son, Khizr Khân.

Malik Kâfur, however, went on into the Dekkan, and, having subdued a great part of the Marâthâ country, which he distributed among his officers, proceeded to the siege of Dêvagiri. Râmachandra, being in no condition to make successful opposition, left Śaṁkara in the fort, and advanced with presents to meet the conqueror, in order to obtain peace. Malik Kâfur, accordingly, drew up an account of his expedition and sent it to the king; and, some time after, he took Râmachandra with him to Delhi, with rich presents, to pay his respects. Râmachandra was received there with great marks of favour and distinction; and royal dignities were conferred upon him: and, not only was he restored to his government, but other districts were added to his dominions, for all of which he did homage and paid tribute to the king of Delhi. The king, on this occasion, gave him the district of Nausârî, in Gujarât, as a personal estate, and a hundred thousand *taṅkas* to pay his expenses home. And, for the rest of his life, Râmachandra did not neglect to send the annual tribute to Delhi.

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[1] Apparently Karṇadêva II., the last of the Vâghêlâ branch of the Chaulukyas of Anhilwâḍ, whose date (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 213) was A.D. 1296 to 1304.
[2] Now represented by the Bâglâṇ tâluka of the Nâsik District.

In A. D. 1309, Râmachandra entertained Malik Kâfur and Khwâjâ Hâjî at Dêvagiri, where they halted on their way to subdue the king of Worangal.

In A. D. 1310, Allâ-ud-dîn, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, sent Malik Kâfur and Khwâjâ Hâjî, with a large army, to reduce the Hoysaḷas of Dôrasamudra. Having reached Dêvagiri, they found that Râmachandra was dead, and that 'Saṁkara was not well affected to the Musalmâns. Leaving a part of his army at Paiṭhaṇ on the Gôdâvarî, to overawe 'Saṁkara and hold him in check, Malik Kâfur continued his march to the south, and, having effected the conquest of Dôrasamudra, where the reigning king was Ballâḷa III., returned to Delhi in A. D. 1311, apparently without having found any cause, for the time being, for active operations against 'Saṁkara. But 'Saṁkara subsequently withheld his tribute. Accordingly, in A. D. 1312, Malik Kâfur for the fourth time proceeded into the Dekkan, and seized 'Saṁkara and put him to death. He then laid waste Mahârâshṭra and the Karṇâṭaka, from Chaul[1] and Dâbhôḷ[2] on the coast, as far as Mudgal[3] and Raichûr,[4] and took up his residence at Dêvagiri, from which place he realised the tribute from the princes of Têliṅgâna and the Karṇâṭaka, and remitted it to Delhi.

Soon after this, however, Malik Kâfur was summoned up to Delhi; and, while he was occupied in intrigues there, Harapâla, the son-in-law of Râmachandra, stirred up the Dekkan to arms, expelled a number of the Musalmân garrisons, and asserted his power over the former territories of Dêvagiri. The intrigues at Delhi ended in the death of Allâ-ud-dîn, said to have been caused by poison administered by Malik Kâfur, on the 19th December, A. D. 1316. But, shortly after this, Malik Kâfur himself was assassinated; and Mubârik, the third son of Allâ-ud-dîn, was placed on the throne. In A. D. 1318, Mubârik himself led an army to chastise Harapâla. On the arrival of the king, Harapâla and his adherents fled. But a detachment was sent in pursuit of them. And Harapâla was captured, brought back, flayed alive, and decapitated; and his head was set up over the gate of his own capital. This completed the extinction of the last remnant of the power of the dynasty.

Up to A. D. 1338, Dêvagiri seems to have not been looked upon as a place of much importance, though it was the scene of many of the contests that ensued between the Musalmâns and the Marâṭhâs during the completion of the subjugation of the Dekkan. But, in that year, Muhammad Tughlak, who had ascended the throne of Delhi in A. D. 1325, visited Dêvagiri on one of his campaigns, and was so much pleased with the situation and strength of the place, and considered it to be in so much more central a position

[1] Lat. 18° 34', long. 72° 59'; twenty-five miles south of Bombay, in the pr[illegible] Alîbâg or Kolâba District.

[2] Lat. 17° 35', long. 73° 17'; eighty miles south of Bombay, in the Ratnâgiri D[illegible]

[3] Lat. 16° 1', long. 76° 30'; in the Nizâm's Dominions.

[4] Lat. 16° 12', long. 77° 26'; in the Nizâm's Dominions.

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than Delhi itself, that he decided upon making it the capital of his empire. He changed its name from Dêvagiri, "the mountain of the gods," to Daulatâbâd, "the city of wealth," which name, ruined as the place is, it still retains. But, though he three times compelled the population of Delhi to migrate to Daulatâbâd, his project of making it the capital of the empire failed in the end. Its natural advantages, however, must have led to its being continued as a military post. And Ibn Batûta, an Arabian traveller from Tangiers, who visited the place about A. D. 1342, describes it as consisting then of three parts,— Daulatâbâd, or the city in general; Kataka, or probably the fortified part of the city at the foot of the hill; and Dwaikir, *i.e.* Dêvagiri, or the towering hill itself, with the wonderful artificial scarp round the base of it.[1]

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. III. p. 116.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREAT FEUDATORY FAMILIES.

With the preceding chapter, the history of the supreme dynasties ends. But the account would not be complete without a detailed notice of some of the more important feudatory families, hitherto mentioned only incidentally, by the agency of which,— in addition to the *Mahâpradhânas*, *Daṇḍanâyakas*, and other officials,— the paramount sovereigns carried on the administration of their dominions. The members of these great feudatory families enjoyed a status very different from that of the ordinary officials; inasmuch as,— instead of being only individual officers, of haphazard origin, selected for their personal abilities and invested with special powers, and transmitting their authority perhaps for a couple of generations, but seldom, if ever, for more,— they were the hereditary governors of provinces: and, though unquestionably subordinate to whatever dynasty from time to time exercised the supreme sway, they evidently possessed certain powers, *e. g.* the right of waging war with each other, which fell but little short of actual sovereignty, and occasionally assumed an attitude which rendered it necessary for the paramount sovereigns to undertake operations against them and reduce them to obedience, as, for instance, when Vikramâditya VI. deputed the Sinda prince Âchugi II. to repulse the Hoysaḷas and to attack the Kâdambas of Goa.[1] Their half-independent position is indicated, sometimes by the absence of any reference in their records to the supreme sovereigns; sometimes by the use of a technical expression, to indicate the nature of their power, which was intermediate between the technical expressions of paramount sovereignty and of inferior governorship;[2] and sometimes by their records being dated in their own regnal years. On the other hand, that they were always feudatory in theory, is explicitly shewn, occasionally by the mention of the paramount sovereigns in the preambles of their records, followed by the use of the technical expression of feudatory subordination in connection with their own names, and sometimes simply by the records being dated in the regnal years of the paramount kings.

The Silaharas of the Southern Konkan.

As far as actual historical facts and dates go, the oldest of these great feudatory families was that of the Śilâhâras, of which there were three leading branches,— two in the Koṅkaṇ, and one above the

[1] See page 453 above.
[2] See page 428 above, note 4.

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ghauts.[1] The records do not state the genealogical connection between the three branches. But, as the descendants in each branch attributed themselves to the lineage of Jîmûtavâhana, one of the *Vidyâdharas* or genii that attend upon the gods, and as the members of two of the branches at least had a hereditary title connecting them with a town named Tagara and carried the banner of a golden Garuḍa, there can be no doubt that they looked upon themselves as having all one and the same origin. The legend about Jîmûtavâhana[2] is, that he saved the Nâga or serpent king 'Saṅkhachûḍa from Garuḍa, by offering his own body to be torn instead of 'Saṅkhachûḍa's; and the attribution of descent from him was doubtless devised in connection with the adoption of the more pretentious form of the family name, 'Silâhâra,[3] meaning literally "food upon a stone or rock." The name appears also in the plainer forms of 'Sîlara,[4] Sîlâra,[5] Silâra,[6] and 'Siyaḷâra,[7] of all of which 'Silâhâra seems to be simply the Sanskritised form. And the true original form of it is perhaps presented in an inscription of about A.D. 950 on the Sâlôṭgi pillar, which mentions a family called Selaṟa.

The southern Koṅkaṇ branch of the family seems to have been, by date of origin, the oldest of the three. For what we know about it, we are dependent on a copper-plate grant from Khârêpâṭaṇ in the Ratnâgiri District,[8] which furnishes the genealogical list shewn on the opposite page. This record describes the 'Silâhâra family, rather peculiarly, as "the best of the Siṁhala kings," thus, apparently, connecting them with the rulers of Siṁhala or Ceylon,—perhaps, however, only because of some fancied resemblance between the names; and it says that the race took its origin from Jîmûtavâhana, the lord of the *Vidyâdharas*, son of Jîmûtakêtu, who gave his life to Garutmat (Garuḍa).

Saṇaphulla, &c.

In respect of the first member of the family, Saṇaphulla, it tells us that he possessed the favour of a king named Krishṇa, and acquired a

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1 One of the inscriptions, referable to the eleventh or twelfth century A. D., on the Sâlôṭgi pillar which contains the record of Krishṇa III. of A. D. 945, indicates clearly the existence of another branch, by mentioning a 'Silâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* named Govaṇarasa, who had the title of "supreme lord of Kopaṇapura, the best of towns," and whose family-deity was apparently the goddess Kâtyâyanî.— Also, mention has been made above of some feudatories of the Western Châlukya and other kings, who claimed to belong to the lineage of Jîmûtavâhana, and who, therefore, seem to be of the same stock with the 'Silâhâras (see, *e. g.*, pages 439, 443, 450, 452, 476, above). And mention will be found further on of a *Maṇḍalika* named Goṅki or Goṅkadêva, who also belonged to the lineage of Jîmûtavâhana, but whose family-deity was the goddess Padmâvatî.

2 Alluded to in lines 21, 22 of the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of A.D. 1008, and line 3 ff. of the other Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of A.D. 1095.

3 As a variety of this form, 'Sailâhâra occurs, under metrical necessity, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 2, text line 3.

4 *e. g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 278, text line 15.

5 *e. g.*, *id.* Vol. IX. p. 33, text line 7.

6 *e. g.*, line 2 of the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of A. D. 1008.

7 *Cave-Temple Inscriptions* (No. 10 of the brochures of the Archæological Survey of Western India), p. 102, text lines 2, 3.

8 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 292.—The record is of some extraneous interest, in giving a list of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings from Dantidurga to Kakkala or Kakka II., the last of the dynasty, and in mentioning the first two of the Western Châlukya kings who succeeded them, *viz.* Taila II. and Iṟivabeḍaṅga-Satyâśraya.

The Silaharas of the Southern Konkan.

Saṇaphulla.
|
Dhammiyara.
|
Aiyaparâja.
|
Avasara I.
|
Âdityavarman.
|
Avasara II.
|
Indrarâja.
|
Bhîma.
|
Avasara III.
|
Raṭṭarâja.
(A.D. 1008).

territory that was bounded by the shore of the ocean and the Sahya or Sahyâdri mountains, *i. e.* the Western Ghauts: counting back nine generations, at the rate of twenty-five years each, from the date of the record, we obtain A.D. 783 as the approximate date for Saṇaphulla; and, accordingly, the Kṛishṇa in question must be the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa I., in the period between A.D. 754 and 782. Regarding Dhammiyara, it says that he founded a great stronghold named Valipattana, which another record[1] locates on the sea-coast. Of Aiyaparaja, it says that he was endowed with the qualities of a conqueror, and was bathed with the water of cocoanuts near a town named Chandrapura,—meaning, perhaps, that he gained a victory at that place. Avasara II., it says, conquered his enemies, and aided the rulers born at Chêmûlya and Chandrapura; the former of these places is the modern Chaul or Cheṁwal in the Kolâba District, thirty miles south of Bombay. And, in respect of Bhîma, it tells us that he distinguished himself by seizing the Chandra *maṇḍala*.

Raṭṭarâja.

The last person mentioned in the record is Raṭṭarâja. It describes him as a *Maṇḍalika* or chieftain, feudatory to the Western Châlukya king Iṛivabedaṅga-Satyâśraya. And it furnishes for him a date in the month Jyêshṭha (May-June), falling in A. D. 1008,

[1] See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 294, note 6.

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of the Kîlaka *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 930 (expired), when he granted some villages and lands for the worship and maintenance of a temple of the god Siva under the name of Avvêśvara. The place-names mentioned in connection with the grant, have not yet been identified: but it seems likely that the territory held by this branch of the family lay appreciably to the south of Bombay; and very probably it consisted of the Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred, *i. e.* the present territory of Goa, and the Iridige country, including the Sâwantwâḍi State and the Ratnágiri District.[1] The power of this branch of the family doubtless died out with Raṭṭarâja; for, Arikêsarin, of the northern branch, is represented as governing the whole Koṅkaṇ only nine years later, in A. D. 1017.

The Silaharas of the Northern Konkan.

Next in point of antiquity comes the northern Koṅkaṇ branch of the family. The full genealogical list of this branch is supplied by three copper-plate charters,— from probably Bhadâna in the Thâṇa District, dated in A. D. 997;[2] from Bhâṇḍûp in the same district, dated in A. D. 1026;[3] and from Khârêpâṭaṇ in the Ratnâgiri District, dated in A. D. 1095:[4] and, with one or two additions from other sources, it stands as shewn in the table on the opposite page. The members of this branch of the family carried the *suvarṇa-Garuḍa-dhvaja* or banner of a golden Garuḍa,[5] which device, instead of a separate crest, appears on the seals of their copper-plate charters.[6] They had the hereditary title of *Tagarapura-paramêśvara* or "supreme lord of the town of Tagarapura,"[7] commemorative of their original home, and probably referring to Kôlhâpur, the ancient Kollâpura, the chief town of the Kôlhâpur State in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country.[8]

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[1] See page 282 above, note 1.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 267.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 276; originally brought to notice in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. II. p. 383, and Vol. IV. p. 109.

[4] *id.* Vol. IX. p. 33.

[5] *e. g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 278, text line 18, and Vol. IX. p. 35, text line 59.

[6] *e. g.*, *ibid.* pp. 276, 33, respectively.

[7] *e. g.*, *ibid.* p. 278, text line 17, and p. 35, text line 58, respectively.

[8] Lat. 16° 42′, long. 73° 16′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 40,—'Kolapoor.'— Tagara was a town of considerable antiquity, and of importance enough to be mentioned in the second century A.D. by Ptolemy, in whose map of India (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 329; see also p. 366) it is located in a part of the country which he called Ariakê, and is placed in a north-easterly direction from Barygaza, *i. e.* Broach, the chief town of the Broach District in Gujarât, Bombay Presidency (lat. 21° 43′, long. 73° 2′), and in the third century by the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 144; see also Vol. XIII. p. 366), who, describing it as an inland mart for articles of local production brought into it from the parts along the coast and then transported on waggons to Barygaza through difficult regions that had no roads worth calling such, says that it was a ten days journey to the east from Baithana or Paithana, *i. e.* Paiṭhaṇ, on the Gôdâvarî, in the Nizâm's Dominions (lat. 19° 29′; long. 75° 28′), which place was, according to the same authority, a twenty days journey to the south of Barygaza, and is in reality about two hundred miles in as near as possible a south-westerly direction from Broach. And it is also mentioned, as the residence of the grantee, in the copper-plate charter issued by the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II. in A. D. 612 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 75; as regards a mistaken supposition that it is also mentioned, as 'Tagiri,' in records of A. D. 1077 at Baḷagâṁve in Mysore, see *id.* Vol. IX. p. 50).— The directions given by Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus* seem, at

The Silaharas of the Northern Konkan.

- Kapardin I.
  - Pullaśakti. (A.D. 843-44)
    - Kapardin II. (A.D. 851 and 877-78)
      - Vappuvanna.
        - Jhañjha.
        - Goggi.
          - Vajjaḍa I.
            - Aparâjita. (A.D. 997)
              - Vajjaḍa II.
                - Chhittarâja. (A.D. 1026)
                - Nâgârjuna.
                  - Anantadêva, or Anantapâla. (A.D. 1095)
                    - ⋮
                    - Mallikârjuna. (A.D. 1156)
                      - ⋮
                      - Aparâditya. (A.D. 1187)
                - Mummuṇi, or Mâmvâṇi. (A.D. 1059-60)
              - Arikêsarin, or Kêśidêva. (A.D. 1017)

And their capital was a town named Purî, which is doubtless identical

first sight, rather conflicting, but may be fairly well reconciled by the fact that Ptolemy's map shews Paiṭhaṇ also in an easterly or north-easterly direction from Broach; the result being (taking Paiṭhaṇ as the nearest starting-point) that we should look for Tagara, according to both authorities, in approximately an easterly direction from Paiṭhaṇ, and, according to the *Periplus*, at a distance of about one hundred miles.— Still, no acceptable identification of Tagara, on any such bases, has been practicable. There seems to have grown up a general consensus of opinion that there is something radically wrong in the details, and that the latter may, accordingly, be neglected altogether. And proposals have been made, by other writers (see, generally, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 366), to identify the town (1) with Dêvagiri or Daulatâbâd in the Nizâm's Dominions, about thirty-four miles north of Paiṭhaṇ; (2) with a supposed ancient place, the ruins of which, it is said, may be traced over a wide area on the plateau south of Rôzah, about four miles from Daulatâbâd; (3) with a place near 'Bîr' or 'Bhîr,' in the same territory, about forty-five miles to the south-east of Paiṭhaṇ; (4) with 'Dharûr' or 'Dhârûr,' in the same territory, about twenty-five miles to the south-east of Bîr or Bhîr; (5) with Kulbarga, Kulburagi, or Gulbarga, in the same territory, about a hundred and seventy-five miles to the south-east of Paiṭhaṇ; and (6) with Junnar in the Poona District, Bombay Presidency, about a hundred and five miles to the west by south of Paiṭhaṇ.— In my original account, I suggested that it may be Kôlhâpur, or, rather, Karavîra, which, now only a small village on the north side of Kôlhâpur, has furnished the foundation for both the customary vernacular name for the State, *viz.* the Karavîra Ilâkhâ, and the title of the local Purâṇa, *viz.* the *Karavîra-Mâhâtmya*, and must, therefore, have been the original settlement.— To this opinion I still adhere. And my reasons are as follows. (1) The copper-plate charter of A.D. 612 distinctly mentions Tagara as the actual residence of the grantee, the expression being, not (like analagous expressions in various other records) *Tagara-vinirgata*, "emigrated from Tagara," but *Tagar-âdhivâsin*, "inhabiting, or settled in, Tagara." (2) The charter has come to light from the possession of Jains at Haidarâbâd in the Nizâm's Dominions: but it did not belong to them originally; for, it was granted to a Brâhmaṇ of the Vâsishṭha *gôtra* and the Taittirîya *śâkhâ*: it has, therefore, changed hands: in doing so, it may have travelled to any distance from the residence of its original owner: and there is, therefore, nothing to connect it with the neighbourhood of Haidarâbâd. (3) On the other hand, though the village which was granted, and the two villages which are named in defining its position, have not been identified, the charter records that it was issued by Pulikêśin II. when he was in residence at Vâtâpi, which is the modern Bâdâmi in the Bijâpur District; and the places are, probably, to be located somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bâdâmi. (4) To make a grant in one locality of any practical use to a resident of another place, the two places must be sufficiently near each other for reasonable facilities of access; and, consequently, Tagara must be located within some measurable distance from Bâdâmi. (5) Karavîra, or Kôlhâpur, about one hundred and five miles to the north-west from Bâdâmi, is sufficiently near to answer this requirement. (6) The antiquity of Karavîra, or of Kôlhâpur, is undeniable; for, numerous Buddhist remains have been found in the immediate neighbourhood, including a large *stûpa*, at Kôlhâpur itself, containing a crystal relic casket the lid of which bears an inscription in pure Aśôka characters of the third century B. C. (see *Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 39, No. 6). (7) In spite of this, no really ancient epigraphic mention of the place under either name has been obtained: of Karavîra, indeed, I can quote no such mention at all; and of Kôlhâpur, the earliest mention that has been obtained is of A.D. 1024 (in the Miraj grant of the Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha II., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 18). (8) The next mention of Kôlhâpur, in an unpublished inscription of A.D. 1049 at Sirûr in the Bâgalkôṭ tâluka, Bijâpur District, speaks of the place as the *âdi-pîṭha* or "original, *i.e.* primeval, throne" of the goddess Mahâlakshmî, of whom there is, in fact, a shrine of repute, and plainly a fairly ancient one, at Kôlhâpur; and the goddess Mahâlakshmî was the family-deity of the members of at any rate the Karâḍ branch of the Śilâhâra family (see, *e.g.*, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 6). (9) There is a connection in meaning between the names of Tagara and Karavîra: the word *tagara* denotes the shrub Tabernœmontana Coronaria, which belongs to the same family with the oleander and grows freely in this part of the country, and the flowers of which are used in the worship of idols; and *karavîra* denotes the Nerium Odorum, the fragrant oleander, also growing freely in this part of the country, of which, similarly, the flowers are used in the worship of idols. (10) The legends about Karavîra and Kôlhâpur, embodied in the *Karavîra-Mâhâtmya* (see Graham's *Statistical Report on the Principality of Kolhapoor*, p. 341) indicate more than one change of appellation. (11) There are local features (*id*, p. 314 ff.) indicative of some convulsion of nature, which would explain why there are now no traces

with the Purî of the Mauryas of the Koṅkaṇ that is mentioned in the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634-35.[1]

Out of the persons whose names appear in the table, we have historical details concerning the following :—

Pullaśakti.

Of the time of the *Mahâsâmanta* Pullaśakti, we have a record in the Kaṇheri caves, in the island of Sâlsette, Ṭhâṇa District,[2] which styles him "lord of the Koṅkaṇ," and shews that in Saka-Saṁvat 765, corresponding to A. D. 842-43 or 843-44 according as the Saka year is taken as current or as expired, as a feudatory of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha, he was ruling the whole of the Koṅkaṇ, headed by the city of Purî,— holding it through the favour of Amôghavarsha. He is described as a successor of Kapardin I. ; which implies that it was the latter who actually acquired the feudatory government for his family. And the record states that his old minister Vishṇu . . . . ; having done obeisance to the Buddhist community at the mount of Krishṇagiri, *i.e.* Kaṇheri, gave certain grants for the purpose of making repairs and providing clothes and books.

of any ancient large and flourishing town. And thus (12) everything seems to point to there having been, first, a change of name, such as from Tagara to Karavîra, made to suit some mediæval legend (for instance, that which Graham gives, p. 1, that the locality was called Karavîra because the goddess Mahâlakshmî used her "mace,"— the original doubtless has *karavîra*, 'sword, or scimitar,'— to raise it, her favoured retreat, from the waters of the great deluge), and made in such a way as still to preserve some memory of the original appellation, and, subsequently, a change of settlement, from Karavîra to Kôlhâpur.—The fact remains, of course, that the position of Karavîra or Kôlhâpur does not answer at all to the details given by Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus*. But, as already remarked, there seems to have grown up a general consensus of opinion that those details are to be disregarded ; and the mention of Tagara in the Bâdâmi charter of A.D. 612 necessitates our locating it far more to the south than might otherwise be thought proper. Further, if, as seems probable, it was the parts along the western coast, *i. e.* the Koṅkaṇ (not the eastern coast as has been thought ; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 366), that supplied the local products which were taken to Tagara, and thence to Broach, Karavîra or Kôlhâpur would be a most well-adapted depôt for collecting the trade from that part of the country. And, though it may seem rather a long and roundabout process for the goods to be then taken by cart to Broach, distant about three hundred and fifty miles as the crow flies, reasons for this seem to be forthcoming in the facts that, whereas articles might easily be brought up over the ghauts in small quantities in head-loads or on pack-cattle, the larger export in bulk by carts would, in such early times, before many practicable roads through the ghauts can have been constructed, naturally seek the open country lying well to the east of the inland spurs of the ghauts, and thus might really pass even through Paiṭhaṇ itself ; and (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 144) that, so far at least as the Greeks were concerned, some embargo was laid on the use of the seaport of Kalliena, *i.e.* Kalyâṇ in the Ṭhâṇa District, for, we are told, if any Greek vessel happened to enter that port, even by accident, a guard was put on board, and it was taken to Broach.— On the same occasion, I pointed out that there is also a connection in meaning between the names of Tagara and of Karahâṭa, which was the capital of the up-country branch of the Silâhâra family, and is the modern Karâḍ, in the Sâtâra District, about forty miles north of Kôlhâpur ; for, the word *tagara* denotes also the thorny shrub Vangueria Spinosa, and *karahâṭa* is another name for the same. But I reject Karâḍ, as the representative of Tagara, because its own name, in the forms of Karahakaṭa and Karahâkaṭa (apparently by metathesis for Karahâṭaka, which occurs in the Sâmângaḍ grant of A. D. 754 ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 112, text line 33), is carried back, by early Pâli inscriptions at Bharaut in Central India (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 228) and Kuḍâ in the Ratnâgiri District (*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 16, No. 20), to at least as early a period as the times of Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus*, and there is, therefore, no reason why they should mention it under any other appellation.

[1] See page 283 above.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 136, No. 43 B. ; and see page 404 above.

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Kapardin II.

Of the time of the *Mahâsâmanta* Kapardin II., we have two inscriptions in the Kanheri caves,[1] which style him "lord of the whole Koṅkaṇ," and shew that in the month Âśvina (Sept.-Oct.), falling in A. D. 851, of the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Saka-Saṁvat 775 by mistake for 773 (expired), and again in S.-S. 799 (A. D. 876-77 or 877-78), he was ruling the same territory as a feudatory, and by the favour, of the same king Amôghavarsha I. These, again, are Buddhist records.[2]

Aparâjita.

Of the time of Aparâjita,[3] we have a copper-plate charter which appears to have been obtained at Bhadâna in the Bhiwṇḍî tâluka of the Ṭhâṇa District.[4] It gives him the titles of *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* and *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*. And it furnishes for him a date in the month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A.D. 997, of the Hêmalamba *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 919 (expired). It does not indicate the extent of the territory that he held. But, by recording that, when staying at Sthânaka, *i.e.* Ṭhâṇa, he granted the village of Bhadâna itself to a Brâhman, it shews that at any rate the country in the neighbourhood of Ṭhâṇa was in his possession.

Arikêsarin, or Kêśidêva.

Of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Arikêsarin or Kêśidêva, we have a copper-plate charter from Ṭhâṇa,[5] which evidently describes him, as some of the later records describe his descendants, as ruling the whole Koṅkaṇ, embracing various districts, and including a fourteen-hundred province of which Purî was the capital, and furnishes for him a date in the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A.D. 1017, of the Piṅgala *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 939 (expired). The expression used in describing the extent of his rule, seems to mark the fourteen-hundred province as the head-quarters division, and Purî as the principal capital, of this branch of the Silâhâra family. The command conveyed in the charter is addressed to, among others, all the inhabitants of Sthânaka, *i.e.* Ṭhâṇa, and also of a town named Hamyamana or Hañjamana, which is mentioned in the same way in the Bhâṇḍûp grant of A. D. 1026. The Khârêpâṭan grant of A. D. 1095 agrees with this record in giving his name as Arikêsarin; but the Bhâṇḍûp grant names him Kêśidêva.[6]

Chhittarâja.

Of the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* and *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chhittarâja, we have a copper-plate charter from Bhâṇḍûp in the Ṭhâna District,[7] which describes his sphere of rule in the same words as those

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 134, No. 15, and p. 135, No. 43 A.; and see page 404-406, above.

2 See pages 406, 452, above, for other remarks about Buddhism.

3 As regards two intermediate names, extraneous information has been supposed to be forthcoming in respect of Jhañjha and Goggi; but this is a mistake (see page 513, above, note 4, and page 514, note 2).

4 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 267.—This record, again, is of extraneous interest, in giving a list of the Râshṭrakûṭas from Gôvinda I. to the end of the dynasty, and in mentioning the overthrow of Kakkala by Taila II.

5 *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I., fifth edition, p. 357; the text is not given.

6 This latter record seems also to make him the elder son of Aparâjita. But the verse is imperfect. And, as both the other records mention Vajjaḍadêva II. before him, it appears more likely that he was the younger of the two brothers.

7 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 276.

evidently used in the case of Arikêsarin in the Ṭhâṇa grant, and furnishes for him a date in the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A.D. 1026, of the Kshaya *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 948 (expired), when he granted some land at a village named Nôura,— the modern 'Nowohar' of the map,— in the Shaṭshashṭi district, which was included in (the province of) Sthânaka, *i.e.* Ṭhâṇa. The command conveyed in this charter is addressed to, amongst others, all the inhabitants of the town named Hamyâmana.

Mummuṇi, or Mâmvâṇi.

Of the time of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mummuṇi or Mâmvâṇi, we have a record at the temple of Ambarnâth near Kalyâṇ, in the Ṭhâṇa District,[1] which furnishes for him a date in the month Jyêshṭha (May-June) or 'Srâvaṇa (July-Aug.), 'Saka-Saṁvat 982, falling in A.D. 1059 or 1060 according as the 'Saka year is taken as current or as expired. The purport of the record seems to be that a palace of Chhittarâja was restored for Mâmvâṇi's use.

Anantadêva or Anantapâla.

Of the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* and *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvarâdhipati*[2] Anantadêva, also called Anantapâla, we have a copper-plate charter from Khârêpâṭaṇ in the Ratnâgiri District,[3] which furnishes for him a date in the month Mâgha (Jan.-Feb.), falling in A. D. 1095, of the Bhâva *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1016 (expired). The record describes his territory in the same terms as those which are used in the case of Arikêsarin and Chhittarâja; and it further styles him *paśchima-samudr-âdhipati* or "supreme lord of the western ocean." The command contained in it is addressed to, amongst others, the people of the town of Hañjamana. And the object of it was to release certain tolls on carts coming into Sthânaka, Nâgapura (very possibly the modern Nâgaon, about six miles south-east of Alîbâg),[4] Surpâraka (Sôpârâ near Bassein), Chêmûli (Chaul in the Kolâba District), and other sea-ports in the Koṅkaṇ fourteen-hundred. The record describes Anantadêva as "casting into the ocean of the edge "of his sword those fierce heaps of sin who, at a time of misfor- "tune due to the hostility of relatives, obtained power and devasta- "ted the land of the Koṅkaṇ, harassing gods and Brâhmans." The meaning seems to be, that some differences arose between the members of this branch of the family and their relations of the Karâḍ branch, whereby the power of the former was weakened,—that the Kâdambas of Goa took advantage of this, and seized part of the Koṅkaṇ, under the leadership of Jayakêśin I., who, according to the records of his own family, slew a king, probably Mâmvâṇi, of Kâpardikadvîpa, which is evidently the northern division of the Koṅkan, so called after Kapardin I. or II., and made Gôpakapaṭṭana, *i.e.* Goa, his capital,—

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1 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329.— As regards the 'Saka year,— for some remarks on which, written at a time when it was not known how many dates in genuine records fail to work out correctly, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 94,— we must probably take it that Dr. Bhau Daji's reading, 782, was wrong, and that Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji correctly read 982.

2 This rather exceptional title occurs in line 63 of the text.

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 33.

4 See *id.* Vol. XXIV. p. 83.

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and that Anantadêva succeeded in driving back the Kâdambas and recovering some of the territory on which they had encroached; but he plainly did not recover the southern portion of the Konkaṇ, called in the Kâdamba records the Konkaṇa nine-hundred, which was the territory in the vicinity of Goa.

Mallikârjuna.

The unbroken genealogy ends, for the present, with Anantadêva. And, as the Kâdamba prince Jayakêśin II. of Goa was holding the whole Konkaṇ, including the Kavadidvîpa lâkh-and-a-quarter, which is evidently the Kâpardikadvîpa mentioned above, in A. D. 1125, it is plain that, during some considerable period after the time of Anantadêva, the power of this branch of the family was largely, if not entirely, in abeyance. But a stone inscription in the collection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society [1] gives us the name of a Śilâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mallikârjuna, with a date in the month Vaiśâkha (April-May), falling in A.D. 1156, of the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1078 (expired). There can be little doubt that he was descended in the same branch of the family. And he seems to have owed his position to Vijayâditya of the Karâḍ branch, who is said to have re-instated in their territory the fallen lords of the province of Sthânaka.[2]

Aparâditya.

And finally, a stone inscription found near Government House, Parel, and now in the collection of the same Society,[3] gives us the name of a certain Aparâditya, with the paramount title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and the style of *Konkaṇa-Chakravartin* or "emperor of the Konkaṇ," for whom it furnishes a date in the month Mâgha (Jan.-Feb.), falling in A. D. 1187, of the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1109 (current). The record refers to the Shaṭshashṭi or Sâlsette district. And there can be little doubt that Aparâditya also was a descendant in the same branch of the Śilâhâra family. Like other feudatories, he seems to have taken advantage, to declare himself independent, of the general confusion that attended the downfall of the Western Châlukya sovereignty.[4]

The Silaharas of Karad.

The third branch of the Śilâhâra family was settled above the ghauts, and held a stretch of country that included the southern parts of the Sâtârâ District, the extreme north of the Belgaum District, and most, if not all, of the Kôlhâpur State. Like their connections of the northern Konkaṇ branch, they carried the *suvarna-Garuḍa-dhvaja* or

1 I quote from an ink-impression.

2 See, more fully, page 548 below.

3 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 332; originally brought to notice in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. II. p. 386, and Vol. V. p. 176.

4 A table published in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII., Ṭhâṇa, Part II. p. 422, gives two later names,— Kêśidêva, with dates in A.D. 1203-1204 and 1238-39, and Sômêśvara, with dates in A.D. 1249-50 and 1260-61; and also inserts, between Anantadêva and Mallikârjuna, another Aparâditya, with the date of A.D. 1138-39, and a Haripâladêva, with dates ranging from A.D. 1149-50 to 1153-54: and it further gives for Mallikârjuna another date, in A.D. 1160-61. But I have not been abe to verify the authorities for these entries; except that Maṅkha's *Śrîkanthacharita* mentions the fact that an Aparâditya, "lord of the Konkaṇ," sent an ambassador to the court of Jayasiṁha of Kashmîr, whose period appears to be A.D. 1129 to 1150 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, extra number, 1877, pp. 50, 51).

The Silaharas of Karad.

- Jatiga I.
  - Nâyivarman, or Nâyimma.
    - Chandra.
      - Jatiga II.
        - Gonka, Gonkala, Gôkala, or Gôkalla.
          - Mârasiṁha. (A. D. 1058)
            - Gûvala II.
            - Gangadêva.
            - Bhôja I.
            - Ballâla.
            - Gandarâditya. (A. D. 1110 and 1135)
              - Vijayâditya. (A. D. 1143 and 1153)
                - Bhôja II. (A. D. 1190 and 1205-1206)
        - Gûvala I., or Gûhala.
        - Kîrtirâja.
        - Chandrâditya.

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banner of a golden Garuḍa,[1] and had, with a slight verbal difference, the hereditary title of *Tagara-puravar-âdhîśvara* or "supreme lord of Tagara, the best of towns."[2] Their family-deity was the goddess Mahâlakshmî,[3] —evidently of the well-known temple at Kôlhâpur. And, from the way in which Bilhaṇa, in his account of the marriage of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI. with Chandralêkhâ or Chandaladêvî, speaks of her as the daughter of the *Vidyâdhara* prince who ruled over Karahâṭa, and sends Vikramâditya to Karahâṭa to attend her *svayaṁvara* or selection of a husband,[4] it is plain that the Karahâṭa province, consisting, as we learn elsewhere, of four-thousand cities, towns and villages,[5] was the head-quarters division of their territory, and that their real capital was Karahâṭa itself, which is the modern Karâḍ, the chief town of the Karâḍ tâluka in the Sâtârâ District, at the junction of the Krishṇa and the Koynâ.[6] Their genealogical list is shewn in the table on page 545 above.

Jatiga I., and others, as far as Chandrâditya.

Regarding the earlier members of the family, nothing seems to be known beyond certain statements that are made in a copper-plate charter of A.D. 1058, which will be noticed more fully in connection with the prince, Mârasiṁha, in whose time it was issued. This record styles Jatiga II. *Tagaranagara-bhûpâlaka* or "king of the city of Tagara," and *Pannâḷa-durg-âdri-siṁha* or "lion of the mountain of the hill-fort of Pannâḷa." The latter epithet doubtless refers to the well-known Panhâḷâ, about twelve miles to the north-west of Kôlhâpur, which has always been a stronghold of repute and the scene of many sieges.[7] The former expression is rather a peculiar one; for, it occurs in a metrical passage, in which the usual title *Tagara-puravar-âdhîś-vara* would have suited the metre equally well, and it therefore presents the appearance of having been used with the object of indicating that Jatiga II. actually ruled at Tagara, which place must then, of necessity, have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kôlhâpur: the expression, however, is an isolated one; and, though it does seem far more emphatic and specific than the usual family title, it would be hardly safe to assume that it was intentionally used in the meaning suggested above. The same record describes Goṅka as possessing the territories of Karahâṭa, Kûṇḍi, and Mairiñjâ, and the Koṅkaṇ. The Kûṇḍi territory was a three-thousand province which constituted the hereditary domains of the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti:[8] and Goṅka can only have held it temporarily, somewhere about A.D. 1040 to 1050. Mairiñjâ, which is also mentioned in the same record as Miriñja and Miriñjâ, is the modern Miraj, the chief town of the Native State of the same name,

1 *e. g., Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 3, line 13.
2 *e. g., ibid.* line 12.
3 *e. g., ibid.* lines 15, 16.
4 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 321, 322, and note † on p. 322.
5 An inscription at Harihar (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 119; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60).
6 Lat. 17° 17′, long 74° 13′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 40,—'Kurrar.'
7 Lat. 16° 48′, long. 74° 9′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 40,—'Punalla.' For an account of the place by Captain C. W. West, see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 201.—There is another hill-fort of the same name, about forty-three miles in a north-easterly direction; but it does not seem to be a place of any particular importance.
8 See further on in this chapter.

about twenty-eight miles to the east by north from Kôlhâpur;[1] and the territory belonging to it, described in the same record as a three-thousand province, must have been always a natural part of the possessions of this branch of the Silâhâra family. The reference to the Koṅkaṇ must mean that Goṅka held for a while some portions of the territory belonging properly to his relations of the northern Koṅkaṇ branch. The record further describes Gûhala or Gûvala I. as a king of the hill-fort of Kiḷigaḷa or Khiḷigiḷa; this place, however, has not been identified.

Mârasiṁha.

The above details are taken from a copper-plate charter[2] which was issued by Mârasiṁha at the time of the winter solstice in December, A.D. 1058, of the Vilambin *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 980 (expired). It styles Mârasiṁha *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, and gives him the secondary names of Goṅkana-aṅkakâṛa, "the warrior or champion of Goṇka," and Guhêyana-siṁha, "the lion of Guhêya." It speaks of him as ruling at his capital of the hill-fort of Khiḷigiḷa. And it records that he granted to a Brâhmaṇ a village named Kuṇtavâḍa, on the south bank of the Krishṇaverṇâ, which is evidently the 'Kootwar' of the map, on the south bank of the Krishṇa, five miles south of Miraj. The Silâhâra princess Chandaladêvî or Chandralêkhâ, daughter of "the *Vidyâdhara* prince who ruled over Karahâṭa," and one of the wives of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., was very probably a daughter of Mârasiṁha.

Bhôja I.

The next name in respect of which we have any historical information, is that of Bhôja I. He must be the Bhôja who invaded the territory of Âchugi II., of the family of the Sindas of Yelburga, and was repulsed by Âchugi.[3]

Ballâḷa.

At Honnûr near Kâgal, eight miles south of Kôlhâpur, there is an inscription which gives Ballâḷa the title of *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, and implies that he ruled in conjunction with his younger brother Gaṇḍarâditya:[4] but it is not dated; and it gives no further historical information.

Gaṇḍarâditya.

Of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Gaṇḍarâditya himself, who was also called Ayyana-siṅga or "the lion of his father," there are several records, which give dates for him ranging from the month Mâgha (Jan.-Feb.), falling in A.D. 1110, of the Virôdhin *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1032 (current),[5] to the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A. D. 1135, of the Râkshasa *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1058 (current).[6] The record of A.D. 1110 describes him as ruling, at the village of Tîravâḍa in the Eḍenâḍ district, over the Miriñja country, together with Saptakholla and the Koṅkaṇ; and Tîravâḍa,— which was probably only a temporary camp,— appears to be the modern

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1 Lat. 16° 49′, long. 74° 41′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 40,—'Meeruj.'
2 *Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 101.
3 See page 574 below.
4 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 102, No. 6.
5 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 6.
6 An inscription at Kôlhâpur (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 541, and Graham's *Kolhapoor*, p. 357; verified from an ink-impression.)

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Tîrawaḍe,[1] eight miles south-west of Gârgôṭi, the chief town of the Bhûdhargaḍ subdivision of the Kôlhâpur territory, which is itself about thirty miles south of Kôlhâpur. The record of A. D. 1135 mentions him as ruling at Vaḷavâḍa, which may be either the modern Wâḷwa in the Bhûdhargaḍ subdivision, sixteen miles in a south-westerly direction from Kôlhâpur, as was suggested by Sir Walter Elliot,[2] or another place of the same name in the Wâḷwa tâluka of the Sâtârâ District, twenty-five miles to the north-east of Kôlhâpur. The same record mentions also a subordinate of Gaṇḍarâditya, the *Mahâsâmanta* Nimbadêvarasa, who is described as the staff of his right arm. An inscription at Têrḍâḷ, belonging to this period, mentions a *Maṇḍalika* named Goṅki or Goṅkadêva, with a date in A.D. 1122,[3] who, as the record describes him as sprung from the lineage of Jîmûtavâhana, seems to have been connected in some way with the Silâhâra family; but, as his family-deity was the goddess Padmâvatî, he must have belonged to a different branch of it from any of the well-known three branches.[4]

Vijayâditya.

Of the time of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vijayâditya, whose name appears also as Vijayârka, and who, like Gaṇḍarâditya, was styled Ayyana-siṅga or "the lion of his father," there are various records which give dates for him ranging from the month Mâgha, with a date falling in February, A.D. 1143, of the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara* Saka-Saṁvat 1065 (current),[5] to the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A.D. 1153, of the Srîmukha *saṁvatsara*, coupled with S.-S. 1078 by mistake for 1075 expired or 1076 current.[6] These two records mention him as ruling at Vaḷavâḍa; and so do others of intermediate dates. The copper-plate charter of his son Bhôja II. tells us that it was through the friendship and assistance of Vijayâditya that the Kaḷachurya king Bijjala attained the sovereignty.[7] And it also says that he re-instated in their territory the fallen lords of the province of Sthânaka, *i.e.*, Ṭhâṇa, and firmly established at Gôvâ, *i.e.* Goa, some kings whose power had been destroyed. The full bearing of this statement is not clear; but it probably means that the Kâdambas of Goa, under Jayakêśin II. or Permâḍi, had encroached on the territory of the Silâhâras of the northern Koṅkaṇ branch,—that Vijayâditya compelled the Kâdambas to withdraw to their own proper limits, and revived the power of his relatives, in the person of Mallikârjuna,—and that he effected arrangements which resulted in the two powers in the Koṅkaṇ living thereafter in peace and amity.

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1 The 'Teerowra' of the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 41.

2 *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. IV. p. 34. 3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. pp. 22, 23, 24.

4 The name Goṅka seems to have been rather a favourite one during this period. Inscriptions at Teṅgaḷi and Kâḷigi in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. pp. 552, 556) mention a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Goṅkarasa or Vîra-Goṅkadêvarasa, of the Bâṇa race, with dates in A.D. 1162 and 1163, who was ruling at Kâḷigi.

5 An inscription at Kôlhâpur; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 207. Another of his records is edited *ibid.* p. 211.

6 An inscription at Shêḍbâḷ in the Athṇi tâluka, Belgaum District (from an ink-impression).

7 *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, reprint of 1877, Vol. III. p. 415 and see page 475 above, note 6.

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Bhôja II.

For the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Bhôja II., also called Vîra-Bhôja and Vijayâdityadêvana-siṅga or "the lion of Vijayâditya," the earliest reliable date seems to be the winter solstice, in December, A.D. 1190, of the Sâdhâraṇa *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1112 (expired), which is furnished by an inscription at Kôlhâpur;[1] and the latest, A.D. 1205-1206, which is furnished by a note at the end of the *Sabdârṇavachandrikâ* of Sômadêva, according to which the work was composed in the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1127 (expired), during the time of Bhôja II., at a Jain temple which had been founded by Gaṇḍarâditya at Âjurikâ in the Kôlhâpur country, *i.e.*, evidently, Âjra, forty miles south of Kôlhâpur.[2] Valavâḍa, Kollâpura, and Padmanâladurga, Pranâlakadurga, or Pannâledurga, are mentioned as places at which he ruled,— the latter being the well-known Panhâlâ, about twelve miles to the north-west of Kôlhâpur.[3] In his earlier years, he, like his ancestors, used simply the feudatory title of *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara.* But the note at the end of the *Sabdârṇavachandrikâ* gives him the paramount titles of *Râjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, and also styles him *Paśchima-Chakravartin* or "the western emperor." He must, therefore, have set himself up as an independent king during the period when Bhillama and Jaitugi I. were establishing the sovereignty of the Yâdavas of the Dêvagiri. But he was soon reduced by Jaitugi's successor, Siṅghaṇa, who held all the territory in the neighbourhood of Kôlhâpur by at any rate A. D. 1218-19, and whose conquest of Bhôja II., mentioned in various records, seems to have been regarded as an achievement of rather special importance.[4] Bhôja II. is the last member of this branch of the family, of whom we have any mention. Probably, the power of his family died out with him, and his territory was handed over to the charge of some ordinary official of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava dynasty.

The Rattas of Saundatti.

Of the great feudatory families, next in point of antiquity comes that of the Raṭṭas, who, for about three centuries,—first as vassals of the Râshṭrakûṭas, then under the Western Châlukyas, and then apparently, as independent princes until they were subdued by the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri,— had the government of the Kûṇḍi or Kuhuṇḍi three-thousand province, which was a division of the Kuntala country and included the greater part of the Belgaum District and some of the neighbouring terrritory: the boundaries of this province are said to have been fixed by the chieftain Kârtavîrya I.,[5] for whom we have the date of A. D. 980; and a reminiscence of it seems to have been preserved in the term *mûru-sâvirad-ayya*, "the *Ayya* of the three-thousand," which is still the title of an *Ayya* or Liṅgâyat priest at Hubli in the Dhârwâr District. Their capital was evidently

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 213.—His published copper-plate grant (*Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, reprint of 1877, Vol. III. p. 411) is dated in the month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A.D. 1191, of the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1113 (expired).

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 75, and p. 76, note 2.

[3] See page 546 above, and note 7.

[4] See page 524 above, and note 1.

[5] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 201.

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Saundatti, in the Belgaum District,[1] which is mentioned in the records by the ordinary name of Savadhavatti or Savandhavatti and the Sanskritised appellation of Sugandhavartin; but, towards the end of their career they had also a seat of government at Belgaum, which is mentioned as Vêḷugrâma, Vêṇugrâma, and Vêṇupura. Their genealogy is shewn in the table on the opposite page.

A record put together at any time during the period A. D. 1050 to 1096 shews[2] that the Raṭṭas came to the front through a person named Prithvìrâma,— a disciple in the Kâreya sect of the Jains, founded by a teacher named Mailâpatîrtha,[3]— being patronised and raised to the position of a feudatory chieftain by a king Krishṇarâjadêva, who can only be the Râshṭrakûṭa king Krishṇa III.[4] A record of A.D. 1218 allots them to the actual lineage of a king Krishṇa-Kandhâra,[5] who is evidently the same person; and so also does another record, purporting, but rather doubtfully, to be dated in A. D. 1209, which mentions the king as Krishṇa-Kandhara, and further gives him the title of *Kandhâra-puravar-âdhîśvara* or "supreme lord of Kandhârapura, the best of towns."[6] And a few passages speak of them as Râshṭrakûṭas.[7] But the records almost always give the family name as Raṭṭa.[8] And the probability is that these chieftains only belonged to some local division of the Reḍḍi tribe or caste, and that the attribution of them to the lineage of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings themselves is based on nothing but the circumstance, mentioned above, through which they rose to power.[9] The records of the second branch

[1] The chief-town of the Parasgaḍ tâluka; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 41; lat. 15° 47′, long. 75° 12′,—'Sumoduttee.'

[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 199, 200.

[3] An inscription at Kalbhâvi also makes mention of the Kâreya *gaṇa* or sect, which it says, was also known as the lineage of Mailâpa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 313).

[4] See page 411 above, note 1. — For a precise statement, in one of their records, that the Raṭṭas owed their position and authority to Krishṇa III., see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 248.

[5] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 251.

[6] See below, under Lakshmidêva I.— I do not know of any other mention of such a town in genuine documents. But, at Hirê-Kummi and Sattigeri in the Parasgaḍ tâluka, Belgaum District, and at Surkôḍ or Surkôr in the Râmdurg State, there are spurious copper-plate charters, without dates, which purport to have been issued by this same king, who is called in them the *Chakravartin* Kanhara and Krishṇa-Kanhara, and is styled *Kandhârapur-âdhîśvara*: the Surkôḍ or Surkôr record also says that he was reigning at Kanharapura.

[7] *e.g.*, *ibid.* p. 273; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 24.

[8] Occasionally using the Kanarese letter which is transliterated by an *r* with two dots below it,—ṟ.

[9] It has been suggested by Mr. K. B. Pathak (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 14) that these chieftains assumed the name of Raṭṭa, simply because they professed to be descendants of Krishṇa III. And in support of this it might be urged that a record of A.D. 980 speaks of Prithvîrâma's grandson Śântivarman as "a sun to the water-lily that was the Baisa (or Chaisa) lineage" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 208), of which, if we assume the reference to be to the water-lily that flowers by day, the meaning would be that Śântivarman belonged to that lineage. But the claim to be actually descended from Krishṇa III. has not been traced back to an earlier date than A.D. 1218. The opening passage of the record of A.D. 980 distinctly describes Śântivarman and his ancestors as Raṭṭas. The reference to the Baisa or Chaisa lineage may be equally well understood as denoting the water-lily that flowers by night; the meaning then being that Śântivarman overthrew some member of that family. And I can really see no objection to believing that these chieftains did belong to the Reḍḍi tribe or caste. In fact, this assumption furnishes the most obvious reason for Krishṇa III. bringing them to the front.

The Rattas of Saundatti.

First Branch.

- Meraḍa.
  - Prithvîrâma.
    - Piṭṭuga.
      - Śântivarman. (A.D. 980)

Second Branch.

- Nanna.
  - Kârtavîrya I. (A.D. 980)
    - Dâvari, or Ḍâyima.
    - Kannakaira I.
      - Eraga. (A.D. 1040)
        - Sêna I.; married Maiḷaladêvî.
          - Kannakaira II. About A.D. 1069 to 1076, and A. D. 1082 and 1087)
          - Kârtavîrya II.; married Bhâgaladêvî. (About A.D. 1069 to 1076, and A.D. 1087)
            - Sêna II.; married Lakshmîdêvî. (A.D. 1096 (?) and about A.D. 1102 to 1121)
              - Kârtavîrya III.; married Padmaladêvî. (A.D. 1143 and 1165)
                - Lakshmidêva I.; married Chandaladêvî. (A.D. 1209 ?)
                  - Kârtavîrya IV.; married Êchaladêvî and Mâdêvî. (A.D. 1199 and 1218)
                    - Lakshmidêva II. (A.D. 1228)
                  - Mallikârjuna. (A.D. 1204 and 1208)
      - Aṅka. (A.D. 1048)

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of this family, commencing with the name of Nanna, shew that the Raṭṭa chieftains had the hereditary title of *Lattalûr-* or *Lattanûr-puravar-âdhîśvara*, "supreme lord of Lattalûr or Lattanûr, the best of towns," intended to commemorate their original home;[1] that they were heralded in public by the sounds of the musical instrument called *trivaḷi*;[2] that they had the *sindûra-lâñchhana*, or elephant-crest;[3] and that they carried the *suvarṇa-Garuḍa-dhvaja*, or banner of a golden Garuḍa, which device, instead of the crest according to the more usual custom, appears on the seal of the only Raṭṭa copper-plate charter that has as yet come to light.[4]

Meraḍa, and Prithvirâma.

Meraḍa is mentioned only as the father of Prithvîrâma. Of the latter, we are told that he was a disciple of Indrakîrtisvâmin, the disciple of Guṇakîrti, the disciple of Mullabhaṭṭaraka, who was a teacher in the Kâreya sect of Mailâpatîrtha.[5] And the record which furnishes this information, makes it clear, as noted above, that he was patronised and invested with the position and authority of a feudatory chieftain,—the exact title attached to his name being that of *Mahâsâmanta*,—by the Râshṭrakûṭa king Krishṇa III. This event may be placed somewhere about A. D. 940, which is the earliest date that we have for Krishṇa III. The record might, indeed, be taken as connecting with Prithvîrâma the date of the Manmatha *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 797 expired (A.D. 875-76); but this date is plainly not authentic, so far, at least, as Prithvîrâma is concerned.[6]

Piṭṭuga.

Of Piṭṭuga, all that we are told is that his wife was Nijikabbe or Nijiyabbe, and that he confronted and defeated a certain Ajavarman, whose identity is not known.

Śântivarman.

Of the time of Śânta or Śântivarman, whose wife was Chandikabbe, we have one record,—a stone inscription at Saundatti.[7] It describes him as a *Mahâsâmanta*, feudatory to the Western Châlukya king Taila II., and as making a grant to a Jain temple which he had had built at Saundatti. And it furnishes for him the date of the winter solstice in the month Pausha, falling in December, A. D. 980, of the Vikrama *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 902 (expired).

Nanna.

In connection with Nanna, also called Nannapayyarâṇa, no historical facts are given. He is mentioned only as the father of Kârtavîrya I. There is nothing to shew his connection with Meraḍa and his descendants. And the probability is that he belonged to a different branch of the family.[8]

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[1] See page 381 above.
[2] See page 387 above.
[3] *Sindûra*, here, is not the ordinary word meaning 'red lead, vermilion,' as I thought when I first dealt with the records of this family. It is a corruption of *sindhura*, 'an elephant' (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 24, note 24).
[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 243.
[5] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 199.
[6] See page 411 above, note 1.
[7] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 204.
[8] The name Nanna occurs elsewhere in the case of a king, belonging to the period A.D. 783-84, who built a Jain temple of Pârśvanâtha at a town called Vardhamânapura (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 142: a footnote says that he is also mentioned in a Râshṭrakûṭa record; but the real reading there is *nunna*, qualifying *bhujaṁga-darpô*).

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Kârtavîrya I.

Of the time of Kârtavîrya I., also called Katta, we have one record,—a stone inscription at Sogal in the Belgaum District,[1] which mentions him as the lord of the Kûṇḍi country, feudatory to the Western Châlukya king Taila II., and furnishes for him a date in the month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A. D. 980, of the Vikrama-*saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 902 (expired). The record of the period A.D. 1050 to 1096 mentions him again as a feudatory of Âhavamalla, *i.e.* Taila II., and says that he fixed the boundaries of the Kûṇḍi country.[2] And from this latter statement, coupled with the fact that his date is earlier by some five months than that of Sântivarman, it seems likely that he set himself up in opposition to Sântivarman, and eventually appropriated the entire province from that person.

Dâvari or Ḍâyima, and Kannakaira I.

Of Dâvari or Ḍâyima, and of Kannakaira I., also called simply Kanna, we have no records and no historical details.

Eṛaga.

Of the time of Eṛaga or Eṛega, we have one record,—a stone inscription at Maṇṭûr in the Mudhôḷ State:[3] it mentions him by the name of Eṛeyamma, with the title of *Mahâsâmanta*; it shews that he was a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha II.; and it furnishes for him a date in the month Mârgaśira (Nov.-Dec.), falling in A. D. 1040, of the Vikrama *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 962 (expired).[4] The Saundatti inscription of the period A. D. 1050 to 1096 speaks of him as acquainted with the science of music.

Aṅka.

Of the time of Aṅka, we have two records,—inscriptions on stone at the temple of Aṅkalêśvara or Aṅkuśêśvara at Saundatti.[5] One of them[6] describes him as a *Mahâsâmanta*, feudatory to the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I., and furnishes for him the date of the winter solstice in the month Pausha, falling in December, A. D. 1048, of the Sarvadhârin *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 970 (expired). The other is a mere fragment, dated in the same year.

Sêna I.

About Sêna I., also called Kâḷasêna, we have no information except that his wife was Maiḷaladêvî or Maiḷaladêvî.

Kankanaira II.

Of Kannakaira II., also called simply Kanna, the earliest mention is in the Tiḍgundi copper-plate grant, from the Bijâpur District,[7] dated in the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A. D. 1082, of the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara* (Saka-Saṁvat 1004 expired), cited as the seventh year of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI.; it speaks of him as the *Sâmanta* and *Mahâsâmanta* Kanna, one of the feudatories of Vikramâditya VI. He is also mentioned in the Koṇṇûr inscription, which appears to have been put together in

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1 I quote from an ink-impression.

2 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 201.

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 161.

4 The date includes the puzzling word *śrâhe*, for which see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 222, and Index.

5 I have failed to determine clearly the name by which the temple is really called. But, in either case, the present name is probably a corruption of an original Aṅkêśvara.

6 I quote from an ink-impression. But see also *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 172.

7 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 306.

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A. D. 1121: it speaks of him as the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kanna; and it connects him with the date of the winter solstice in the month Pausha, falling in December, A.D. 1087, of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara* (Saka-Saṁvat 1010 current);[1] cited as the twelfth year of Vikramâditya VI. At this time he must have been ruling in conjunction with his younger brother Kârtavîrya II., for whom we have an earlier date in July-August of the same year,—both of them as feudatories of Vikramâditya VI. And in fact, since another record describes Kârtavîrya II. as a feudatory of Vikramâditya's predecessor Sômêśvara II., the two brothers seem to have ruled conjointly from the beginning.

Kârtavîrya II.

Of the time of Kârtavîrya II., also called Katta and Sênana-siṅga or "the lion of Sêna," we have two records. One is a stone inscription at Saundatti,[2] which describes him as a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, feudatory to the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara II.: the date is lost; but the record belongs to the period A.D. 1069 to 1076. The other is a stone inscription at the temple of Aṅkalêśvara or Aṅkuśêśvara, at the same place,[3] which again styles him *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, and furnishes for him a date in the month Śrâvaṇa (July-Aug.), falling in A.D. 1087, of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1009 (expired): at this time he was, of course, a feudatory of Sômêśvara's successor Vikramâditya VI.; and a record at Têrdâḷ in the Sâṅgli State, which appears to have been put together in A. D. 1187, or was at any rate completed then, explicitly mentions him as a feudatory of that king.[4] His wife was Bhâgaladêvî, also called Bhâgalâmbikâ.

Sêna II.

Sêna II., also called Kâḷasêna, is mentioned in the Koṇṇûr inscription, as a *Maṇḍalêśvara*, in the time of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., and contemporaneously with Vikramâditya's son Jayakarṇa: the record seems to imply that he was governing the Kûṇḍi province in subordination to Châmaṇḍa, a *Daṇḍanâyaka* of Jayakarṇa;[5] and it appears to connect with him, as it certainly does with Jayakarṇa, the last date given in it, in the month Pausha, falling in December, A. D. 1121, of the Plava *saṁvatsara* (Saka-Saṁvat 1044 current), cited as the forty-sixth year of Vikramâditya VI. Sêna II. is, therefore, at any rate to be placed in the period A. D. 1102 to 1121, which are the earliest and latest dates for Jayakarṇa. And an earlier date, in the month Pausha, falling in December, A.D. 1096, of the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara* (Saka-Saṁvat 1019 current), cited as the

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[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 297, 298.— The last date in this record is Pausha śukla 13, falling in December, A.D. 1121, of the Plava *saṁvatsara* (Saka-Saṁvat 1044 current), cited as the forty-sixth year of Vikramâditya VI.

[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 213. [3] *ibid.* p. 173.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 23.— This passage is almost immediately followed by one which gives a date in the month Vaiśâkha (April-May), falling in A. D. 1122, of the Subhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1045 (current). But, as Sêna II., the son of Kârtavîrya II., is to be placed not later than A.D. 1121 (see further on), this date must denote only the time when grants were made to the temple,—not the time when the image was set up under the auspices of Kârtavîrya II.; and, therefore, it is not a date of Kârtavîrya II.

[5] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 293, 294.

twenty-first year of Vikramâditya VI., is perhaps furnished for him in one of the Saundatti records,[1] which takes the genealogy as far as him, and seems to have been put together in that year or shortly afterwards. His wife was Lakshmîdêvî. Shortly after this time, an inscription at Khânâpur in the Kôlhâpur State,[2] mentions a Raṭṭa *Mahâsâmanta* named Aṅkidêva, with a date in the month Vaiśâkha (April-May), falling in A.D. 1129, of the Saumya *saṁvatsara* (Śaka-Saṁvat 1052 current), cited, rather peculiarly, as the fifty-fourth year of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI. This person must have been a feudatory of Vikramâditya's successor Sômêśvara III. But none of the records disclose his place in the Raṭṭa genealogy.

Kârtavîrya III.

Of the time of Kârtavîrya III., also called Katta and Kattama, we have three unquestionable inscriptions. Two are at Khânâpur in the Kôlhâpur State:[3] they style him *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, and furnish dates for him in the month Vaiśâkha (April-May), falling in A.D. 1143, of the Rudhirôdgârin *saṁvatsara* (Śaka-Saṁvat 1066 current), cited as the sixth year of the Western Châlukya king Perma-Jagadêkamalla II., and in Mârgaśira (Nov.-Dec.), falling in A.D. 1162, of the Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1084 (expired); and the second of them says that he was then ruling at Nêsarge in the Belgaum District. The third is at Bail-Hoṅgal in the Belgaum District,[4] and furnishes some date in the Târaṇa *saṁvatsara*, Ś.-S. 1086 (expired), = A. D. 1164-65. And he is also mentioned, as a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, and plainly as a feudatory, in a record of A. D. 1165, which says that the Kaḷachurya king Bijjala, having subdued all kings, was then ruling the whole world with the one umbrella of sole sovereignty.[5] There is a record at Koṇṇûr,[6] which,—if referable to Kârtavîrya III., as it seems to be, because it uses the name Kattama, not met with in the case of the other Kârtavîryas,—describes him, not only as a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, but also as a *Chakravartin* or emperor, and is dated in a year, unfortunately illegible, of his own rule. This record, which should undoubtedly be referred to a later period than the others, indicates very plainly that, at some period after A.D. 1165, taking advantage of the general confusion that must have prevailed during the overthrow of the Kaḷachurya power and of the last remnant of the Western Châlukya sovereignty under Sômêśvara IV., and during the time when the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri and the Hoysaḷas of Dôrasamudra were disputing the possession of the southern provinces, he established the independence of his family,—a position which his successors seem to have mostly maintained, until they were reduced to submission again, somewhere about A.D. 1230, by Vîchaṇa, the southern viceroy of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa. The

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[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 202.
[2] At the temple of Hanumanta (*Carn.-Dêśa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 627).
[3] At the Jain temple (*id.* Vol. II. p. 547), and at the temple of Hanumanta (*ibid.* p. 548).
[4] At a temple on the north of the town (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 116).
[5] See page 476 above, and note 1.
[6] See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 181.

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Têrdâl inscription, however, discloses the fact that, in the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A. D. 1187, of the Plavamga *saṁvatsara* S.-S. 1109 (expired), a certain Bhâyidêva, a *Daṇḍanâyaka* of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara IV., was governing the Kûṇḍi province, which had been given to him by the king as a reward for defeating certain enemies who must have been some of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti. And this, while corroborating the inference made above as to the position assumed at this period by the Raṭṭas, also shews that they were not altogether successful in what they accomplished or aimed at. The wife of Kârtavîrya III. was Padmaladêvî, also called Padmâvatî.

Lakshmidêva I.

Of the time of Lakshmidêva I., whose name appears also as Lakshmaṇa and Lakshmîdhara, we have one record,—a stone inscription at Haṇṇikeri near Sampgaon.[1] It describes him as born in the lineage of a king named Krishṇa-Kandhara, with the title of *Kandhâra-puravar-âdhîśvara* or "supreme lord of Kandhârapura, the best of towns," *i.e.* of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Krishṇa III.[2] It mentions him as ruling at Vêṇugrâma, which, it says, was in the Kûṇḍi three-thousand. And it purports to furnish for him a date in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March), falling in A. D. 1209, of the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1130 (expired): this date, however, overlaps, and is not easily reconcileable with, the earlier dates of his sons Kârtavîrya IV. and Mallikârjuna; and, as a continuation of the record is dated in A.D. 1257, it is possible that the whole was put on the stone then, and that some mistake was introduced. The wife of Lakshmidêva I. was Chandaladêvî, also called Chandrike and Chandrikâdêvî, daughter of a person named Râja belonging to a family of *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras*, with the hereditary title of "supreme lord of Kupaṇapura, the best of towns," who claimed to belong to the Yaduvaṁśa and were lords of the Hagaraṭage district;[3] some of the records[4] say that she attained victory over a number of serpents in an earthen water-jar,—the allusion apparently being to her having undergone some trial by ordeal.[5]

Kârtavîrya IV., and Mallikârjuna.

Of the time of Kârtavîrya IV., we have seven records. The first is a stone inscription at Saṅkêshwar in the Belgaum District:[6] it describes him as a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, ruling at Vêlugrama or Belgaum; and it furnishes dates for him in the month Bhâdrapada (Aug.-Sept.), falling in A.D. 1199, of the Siddhârthin *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1121 (expired), and in Jyêshṭha (May-June), falling in A.D. 1200, of the Raudrin *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1122 (expired). The second is a

[1] I quote from my reading from the original.
[2] See page 550 above, and note 6.
[3] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 232, 233, 235.
[4] See, *e. g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 248.
[5] For a clear instance of trial by ordeal, see under the account of Jayakêśin III., page 571 below.— The present allusion is probably explained by an article on trial by ordeal, among the Hindûs, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I., fifth edition, p. 389, where, in describing the second form of ordeal by poison, it is said—"The hooded "snake called *nâga* is thrown into a deep earthen pot, into which is dropped a ring, a "seal, or a coin. This the accused is ordered to take out with his hand; and if the "serpent bite him, he is pronounced guilty; if not, innocent."
[6] At the temple of Nârâyaṇa (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 561).

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stone inscription at Râybag in the Kôlhâpur State:[1] it describes him as a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, enjoying, at Vêḷugrâma, *sâmrâjya* or "complete sovereignty,"—a term which indicates plainly the position that the members of this family had then assumed; and it is dated in the month Vaiśâkha (April-May), falling in A. D. 1201, of the Durmati *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1124 (current). The third and fourth are stone inscriptions, which were formerly at Belgaum,[2] but are now in the British Museum:[3] they describe him as a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, enjoying *sâmrâjya* at Vêṇugrâma in conjunction with his younger brother, the *Yuvarâja* Mallikârjuna; and they are dated on Pausha śukla 2, falling in December, A.D. 1204, of the Raktâkshin *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1126 (expired). The fifth is a stone inscription at Kalhoḷe in the Belgaum District:[4] this, again, describes him and his younger brother as ruling together in the same style at Vêṇugrâma; and it furnishes for them the same date.[5] The sixth is a copper-plate grant from Bhôj, in the same district;[6] it makes precisely the same statement, in connection with a date in the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A. D. 1208, of the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1131 (current). And the seventh is a stone inscription at Nêsargi in the same district,[7] which makes no mention of Mallikârjuna, but speaks of Kârtavîrya IV. as ruling at Vêṇugrama or Vêṇupura, and furnishes for him the date of the winter solstice, in December, A. D. 1218, of the Bahudhânya *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1141 (current). The wives of Kârtavîrya IV. were Êchaladêvî and Mâdêvî: the former is mentioned as the daughter of a *Chakrâvartin* or emperor;[8] but her father's name is not given.

Lakshmidêva II.

Of the time of Lakshmidêva II., also called Boppana-siṅga or "the lion of his father,"[9]—the son of Kârtavîrya IV. by his wife Mâdêvî,—we have one record,—a stone inscription at Saundatti.[10] It styles him a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, and states that he was ruling at Vêṇugrâma, *i. e.* Belgaum. And it furnishes for him a date in the month Ashâḍha (June-July), falling in A. D. 1228, of the Sarvadhârin *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 1151 (current).

This is the last notice that we have of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti. From the absence, in this record, of any allusion to a paramount sovereign, it may be inferred that Lakshmidêva II. was still independent at the time when it was written. But he must very soon afterwards have succumbed to the power of the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri. Some of the earlier records which mention Siṅghaṇa, of that dynasty, as the

1 At the Jain temple (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 564; verified, and corrected in respect of the date, from an ink-impression).

2 *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. pp. 571, 576.

3 I owe this information to Mr. Rice, who found them there after they had long been lost sight of.

4 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 220.

5 Except that the *saṁvatsara* is here connected with Saka-Saṁvat 1127 (current).

6 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 242.

7 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 240.

8 *ibid.* p. 231.

9 *Boppa*, or elsewhere *bappa*, is a Prâkṛit word, meaning 'father' (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 188, note).

10 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 260; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 223, and Vol. III. p. 107.

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reigning king,— *e. g.*, of A. D. 1213 at Gadag in the Dhârwâr District and at Khêdrâpur near Kôlhâpur, of A. D. 1215 at Balagâmve in Mysore, of A. D. 1218-19 at Kôlhâpur, and of A. D. 1222 at Manôli in the Belgaum District,— shew that, before the date that is on record for Lakshmidêva II., all the territory bordering on the Kûṇḍi province on the north, east, and south, had already fallen into the hands of the Yâdavas. And the Haralahalli grant, of A. D. 1238, specifically states that Vîchaṇa, Singhaṇa's viceroy for the southern provinces, had then subdued the Raṭṭas.[1] The event may be placed about A. D. 1230. And, as we have no later mention of Lakshmidêva II. or of any descendant of his, the probability is that he was deprived of his hereditary position, and the province was handed over to one of Singhaṇa's ordinary officials.

The Kadambas of Hangal.

An account of an early dynasty of kings who called themselves Kadambas, has been given in chapter I. above. We have now to deal with two families of feudatory nobles who, with a slight difference of spelling, were called Kâdambas. As in the case of the names Chalukya and Châlukya, so, here also, the difference in the first syllable seems to imply that the Kâdambas could not claim a direct lineal descent from the early Kadamba kings. But, at the same time, the use of the title *Banavâsî-puravar-âdhîśvara*, or "supreme lord of Banavâsî, the best of towns," by families of which one at least had nothing whatever to do with the government of the Banavâsi province, indicates plainly that the Kâdambas did assert some genealogical connection with the Kadamba kings, of whose capitals Banawâsi was one, if it was not the principal one.[2] The family with which we are concerned in the present section, is that of the Kâdambas of Hângal, —the ancient Pânuṁgal and Hânuṁgal,— which is the chief town of the Hângal tâluka in the Dhârwâr District.[3] These nobles had the hereditary right to rule the Pânuṁgal or Hânuṁgal district, which consisted of five hundred villages. And their capital was Hângal itself, which is mentioned in records by the appellations of Pânthîpura,[4] Vairâṭapura,[5] Virâṭana-kote,[6] and Virâṭanagara,[7] as well as by the ancient name from which the modern name is derived. They sometimes ruled also the Banavâsi province; but the numerous instances

[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 384, 385.

[2] As in the case of 'Chalukya' and 'Châlukya' (see page 427 above); so also, in the records of the later Kâdambas, the family name is sometimes given as 'Kadamba' in metrical passages; but, as far as my experience goes, never in prose passages. —The word sometimes occurs with the lingual *ḍ*,— Kaḍamba,— but very rarely.

[3] Lat. 14° 46', long. 75° 11'; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 42;— 'Hungul.'

[4] *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 254, and *errata*.— An inscription of A. D. 1165 at Mantige in the Hângal tâluka (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 105; verified from an ink-impression) says (line 10 f.) that the capital of the Hânuṁgal five-hundred was Hânuṁgal, and (line 60) that it had the appellation of Pânthîpura (*Pânthîpur-âbhidhânam Hânuṁgalla samasta-nagaramumam bañamjigar-aynûrvarumam, &c.*)

[5] An inscription on the premises of Yaligâra-Karibasappa at Yaḷawaṭṭi in the Hângal tâluka (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 315).

[6] An inscription at Harihar (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 123, line 33; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 32).

[7] An inscription at the temple of Râmaliṅga at Yaḷawaṭṭi (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 30).

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Mayûravarman I.
|
Krishṇavarman.
|
Nâgavarman I.
|
Vishṇuvarman.
|
Mṛigavarman.
|
Satyavarman.
|
Vijayavarman.
|
Jayavarman I.
|
Nâgavarman II.
|
Śântivarman I.
|
Kîrtivarman I.
|
Âdityavarman.
|
Chaṭṭa, Chaṭṭaya, or Chaṭṭuga.
|
Jayavarman II., or Jayasiṁha.

- Mâvulidêva.
- Taila, or Tailapa I.; married Châvundaladêvi.
  - Kîrtivarman II., or Kîrtidêva I. A.D. 1068-69 and 1077-78)
- Śântivarman II., Śânta, or Śântaya; married Siriyâdêvî. (A.D. 1075 and 1089)
  - Taila, or Tailapa II.; married Bâchaladêvî and Châmaladêvî. (A.D. 1099 and 1129)
    - Mayûravarman II. (A.D. 1131)
    - Mallikârjuna. (A.D. 1132 and 1145)
    - Tailama. (A.D. 1147)
      - Kîrtidêva II.
      - Kâmadêva; married Kêtaladêvî. (A.D. 1181-82 and 1203)
- Chôkidêva, or Jôkidêva.
- Vikrama, or Vikramâṅka.

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in which that province was under the government of the members of other feudatory families and of ordinary officials, disprove any hereditary right on their part to that territory. As already indicated, they had the hereditary title of *Banavâsî-puravar-âdhîśvara*, or "supreme lord of Banavâsî, the best of towns,"[1] commemorative of the place from which they originally started. They had the *simha-lâñchhana* or lion-crest,[2] and carried the *sâkhâcharêndra-dhvaja*, or banner of Hanumat, the king of monkeys.[3] They were heralded in public by the sounds of the musical instrument called *permaṭṭi*.[4] And their family-god was Jayantî-Madhukêśvara, or Vishṇu under the name of Madhukêśvara of Jayantîpura or Banawâsi.[5] Their records are found mostly in the Hângal tâluka itself.

The fullest account of their traditional and actual genealogy is given in a stone inscription at Kargudari in the Hângal tâluka, dated in A.D. 1108;[6] and, with a few additions from other similar records at Banawâsi[7] and Hângal,[8] and from other sources, the list is as shewn in the table on page 559 above: but the authenticity of it anterior to the name of Chaṭṭa, Chaṭṭaya, or Chaṭṭuga, appears very doubtful, —there being too sudden a change to an ordinary style of nomenclature from an unbroken series of high-pretending names ending in *vârman*; and there being also three detached names,[9] —of a person named Mayûravarman, of Harikêsarin, and of Tôyimadêva,—with dates earlier than that which is forthcoming for the first person in the list with whom the records connect a date,—for which the list does not provide at all. Regarding Mayûravarman I., who heads the list, and who appears[10] to have been represented by tradition as three-eyed and four-armed, the Kargudari record asserts that he was a son of the god Śiva and the Earth, and that he came from the Himâlayan regions, and, having brought from Ahichchhatra[11] eighteen Brâhmaṇs whom

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1 *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 252, text lines 24, 25. 2 *e.g.*, *ibid.* line 29.
3 *e.g.*, *ibid.* lines 28, 29. 4 *e.g.*, *ibid.* line 28. 5 *e.g.*, *ibid.* line 25.
6 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 249. 7 See *id.* Vol. IV. p. 206.

8 At a temple of Îśvara in the fort (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 49; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 90, where, on the authority of *Inscriptions in Dhârwâr and Mysore*, it is wrongly entered as being at Hûli in the Belgaum District). — The original appears to be not forthcoming now.

9 See pages 563, 564, below.

10 From the application of these epithets, with others that plainly are traditional, to the historical nobles, *e.g.* to Tailapa II. in line 26 of the Kargudari inscription (compare also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 204).

11 There seem to have been more places than one, whether regions or towns, named Ahichchhatra; or else the traditions connected with the name were very mixed and confusing.— Hiuen Tsiang visited a place of this name, called by him *'O-hi-chi-ta-lo* (*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. p. 200), which Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 255) identified with the modern Râmnagar, about twenty-two miles to the north of Badaun in the North-West Provinces. While Prof. Lassen (*Map of Ancient India*) identifies apparently the same one with the modern Farokhâbâd, about fifty-five miles to the south-east of Badaun.— Prof. Hall, (*Vishnu-Purâṇa*, Vol. II. p. 161, note §) suggests that one of them was not far from the Vindhya mountains.— The *Padma-Purâṇa* appears to place an Ahichchhatra in Assam (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. V. p. 295).— The scholiast on the *Haimakôśa*, iv. 23, locates a region of this name somewhere in the north of India (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 197, note).— And a Sinda inscription at Bhairanmaṭṭi in the Bijâpur District (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 230) asserts that Sinda, the alleged founder of the family, was born at Ahichchhatra in the region of the river Sindhu, *i. e.* the Indus.

he established in the Kuntala country, thus acquired the government of the earth.[1] He seems to be identical with the Mukaṇṇa-Kadamba,—"the three-eyed Kadamba,"—of another record,[2] who is said to have brought twelve-thousand Brâhmaṇs, of thirty-two *gôtras*, purified by performing the *agnihôtra*-sacrifice, from the *agrahâra* of Ahichchhatra, and to have made, and established them in, the *agrahâra* of Sthâṇugûḍhapura, which is the modern Tâḷgund in the Shimogga District, Mysore. And his name in the form of Mayûravarman is very possibly nothing but a reminiscence of that of the veritable Mayûraśarman, who established the early Kadamba power.[3]

Kîrtivarman II.

There seems no reason to question any part of the genealogy from Chaṭṭa onwards. But the first member of the family, shewn in the table, in respect of whom we have definite data, is the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kîrtivarman II., also called Kîrtidêva I. and Tailana-siṅga or "the lion of Taila,"— the son of Taila or Tailapa I. and Châvuṇḍaladêvî. He was ruling the Banavâsi province[4] in the Kîlaka *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 980 (expired), = A. D. 1068-69;[5] and he must then have been a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I. or II. We have other dates for him, without an exact specification of his territory, in the Anala or Nala *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 998 (expired), = A.D. 1076-77, and in the following year;[6] when, on the latter occasion at any rate, he was a feudatory of Vikramâditya VI.

'Sântivarman II.

For the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* 'Sântivarman II., we have a date in the month Âśvina (Sept.-Oct.), falling in A. D. 1075, of the Râkshasa *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 997 (expired);[7] but the record does not state the details of his government: as this date is earlier than the latest date of his nephew, perhaps he and Kîrtivarman II. were then ruling, respectively, only the Pânuṁgal five-hundred and the Banavâsi twelve-thousand. In the month Mâgha (Jan.-Feb.) falling in A. D. 1089, of the Vibhava *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1011 current), he was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Pânuṁgal five-hundred, as a feudatory of Vikramâditya VI.[8] His wife was Siriyâdêvî, of the Pâṇḍya family.

Tailapa II.

For the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Taila or Tailapa II., whose name appears also as Tailaha, we have various dates, ranging from the month Jyêshṭha (May-June), falling in A. D. 1099, of the Pramâdin *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1022 current),[9] up to the winter solstice, in

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[1] Here there is perhaps an allusion to the "eighteen *agrâhâras*" mentioned on page 443 above, and note 4.

[2] At Tâḷgund in Mysore (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 221; *Mysore Inscriptions* p. 196).

[3] See page 286 above.

[4] This does not necessarily mean that he was not ruling the Pânuṁgal five-hundred also. Sometimes all the details of a government are given; sometimes only that province or district is mentioned in which lay the village at which the grant was made.

[5] An inscription at Banawâsi (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 206, No. 3.)

[6] Inscriptions at Baḷêhaḷḷi in the Hângal tâluka, and at Kuppaṭûr in Mysore (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 585).

[7] An inscription at Nîralgi in the Hângal tâluka (I quote from an ink-impression).

[8] An inscription at Araḷêshwar in the Hângal tâluka (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 594).

[9] An inscription at Arṭâḷ in the Hângal tâluka (*ibid.* p. 596).

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December, A.D. 1129, of the Saumya *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1052 current).[1] He was a feudatory at first of Vikramâditya VI., and then of Sômêśvara III. The records mostly represent him as ruling the Banavâsi province and the Pânuṁgal five-hundred; but the latest of them, of A. D. 1129-30, adds the Sântaḷige thousand. Two of them say that he ruled also over various other districts "acquired by the strength of his own arm;" but they do not name those districts. The Kargudari inscription, of A.D. 1108, mentions his capital, Hângal, by the name of Pânthìpura, from which place, it says, he was ruling both the Pânuṁgal district and the Banavâsi province. Another record, of A.D. 1125-26, which mentions only the Banavâsi province, states that he was ruling it at Pânuṁgal. His wives were Bâchaladêvì, of the Pâṇḍya family, and Châmaladêvì, who was the mother of Tailama. The date of A.D. 1129, given above, is the latest certain date for him. But there are records at Yalawaṭṭi in the Hângal tâluka[2] which tend to shew that he did not die till the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A. D. 1135, of the Râkshasa *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1058 current), and that his death occurred during, or shortly after, a siege of Hângal by the Hoysalas under Vishṇuvardhana; that Vishṇuvardhana did besiege Hângal,— and probably reduced it, as claimed for him,— is known from the Hoysaḷa records.[3]

Mayûravarman II.

In the month Bhâdrapada (Aug.-Sept.), falling in A. D. 1131, of the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1054 current), and again at the winter solstice in December of the same year, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvarâ* Mayûravarman II. was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Pânuṁgal five-hundred, and the Sântaḷige thousand, as a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara III.[4]

Mallikârjuna.

In the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A. D. 1132, of the Paridhâvin *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1055 current),[5] and in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March), falling in A. D. 1138, of the Piṅgala *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1060 current),[6] the *Mahâmaṇḍalêsvara* Mallikârjuna was ruling the Banavâsi and Pânuṁgal territory, as a feudatory of Sômêśvara III.; and again in the month Phâlguna, falling in A. D. 1145, of the Raktâkshin *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1067 current),[7] as a feudatory of Perma-Jagadêkamalla II.

Tailama.

At the time of the winter solstice, in December, A.D. 1147, of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1069 (expired), Tailama,—who is mentioned without any title,— was ruling the Pânuṁgal five-hundred, as a feudatory of Perma-Jagadêkamalla II.[8]

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[1] An inscription at Hungund in the Baṅkâpûr tâluka (I quote from an ink-impression).
[2] On the premises of Yaligâra-Karibasappa, and at the temple of Râmêśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 723, 725).
[3] See, *e.g.*, page 496 above.
[4] Inscriptions at Hâvaṇige in the Hângal tâluka, and at Hirê-Kerûr in the Kôḍ tâluka (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 703, 706).
[5] An inscription at Kyâsanûr in the Hângal tâluka (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 636).
[6] An inscription at Mûḍur in the Hângal tâluka (*ibid.* p. 727).
[7] An inscription at Bâḷêhaḷḷi in the Hângal tâluka (*ibid.* p. 772).
[8] An inscription at Maṇakaṭṭi in the Baṅkâpur tâluka (I quote from an ink-impression).

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Kâmadêva.

And at the time of the winter solstice, in December, A.D. 1189, of the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1111 (expired), as a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara IV., the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kâmadêva, also called Kâvadêva and Tailamana-aṅkakâra or "the warrior or champion of Tailama," was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Pâṇuṁgal five-hundred, and the Puligeṛe, *i.e.* Lakshmêshwar, three-hundred, after subjugating the Male and Tulu countries, the Koṅkaṇ, and the Western Ghauts.[1] His wife was Kêtaladêvî. There are two other records of Kâmadêva at Hângal.[2] One of them[3] is dated in the Anala or Nala *saṁvatsara* (Śaka-Saṁvat 1119 current), = A.D. 1196-97, which is cited as the sixteenth year of his rule; thus giving the Plava *saṁvatsara*, Ś.-S. 1104 current, = A.D. 1181-82, as his initial date. This inscription is on a *vîrgal* or monumental tablet, the sculptures on which are a very vivid representation of battle-scenes. It is dated in the month Âśvina (Sept.-Oct.), falling in A. D. 1196. And it records that the Hoysaḷa king Vîra-Ballâḷa II. had come and pitched his camp at the Ânekere tank,— the large tank on the west side of Hângal,— and was besieging the city. He was defeated, and repulsed for the time, by Kâmadêva's forces under his general Sôhaṇi, who, however, was killed in the battle. But he seems to have soon afterwards completely subjugated the Kâdambâs and annexed their territory. There are inscriptions at Sâtênhaḷḷi, in the Kôḍ tâluka,[4] which shew that Kâmadêva was still fighting against the Hoysaḷa forces in the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A.D. 1203, of the Rudhirôdgarin *saṁvatsara* (Ś.-S. 1126 current); but, what became of him after that date, is not known.

Detached names.

In addition to the above, there are some detached names, not referable at present to any places in the genealogy, the owners of which assert themselves to be Kâdambas, of plainly the Hângal family.

Mayûravarman.

Thus, in the Bhâva *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 956 (expired), = A.D. 1034-35, as a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha II., the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mayûravarman, whom the record styles *Pâṇtîpur-âdhipa* or "lord of Pântîpura,"[5] was ruling the Pâṇuṁgal five-hundred, apparently in subordination to a certain Mâdiṇayya, the *Pergaḍe* of the Banavâsi province, which is said here to include the Sântaḷige thousand.[6] And in the Târaṇa *saṁvatsara*, Ś.-S. 966 (expired), = A. D. 1044-45, he was still ruling the Pâṇuṁgal district, as a feudatory of Sômêśvara I.[7]

Harikêsarin.

In the Manmatha *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 977 (expired), = A. D. 1055-56, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Harikêsarin was ruling the Banavâsi province under Vikramâditya VI., who was then, in the reign

[1] The Hângal inscription (see page 505 above, note 3).

[2] *P. S. and O.-C.-Inscrs.* Nos. 106, 107.

[3] At the temple of Târakêśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 605).

[4] *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. pp. 309, 322, 323.

[5] Not Pânthîpura, as in other records; but very possibly only by a mistake of the writer.

[6] An inscription at Âḍur in the Hângal tâluka (I quote from an ink-impression).

[7] Another inscription at Âḍûr.

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of his father Sômêśvara I., viceroy for that province and for the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six thousand.[1]

Tôyimadêva.

At the time of the winter solstice, in December, A.D. 1066, of the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 988 (expired)[2] the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Tôyimadêva was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Pâṇuṁgal five-hundred, as a feudatory of Sômêśvara I. The record tells us that his mother was the Western Châlukya princess Akkâdêvî; but it does not mention his father's name.

Kêtarasa.

A record dated in the Vikriti *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1093 (current), = A. D. 1170-71,[3] mentions a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kêtarasa, distinctly described as a Kâdamba, but also called "lord of Uchchaṅgîgiri," and describes him as a feudatory of the Pâṇḍya *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vijayapâṇḍya, who had acknowledged allegiance to the Western Châlukya king Taila III., but seems afterwards to have become independent. But, whether the date belongs to Kêtarasa himself, or to his son Nâgati, is not certain.

Mallikârjuna or Mallidêva.

In the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A. D. 1231, of the Khara *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1154 current), the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mallikârjuna was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand and the Hânuṁgal five-hundred. Other dates, in A. D. 1241 and 1252, are furnished for him by other records, which mention him by the name of Mallidêva. And his initial date was either A.D. 1215-16 or 1216-17.[4]

Sômadeva.

And finally, in the Durmukha *saṁvatsara*, his second year, the Vilambin *saṁvatsara*, his fourth year, and the Vikârin *saṁvatsara*, his fifth year, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Sômadêva, also called Sôyidêva and Sôvidêva, and styled *Kâdamba-Chakravartin* or "the Kâdamba emperor," was ruling apparently the Pânuṁgal five-hundred; [5] but there is nothing in the records to enable us to refer his dates to the 'Saka era.[6]

The Kadambas of Goa.

The members of the other family of feudatory nobles called Kâdambas ruled, during the greater part of their career, at Goa,[7] which, formerly

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 208.

[2] An inscription at Hoṭṭûr in the Baṅkâpur tâluka (I quote from an ink-impression).

[3] At Harihar (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 118; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 51).

[4] Inscriptions at Hângal itself, and at Araḷêshwar, Kyâsanûr, and Nidasiṅgi, in the Hângal tâluka (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. pp. 600, 601, 603, 604).

[5] Inscriptions at Kyâsanûr, Âlûr, and Hângal itself (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. pp. 607, 608, 609, 610).

[6] It is just possible that he is identical with a Sôyimarasa, who, according to the transcription, was ruling the Pânuṁgal five-hundred, as a feudatory of Sômêśvara I., in the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 989 (expired), = A.D. 1067-68 (an inscription at some uncertain place in the Hângal tâluka; *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 176). But it seems to me very likely that, in the transcription, "Sôyimarasa" is a mistake for "Tôyimarasa," as another form of "Toyimadêva" (for which name, see above).

[7] Lat. 15° 30′, long. 73° 57′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 41.—This is in accordance with the always accepted identification, which, even if there is no direct evidence to support it, there seems no reason to call in question. Gôvâ or Goa is, indeed, also the name of a fort near Harnai and Suvarndurg in the Ratnâgiri District (see the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. X. Ratnâgiri and Sâwantwâḍî, pp. 335, 337). But this locality does not appear to have been of any importance until the sixteenth century A.D. (*ibid.* p. 338). On the other hand, the Portuguese Goa was one of the seats of power of the Vijayanagara dynasty in the fourteenth century (*ibid.* p. 439).

The Kadambas of Goa.

- Gûhalla.
  - Chaṭṭa, or Shashṭhadêva I. (A.D. 1007-1008)
    - Jayakêśin I. (A.D. 1052-53)
      - Vijayâditya I.; married Chaṭṭaladêvî.
        - Jayakêśin II.; married Maiḷaladêvî. (A.D. 1119 and 1125)
          - Sivachitta-Permâḍi; married Kamalâdêvî. (A.D. 1147-48 to 1187-88)
          - Vishṇuchitta-Vijayâditya II.; married Lakshmîdêvî. (A.D. 1158 and 1171-72)
            - Jayakêśin III. (A.D. 1187-88 and 1210-11)
              - Tribhuvanamalla; married Mâṇikâdêvî.
                - Chaṭṭaya, or Sivachitta-Shashṭhadêva II. (A.D. 1246-47 and 1257)
                - A daughter; married to Kâmadêva.

the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India, is now only a suburb of Panjîm, the present Portuguese capital. Their original territory was a province called the Palasige or Halasige twelve-thousand, which took its appellation from one of the ancient forms of the name of the modern Halsî[1] in the Khânâpur tâluka, Belgaum District. In the latter half of the eleventh century, however, they acquired, by wresting

[1] Lat. 15° 31′, long. 74° 39′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 41,—'Hulsee.'

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it from the 'Silâhâras, a division of the Konkaṇ which was called the Konkaṇa nine-hundred, and was evidently the territory in the vicinity of Goa. And Goa itself, which is mentioned in their records by the names of Gôpakapaṭṭana, Gôpakapurî, and Gôve, then became their capital. Like the Kâdambas of Hângal, they had the hereditary title of *Banavâsî-puravar-âdhîśvara*, or "supreme lord of Banavâsî, the best of towns;"[1] they used the *siṁha-lâñchhana* or lion crest,[2] which appears on the seals of the two copper-plate grants of their family that have come to notice,[3] and on the gold coins of Permâḍi and Jayakêśin III.;[4] they carried the *vânara-mahâdhvaja*, or great banner of a monkey;[5] and they were heralded in public by the sounds of the musical instrument called *permaṭṭi*.[6] But their family-god was different,— being 'Siva, under the name of Saptakôṭîśvara.[7] A copper-plate charter of one of the members of this family has been obtained at Goa. But their records are mostly found in the Khânâpur and Sampgaon tâlukas of the Belgaum District, and in the northern and north-western parts of Dhârwâr. A peculiarity about some of the records is the exceptional way in which the dates are given in years of the Kaliyuga era, instead of the 'Saka era.[8]

There can be little doubt that the Kâdambas of Goa were of the same original stock with the Kâdambas of Hângal, though no indication has as yet been obtained as to the point at which the two genealogies may be joined. But the separation of the two families must be of considerable antiquity; for, even though one and the same person may be intended, each family had a different name for its founder, and a different account of his origin. As we have seen above, the Kâdambas of Hângal derived their descent from the three-eyed and four-armed Mayûravarman, a son of the god 'Siva and the Earth. Whereas the Kâdambas of Goa attributed their origin to the three-eyed and four-armed Jayanta, otherwise called Trilôchana-Kâdamba or "the three-eyed Kâdamba," who is said to have sprung from a drop of sweat that fell to earth near the roots of a *kadamba*-tree from the forehead of the god 'Siva after his conquest of the demon Tripura.[9] The records of the Kâdambas of Goa, however, do not give a long and questionable pedigree like that of their relations of Hângal.

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[1] *e.g.*, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 296, text line 6.
[2] *ibid.* line 9.
[3] *ibid.* p. 241; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 288.
[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. Appendix, p. xxiv.
[5] *id.* Vol. IX. p. 296, line 9.
[6] *ibid.* line 9.
[7] *e.g.*, *ibid.* p. 307.— The temple of Saptakôṭîśvara is said to be 'Narven' in Goa (*id.* Vol. X. Appendix, p. xxv.), which seems to be the 'Narva' of the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 41, on the island of Piedade.— The image appears to have been overthrown by the Turushkas or Musalmâns, and to have been re-established by the celebrated Mâdhavâchârya, who, when he was *Mahâpradhâna* of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara (about A.D. 1380), besieged Goa and expelled the Musalmâns (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 227).
[8] The first current year of the Kaliyuga era was B. C. 3102-3101.— The only other epigraphic instance of the use of it, that I can quote, is the Aihoḷe inscription of the Western Chaḷukya king Pulikêśin II., dated Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 3735 expired, coupled with 'Saka-Saṁvat 556 expired, = A.D. 634-35 (see page 357 above, No. 6).
[9] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. pp. 245, 272, 285.

They present historical names only. And the list stands as shewn in the table on page 565 above.

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Gûhalla.

Of Gûhalla, who was styled *Vyâghra-mârin* or "the tiger-slayer," we have no historical details.

Shashṭhadêva I.

An inscription at Guḍikaṭṭi, in the Sampgaon tâluka,[1] represents the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Shashṭhadêva I.,— whose name also appears in the Prâkrit forms of Chaṭṭa, Chaṭṭala, Chaṭṭaya, and Chaṭṭayya,— as a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha II. in the Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 928 by mistake for 929 (expired), = A.D. 1007-1008. At that time, however, the reigning king was Iṛivabeḍaṅga-Satyâśraya; and, from this, with the mistake in the date, and with the fact that the date is expressed in numerical words,[2] it seems doubtful whether the record is a synchronous and reliable one.

Jayakêśin I.

A continuation of the Guḍikaṭṭi inscription, mentioned above, represents Jayakêśin I,— whom it styles "lord of the Koṅkaṇ," but to whom it does not allot any title,— as a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I. in the Nandana *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 973 by mistake for 974 (expired),=A. D. 1052-53.[3] Elsewhere, it is stated of him that he slew the king of Kâpardikadvîpa, destroyed the Chôḷas, and uprooted Kâmadêva,[4]— that he assembled the Kâdambas, conquered the Âlupas, and established the Western Châlukyas in their kingdom,[5]— that he caused the Châlukyas and the Chôḷas to become friends at Kâñchî,[6]— and that he made Gôpakapaṭṭana, *i.e.* Goa, his capital.[7] Kâpardikadvîpa is evidently the island, with the adjoining territory, of Shaṭshashṭi, Sâsaṭi, or Sâlsette near Bombay,— so named either after Kapardin II., of the northern Koṅkaṇ branch of the Śilâhâra family, who was ruling the Koṅkaṇ in A.D. 851 and 877-78 as a feudatory of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I., or after his grandfather Kapardin I.;[8] and the king of Kâpardikadvîpa, slain by Jayakêśin I., is very probably the Śilâhâra prince Mâmvâṇi, for whom we have the date of A. D. 1059-60: for, the Śilâhâra records themselves admit some serious reverse about that time, in telling us that Anantadêva or Anantapâla (A. D. 1095) "cast into the ocean of the edge of his sword those wicked heaps of sin (the Kâdambas) who, at a time of misfortune due to the hostility of relatives (the Śilâhâras of Karâḍ), obtained power, and devastated the land of the Koṅkaṇ, harassing gods and Brâhmaṇs."[9] In the *Dvyâśrayakôsha* of Hêmachandra and Abhayatilaka, it is narrated that Karṇa I., of the dynasty of the Chaulukyas of

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1 I quote from an ink-impression.
2 See page 439 above, note 1.
3 Here, again, the date is expressed in numerical words; see the reference quoted in the preceding note.
4 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 272.
5 *ibid.* p. 282.
6 *ibid.* p. 242, text line 2.
7 *ibid.* p. 283.
8 See page 543 above.
9 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 31, text lines 52 to 54.

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Aṇhilwâḍ, married Mayâṇalladêvî, daughter of a Kâdamba prince Jayakêśin who was ruling at Chandrapura in the Dekkan;[1] and, Karṇa's period being A. D. 1063-64 to 1093-94,[2] this Jayakêśin of Chandrapura seems to be Jayakêśin I. of Goa: but Chandrapura has not been identified,— unless, perchance, the name is a Sanskritised form, denoting Chandgaḍ, the chief town of the mahâl of that name in the Belgaum District.

Vijayâditya I.

Of Vijayâditya I., whose name appears also as Vijayârka, the only information furnished by the family records is that his wife was Chaṭṭaladêvî. An extraneous record[3] tells us that she was a twin sister of Bijjaladêvî, who was the mother of Jagaddêva of the 'Sântara family of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura. It is perhaps to the time of Vijayâditya I. that we must refer a record at Kâdarôḷi in the Sampgaon tâluka,[4] which mentions a Kâdamba *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* named Gûvala, a feudatory of Vikramâditya VI., and furnishes for him a date in the month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A.D. 1098, of the Bahudhânya *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1021 current), cited as Vikramâditya's twenty-third year: that this person was connected with the Kâdambas of Goa, seems tolerably certain; but his place in the genealogy is not yet known.

Jayakêśin II.

Of the time of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Jayakêśin II. there are various records, which give dates for him ranging from the month Mârgaśîrsha (Nov.-Dec.), falling in A.D. 1119, of the Vikârin *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1041 (expired),[5] to the winter solstice, in December, A. D. 1125, of the Viśvâvasu *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1048 current), cited as the fiftieth year of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI.[6] The last mentioned record speaks of him as ruling only the Palasige twelve-thousand and the Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred. But an intermediate record, five months earlier in the same year,[7] states that, as a feudatory of Vikramâditya VI., he was ruling, in addition to the above-mentioned two provinces, the Payve, *i.e.* Hayve, five-hundred, and the Kavadidvîpa lâkh-and-a-quarter, which is evidently the Kâpardikadvîpa territory referred to above in connection with Jayakêśin I. And another record, of A. D. 1122,[8] adds to his territory the Vêḷugrâme seventy and the Hânuṁgal five-hundred,— the latter being probably only temporarily in his possession. His feudatory title is given in all the records. But, that he aimed at a higher position, is shewn by the fact that he also styled himself *Koṅkaṇa-Chakravartin* or "emperor of the Koṅkaṇ."[9] And there are other indications that he made an attempt, in his earlier years, to throw off

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 233.
2 *id.* Vol. VI. p. 213.
3 At Baḷagâṁve in Mysore (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 180; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 97; see page 458 above, note 2).
4 I quote from an ink-impression.
5 An inscription at Amaragôḷ in the Hubḷi tâluka (I quote from an ink-impression).
6 An inscription at Bhâvihâḷ in the Dhârwâr tâluka (from an ink-impression).
7 At Narêndra in the same tâluka (from an ink-impression).
8 Also at Narêndra (from an ink-impression).
9 See, for instance, the Golihaḷḷi inscription of Permâḍi (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 300).

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the Western Châlukya supremacy: for, it is evidently to his time that we must refer the events which led to the prince Âchugi II., of the Sinda family of Yelburga, taking Goa and giving it to the flames, and seizing upon the Koṅkaṇ;[1] and he is undoubtedly the Jayakêśin whom Âchugi's son Permâḍi I. defeated and put to flight. His differences with the Châlukyas, however, must have been very soon and permanently made up again; for, Vikramâditya VI. gave him his daughter Mailaladêvî in marriage.[2] He was defeated at some time or other by the Hoysaḷa prince Vishṇuvardhana, who thereby acquired the Palasige province,[3] but can hardly have held it more than temporarily. And he seems to be the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Jayakêśin whom one of the Lakshmêshwar inscriptions,[4] dated in the month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A. D. 1147, of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-'Saṁvat 1070 current), mentions among the persons of distinction to whom presents were given, or had on some previous occasion been given, at the time of making grants to the god Sômanâtha.

Permâḍi, and Vijayâditya II.

The sons of Jayakêśin II. were Permâḍi, also called Perma and Paramardi, and Vijayâditya II., whose name, again, also appears as Vijayârka. They acquired, respectively, the names of 'Sivachitta and Vishṇuchitta, by their devotion to the gods 'Siva and Vishṇu. Also, Permâḍi was styled *Malavara-mârin*, "the slayer of the Malavas or people of the ghaut country," which corresponds to *Malaparoḷ-gaṇḍa*, a generic epithet of the Hoysaḷas; and, apparently from some literary accomplishments, Vijayâditya II. was called Vâṇîbhûshaṇa or Sarasvatîbhûshaṇa. Vijayâditya's wife was Lakshmîdêvî, daughter of a certain Lakshmîdêva. And Permâḍi's wife was Kamalâdêvî: in one passage, her father Kâmadêva is said to be of the Sômavaṁśa or Lunar Race, and her mother Chaṭṭaladêvî, of the Pâṇḍya family;[5] but, in another, Chaṭṭaladêvî is allotted to the Lunar Race, and Kâmadêva to the Sûryavaṁśa or Solar Race.[6] It was Kamalâdêvî who caused to be built the small but elaborately sculptured temple of the god Kamala-Nârâyaṇa and the goddess Mahâlakshmî, at Dêgâṁve in the Sampgaon tâluka, which contains three inscriptions of this family; it was constructed by Tippoja, the *Sûtradhârin* or architect of the god Baṅkêśvara, and the son of the *Sûtradhârin* Holoja of Hûvina-Bâge,[7] and by Tippoja's son Bâgoja. The records of this period, of which those in the vernacular all give Permâḍi the title of *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, shew that his initial year was the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1070 current, = A. D. 1147-48, and indicate that Vijayâditya II. was shortly afterwards associated with him in the rule. The earliest of them is a stone inscription at Siddâpur in the Dhârwâr tâluka,[8] dated in the

1 See page 574 below.
2 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. pp. 245, 273, 283, 285, 300; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 288.
3 See page 497 above.
4 *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 812; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 97
5 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 274.
6 *ibid.* p. 295.
7 Probably Râybâg in the Kôlhâpur State.
8 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 273.

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month Âshâḍha (June-July), falling in A. D. 1158, of the Bahudhânya *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1080 (expired); it mentions Vijayâditya II. as *Yuvarâja*, and states that, at a place named Sampagâḍi,[1] the two brothers were then ruling conjointly over the Palasige twelve-thousand and the Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred. Another record which mentions Vijayâditya II. is the second part of the Halsî inscription,[2] dated in the Khara *saṁvatsara*, Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4272 expired, = A. D. 1171-72, cited as the twenty-fifth year. This is in accordance with the initial date given above. And so are the intermediate records, which mention Permâḍi only: for instance,— the Golihaḷḷi inscription,[3] which cites the Vikrama *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1083 current), = A. D. 1160-61, as his fourteenth year, and the Svabhânu *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S 1086 current), = A. D. 1163-64, as his seventeenth year, and mentions him as ruling, on the first occasion, at Gôve, *i.e.* Goa, over the Palasige twelve-thousand, the Koṅkaṇa nine-hundred, and the Vêḷugrâme seventy; the first part of the Halsî inscription,[4] which cites the Virôdhin *saṁvatsara*, Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4270 expired, = A.D. 1169-70, as his twenty-third year; and the Dêgâṁve inscription,[5] which cites the Jaya *saṁvatsara*, Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4275 expired, = A. D. 1174-75, as his twenty-eighth year. The family records themselves do not furnish any further historical details about the two brothers. But some information is forthcoming from other sources. A 'Silâhâra record tells us that Vijayâditya of Karâḍ,— about A. D. 1143 and 1153,— re-instated the princes of the Sthânaka *maṇḍala* or Ṭhâṇ[...] province, *i. e.* his connections of the northern Koṅkaṇ branch, which must have been done by taking away some of the territory and power held by Jayakêśin II. or Permâḍi; and also, more obscurely, that he re-established the princes of Gôvâ, referring perhaps to some assistance, against his own connections, subsequently rendered to the two brothers. And, in a record of A. D. 1181,[6] the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Chaṇḍugidêva, an officer of the Kaḷachurya king Âhavamalla, is mentioned as having burned some of the territory of a Vijayâditya, who can only be the Kâdamba Vijayâditya II. A gold coin of Permâḍi has been obtained, dated in the 'Subhakṛit *saṁvatsara* ('S.-S. 1105 current), = A. D. 1182-83.[7]

Jayakêśin III.

Of the time of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*[8] Jayakêśin III., who also was styled *Malavara-mârin*, we have two records,— a copper-plate grant at Halsî in the Khânâpur tâluka,[9] and a stone inscription at

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[1] Possibly the modern Sampgaon; but I do not put the identification forward with certainty.

[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 278.— For an examination of the date, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 265.

[3] *ibid.* p. 296.

[4] *ibid.* p. 278. — For an examination of the date, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 264.

[5] *ibid.* pp. 266, 287.— For an examination of the date, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 266.

[6] See page 489 above.

[7] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. Appendix, p. xxiv.

[8] In line 3 of the Kittûr inscription (see below), *mahâmâhêśvara* must be a mistake (of the original) for *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*.

[9] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 241.

Kittûr in the Sampgaon tâluka:[1] the former gives a date in the month Chaitra, falling in March, A. D. 1199, of the Siddhârthin *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1122 current), cited as his thirteenth year; the latter gives three dates in the month Âshâḍha, falling in June, A.D. 1201, of the Durmati *saṁvatsara* ('Saka-Saṁvat 1124 current), cited as his fifteenth year; and the two records shew that his first year was the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4288 expired or 4289 current, = 'S.-S. 1110 current, = A.D. 1187-88.[2] Neither do these records, nor any others, furnish any historical information about him. But the Kittûr inscription contains an interesting account of a trial by ordeal. There being a dispute between 'Sivaśakti, the *Âchârya* or priest of the god Kallêśvaradêva of Kittûr, and Kalyâṇaśakti, the *Âchârya* of the *Mûlasthânadêva* or "original god of the locality," regarding the ownership of a field,— the two contending parties met before the *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Îśvara, and agreed to put the matter to the test of the *phaladîvya* or "ordeal by holding a red-hot arrow-head or spear-head." Accordingly, on Sunday the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the month Âshâḍha, corresponding to the 24th June, A. D. 1201, they met again in the presence of the principal villagers of Dêgâṁve, assembled at the temple of the god Mallikârjuna of that village. And then Kalyâṇaśakti, taking the sacred symbols on his head, declared that the field belonged to the *Mûlasthânadêva*; while 'Sivaśakti, holding a red-hot arrow-head or spear-head in his hand, made oath that the field belonged to the god Kallêśvara. On the following day, the principal villagers examined the hand of 'Sivaśakti, and, presumably finding it uninjured, decided that he had won his cause, and that the field in dispute belonged to the god Kallêśvara.[3] It was probably during the time of Jayakêśin III. that the Kâdambas of Goa lost the Vêṇugrâma seventy,— the country round Belgaum,— which, as we have already seen,[4] was in the possession of Kârtavîrya IV., of the family of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, in A.D. 1199. It is to the time of Jayakêśin III. that we must refer the gold coin dated in the Piṅgala *saṁvatsara*, which is, then, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1120 current, = A. D. 1199-1200, and that one also which is dated in the Pramôda *saṁvatsara*, and which therefore furnishes for him the date of 'S.-S. 1133 current, = A. D. 1210-11.[5]

Tribhuvanamalla.

Of Tribhuvanamalla, whose proper name is not disclosed, we have no definite information, except that his wife was Mâṇikâdêvî.

Shashṭhadêva II.

Of the time of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Shashṭhadeva II., also called 'Sivachitta-Chaṭṭayadêva, we have two records. One is a copper-plate

[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 304.

[2] For an examination of these dates, shewing that the Kaliyuga year that is quoted,— 4288 expired in one case, and 4289 current in the other,— does not belong to the *saṁvatsara* mentioned along with it, but is his initial year, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. pp. 297, 299.

[3] For another instance of trial by ordeal, see page 556 above, and note 5.— In the article on trial by ordeal among the Hindûs, published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I., fifth edition, p. 389, the eighth method is described thus:—" They make an iron " ball, or the head of a lance, red-hot, and place it in the hands of the person accused; " who, if it burn him not, is judged guiltless."

[4] See page 556 above.

[5] For these coins, see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As.* Vol. X. Appendix, p. xxiv.

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charter from Goa,[1] which gives a date in the month Âśvina, falling in September, A.D. 1250, of the Sâdhârana *samvatsara* ('Saka-Samvat 1173 current), cited as his fifth year, and fixes the Parâbhava *samvatsara*, Kaliyuga-Samvat 4348 current, = 'S.-S. 1169 current, = A.D. 1246-47, as his first year.[2] The other is a stone inscription at Buradaśingi in the Hubli tâluka, Dhârwâr District;[3] it styles him *Mahâmandalêśvara* and "lord of the western ocean;" it furnishes for him a date in the month Vaiśâkha (April-May), falling in A. D. 1257, of the Pingala *samvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1179 (expired); and it uses an expression which implies that, in spite of the feudatory title, he was then reigning as an independent king. The Goa charter records a grant, to the god 'Siva under the name of Gôvêśvara, which was made by Shashthadêva II. in conjunction with a certain Kâmadêva or Kâvana,— son of Lakshmidêva, and brother-in-law of Shashthadêva himself,— who, both in the body of the record and on the seal of the grant, is called "the establisher of Shashthadêva." It would seem, therefore, that it was only by some special effort that Shashthadêva II. succeeded at all to the authority held by his ancestors. And, as no later names have come to notice, the power of the Kâdambas of Goa appears to have died out with him.

The Sindas of Yelburga.

The Sindas, who have been incidentally mentioned in connection with some of the Western Châlukya kings and the Hoysalas, were another family of feudatory nobles who played an important part in the history of the Kanarese districts.

There appear to have been more branches than one of this family. And we have to deal first and chiefly with that branch, the members of which had the hereditary right of ruling certain districts which were known separately as the Kisukâd seventy, the Kelavâdi three-hundred, the Bâgadage or Bâgadige seventy, and the Nareyamgal twelve, and collectively as the Sindavâdi *nâd*.[4] Of these districts, the first was the country lying round Kisuvolal or Pattada-Kisuvolal, which is the modern Pattadakal in the Bâdâmi tâluka, Bijâpur District.[5] The second evidently took its appellation from the ancient name, differing but slightly from the modern name, of the present Kelawadi, Kelwadi, or Kelôdi, about ten miles to the north of Bâdâmi. The third, which in other records is called the Bâge seventy and the Bâgenâd seventy, was the country lying round the modern Bâgalkôt, the chief town of the Bâgalkôt tâluka in the same district. And the fourth was a small group of villages,—included, the records

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 288.

[2] For an examination of this date, shewing that the Kaliyuga year that is quoted,— 4348 expired, by mistake for current,— does not belong to the *samvatsara* mentioned with it, but is his initial year, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 300.

[3] I quote from an ink-impression.

[4] See, *e. g.*, page 441 above.

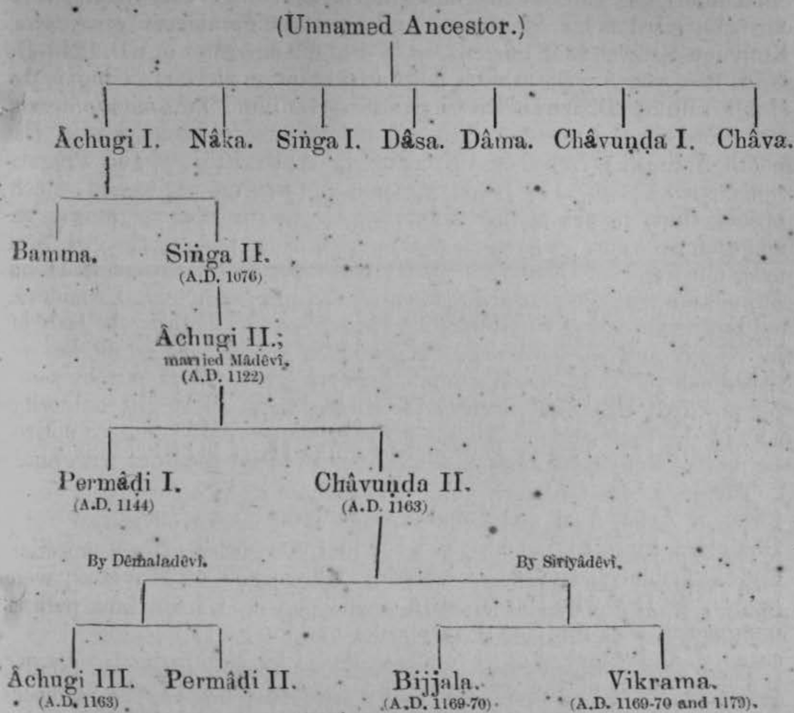
[5] The place ought to be shewn in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 41 or 58, in lat. 15° 57', long. 75° 52' or thereabouts. The omission of it must be connected somehow or other with the fact that the name would lie on the extreme edge of either sheet.

[6] For this identification, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 170.

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say, in the Belvola three-hundred,— of which the chief town was the modern Narêgal, in the Rôṇ tâluka, Dhârwâr District. The capital of the members of this branch of the family was Erambarage or Erambirage, which, as was suggested by Sir Walter Elliot,[1] is evidently the modern Yelburga in the Nizâm's Dominions, about twenty-five miles in a south-easterly direction from Paṭṭadakal.[2] And their records have been obtained at Aihoḷe and Paṭṭadakal in the Bijâpur District, and at Koḍikop, Narêgal, Rôṇ, and Sûḍi, in the Dhârwâr District.

The genealogical list of this branch of the family is shewn in the table above. It commences very abruptly with seven brothers, the name of whose father is not stated. And the records give

[1] *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science*, Vol. VII. p. 207; and *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S, Vol. IV. p. 15.— The name was read, as 'Yerabaragi,' more correctly by Sir Walter Elliot than by myself. I read it as 'Rambarage' and 'Rambirage' (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. pp. 236, 245), under circumstances which would justify that reading. The real form, Erambarage,— or, as actually written in the particular record, Yerambarage,— is disclosed by an inscription at Aihoḷe (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 99).

[2] Lat. 15° 36′, long. 76° 4′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 58,—'Yelboorga.'

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no hint of the mythological origin, or of the hereditary title and insignia, that are claimed elsewhere. It seems very likely, however, that these princes were closely connected,— possibly descended in the same line,— with the Pulikâla and Nâgâditya of an inscription at Bhairanmaṭṭi,— noticed on page 576 below,—which, like some other records, allots all the Sindas to the Nâgavaṁśa or race of the hooded serpents.

Âchugi I., &c.

Of Âchugi I., otherwise called Âcha,— of Nâka,— of Siṅga I., or Siṁhâ,— of Dâsa,— of Dâma, or Dâva,— of Châvuṇḍa I., whose name appears also in the forms of Chavuṇḍa and Chauṇḍa,— of Châva,— and of Bamma,— we have no information beyond the bare mention of their names.

Siṅga II.

At Niḍagundi in the Rôṇ tâluka, Dhârwâr District, there is an inscription[1] which mentions a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Siṅgaṇa, who, in the month Bhâdrapada (Aug.-Sept.), falling in A. D. 1076, of the Anala or Nala *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 998 (expired), was ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy as a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara II. This person must be Siṅga II. of the Sinda family.

Âchugi II.

The *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Âchugi II., whose name appears also in the forms of Âcha, Âchi, and Âchama, was a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI.; in consequence of which he was styled Tribhuvanamalladêva-kêsarin, or "the lion of Tribhuvanamalladêva." His wife was Mâdêvî or Mahâdêvî. Of his time we have one record,— at Koḍikop:[2] it speaks of him as ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy, and "several other towns" headed by Nareyaṁgal-Abbegere, the chief town of the Nareyaṁgal twelve which was included in the Belvola three-hundred; and it furnishes for him a date in the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A.D. 1122, of the Śubhakṛit *saṁvatsara* (Śaka-Saṁvat 1045 current), cited as the forty-fifth year of Vikramâditya VI. This record does not give any further information about him. But subsequent ones claim that he was a very hand-mill for grinding the wheat which was an enemy named Jaggu, and that he plundered the country of a person named Hallakavaḍikeya-siṅga;[3] that, at the command of the emperor Vikramâditya VI., he pursued and prevailed against the Hoysalas, took Gôve, *i.e.* Goa, put Lakshma to flight in war, caused the Pâṇḍyas to retreat, dispersed the Malapas or people of the Western Ghauts, and seized upon the Konkaṇ;[4] and that he gave Gôve and Uppinakaṭṭe to the flames, and repulsed a certain Bhôja who invaded his territory.[5] Some of the names thus mentioned have not yet been identified. But Bhôja must be Bhôja I., of the family of the Śilâhâras of Karâḍ, whose date was shortly before A. D. 1110.[6]

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[1] I quote from an ink-impression.
[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 247.
[3] *ibid.* p. 243.
[4] *ibid.* p. 244.
[5] *ibid.* p. 269.
[6] See page 547 above.

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Permâḍi I.

We have four records belonging, or purporting to belong, to the time of Âchugi's eldest son, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Permâḍi I., whose name appears also as Perma, Pemma, Paramardi, and Hemmaḍi,— three at Narêgal,[1] and one at Koḍikop;[2] but only the last furnishes a genuine and admissible date,— at the time of the winter solstice, in December, A. D. 1144, of the Raktâkshin *samvatsara* ('Saka-Samvat 1067 current), cited as the seventh year of the Western Châlukya king Perma-Jagadêkamalla II.[3] This record expressly describes him as a feudatory of Jagadêkamalla II., and shews that he was consequently called Jagadêkamalla-Permâḍi; and it states that he was ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy, the Bâgaḍage seventy, the Kelavâḍi three-hundred, and the Nareyamgal twelve. The records claim that he vanquished Kulaśêkharâṅka, besieged and decapitated Chaṭṭa, pursued a certain Jayakêśin, who must be the second of that name in the family of the Kâdambas of Goa, and seized the royal power of the Hoysaḷas; and that he penetrated to the mountain passes of "the marauder Biṭṭiga," *i.e.* the Hoysaḷa prince Vishṇuvardhana, besieged his city of Dôrasamudra, pursued him as far as the town of Bêlâpura, which he took, and followed him, beyond that place, as far as the mountain pass of Vâhaḍi.[4] His capital, Erambarage, is mentioned in the two records which include the impossible dates of A. D. 949-50 and 950-51.

Châvuṇḍa II., and Âchugi III.

Of the time of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Châvuṇḍa or Chavuṇḍa II., we have one record,— a stone inscription at Paṭṭadakal,[5] dated in the month Jyêshṭha (May-June), falling in A.D. 1163, of the Subhânu *samvatsara*, coupled with 'Saka-Samvat 1084 by mistake for 1085 (expired): it speaks of him as being, or rather as having been, a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Taila III.; and it says that he was then ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy, the Bâgaḍage seventy, the Kelavâḍi three-hundred, and "several other districts," and that his senior wife, or chief queen Dêmaladêvî and his son Âchidêva,— entered in the table on page 573 above as Âchugi III.,— were governing, as regents, at Kisuvoḷal, or Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal, *i.e.* Paṭṭadakal, which was the chief town of the Kisukâḍ district. The record mentions also another son by Dêmaladêvî, named Pemmâḍi,— entered in the table on page 573 above as Permâḍi II.

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[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. pp. 224, 239; and *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 440.

[2] *ibid* p. 253.

[3] Of the two published Narêgal inscriptions, one purports to be dated, quite impossibly, in the Saumya *samvatsara*, 'Saka-Samvat 872 (current), = A.D. 949-50, and the other, equally so, in the Sâdhâraṇa *samvatsara*, 'S.-S. 872 (expired), = A.D. 950-51. According to the transcription in the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* the third purports, more reasonably, to be dated in the Târaṇa *samvatsara*, 'S.-S 1026 (expired), = A. D. 1104-1105: but this date is also inadmissible, because of the later date for the father, Âchugi II.; and, that it is not the date really given in the original, is rendered probable by the fact that, in its representation of another of his records, the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* (Vol. I. p. 633) connects the Saumya *samvatsara* with 'S.-S 1051 (expired), instead of with 872 (current).

[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 244.

[5] *ibid.* p. 259.

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Bijjala, and Vikrama.

Other records, at Aihole,[1] Rôṇ,[2] and Sûḍi,[3] shew that, by another wife named Siriyâdêvî, daughter of the Kalachurya king Bijjala, Châvuṇḍa II. had two other sons named Bijjala and Vikrama or Vikkayya. The Aihole inscription mentions the two brothers, without any title, as ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy, the Bâgaḍage seventy, and the Kelavâḍi three-hundred, in the Virôdhin *saṁvatsara* (Saka-Saṁvat 1092 current), = A.D. 1169-70, cited as the ninety-fourth year of the era of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI. And the Rôṇ inscription gives for the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vikrama a later date in the month Âśvina (Sept.-Oct.), falling in A. D. 1179, of the Vikârin *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1102 (current), when, it says, at his capital of Erambarage, he was ruling the Kisukâḍ seventy, as a feudatory of the Kalachurya king Saṅkama.

Other names.

The above is the last notice of the family whose genealogical list is shewn on page 573 above. But other names, not shewn in that list, are forthcoming.

Pulikâla, and Nâgâditya.

Some of them are disclosed by an interesting stone inscription at Bhairanmaṭṭi in the Bâgalkôt tâluka, Bijâpur District,[4] which professes to give the origin of the Sinda family. The record refers first to the reign of the Western Châlukya king Taila II., and to the Vikṛita *saṁvatsarâ*, coupled with Saka-Saṁvat 911 by mistake for 912 (expired), = A.D. 990-91, when it says, there was a Sindâ prince named Pulikâla, belonging to the family of the serpents, and born in the race of the Nâgas, who had the *nâga-dhvaja* or hooded-serpent banner, the *vyâghra-lâñchhana* or tiger crest, and the hereditary title of *Bhôgâvatîpura-paramêśvara* or "supreme lord of the town Bhôgâvatî," which place, in Hindû mythology, was the capital of the Nâga king Vâsuki in Rasâtala, one of the seven divisions of Pâtâla or the subterranean regions. It then proceeds to give Pulikala's genealogy. It states that, from a desire to behold the earth, so belauded by the sons of men, there came from the lower regions the serpent king Dharaṇêndra; and to him there was born, at Ahichchhatra in the region of the river Sindhu (the Indus),[5] a son, "the long-armed Sinda." Being much perplexed at the birth of a son in human shape, Dharaṇêndra bade a tiger nourish the boy The child was transferred by the tiger to the care of the lord of snakes. And so he was brought up, and eventually became king of the Sinda country, and married the daughter of a lord of the Kadambas, by whom he had three sons, from whom there sprang the Sindavaṁśa or race of the Sindas. The record then seems to state that thirty-one princes in succession ruled the Bâgaḍage district, and that then there was born another prince named Sinda. Then, it says, in this lineage of the Sindas of Bâgaḍage, which came without a break from "the long-armed Sinda," there was a certain Kammara or Kammayyarasa. His wife was Sagarabbarasi. And to them was born the Pulikâla mentioned above. Carrying the gene-

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[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 274; re-edited, more correctly, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX, p. 96.
[2] and [3] See page 477 above, notes 2, 3.
[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 230.
[5] See page 560 above, note 11.

alogy a little further, it then tells us that to Pulikâla and Rêvakabbe there was born the *Mahâsâmanta* Nâgâditya,— an ornament of the family of the serpents, "lord of Bhôgâvatî, the best of towns," lord of the banner of the hooded serpents Ananta and Vâsuki and Takshaka, a very Kâmadêva with his tiger-crest, an ornament of the Sinda family. Further, to this Nâgâditya and to his wife Poleyabbarasi, there was born Polasinda. And the son of the last-mentioned was the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Sêvya or Sêvyarasa, a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara II.,— the supreme lord of Bhôgâvatî, the best of towns, the lord of the banner of the hooded serpents, an ornament of the Sinda race. And finally, reverting to Nâgâditya, whom it indicates as a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha II., it furnishes for him the date of the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 955 (expired), = A.D. 1033-34. As already stated, Pulikâla and Nâgâditya, who are distinctly described as belonging to the family of the Sindas of Bâgaḍage, may very possibly have been ancestors of the Yelburga branch of the family.

Muñja.

Again, the Tiḍgundi copper-plate charter[1] mentions, as a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., with a date in the month Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), falling in A.D. 1082, of the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara* (Śaka-Saṁvat 1005 current), a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Muñja,— son of Sindarâja, son of Bhîma, of the Sinda race,— with the title of "supreme lord of the town Bhôgâvatî," and described as born in the race of the king of hooded serpents and belonging to the Sinda family. Coupled with the date, the pedigree of Muñja, as far as it is given, seems to negative the possibility of any connection with the Yelburga branch of the family.

Îśvara.

And finally, an inscription at Harihar[2] mentions, as an official of the Pâṇḍya *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vijaya-Pâṇḍya of the Nolambavâḍi province, a person of Sinda descent named Îśvara, for whom other records,[3] describing him as a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* ruling, at Halavûr or Hallavûr, over several small districts in the Banavâsi and Sântalige provinces, as a feudatory of the Kalachurya kings Bijjala and Sôvidêva, give dates in December, A. D. 1165, and May-June, A.D. 1172. This person had the hereditary title of *Karahâṭa-puravar-âdhîśvara* or "supreme lord of Karahâṭa, the best of towns,"— carried the *nîla-dhvaja* or blue-banner,— used the *vyâghra-mṛiga-lâñchhana* or crest of a tiger and a deer,— and was heralded in public by the sounds of the musical instrument called *mallâlî*. And he derived his origin from a certain "long-armed Sinda,"— born from the union of Śiva with the river Sindhu, and brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk, — who, being told that Karahâṭa, *i.e.* Karâḍ in the Sâtârâ District, was to be his residence, went there, drove out the king, acquired the earth for himself by the strength of his own arm, and so came to rule

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1 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 306.

2 *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 119; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60.

3 At the temple of Kalêśvara at Nidanêgili in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr District (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 97); and in the field of Baḍagauḍa at Hirê-Kabbâr in the Râṇebennûr tâluka of the same district (*ibid.* p. 159).

over many districts in the Karahâṭa four-thousand. His historical genealogy goes back, by some five or six generations, to a person named Piriya-Chaṭṭarasâ, whose period would fall about A.D. 1000-1025. Here, the dates, the connection with Karâḍ, and other details, indicate a distinctly different branch of the family from that of the Yelburga branch.

The Guttas of Guttal.

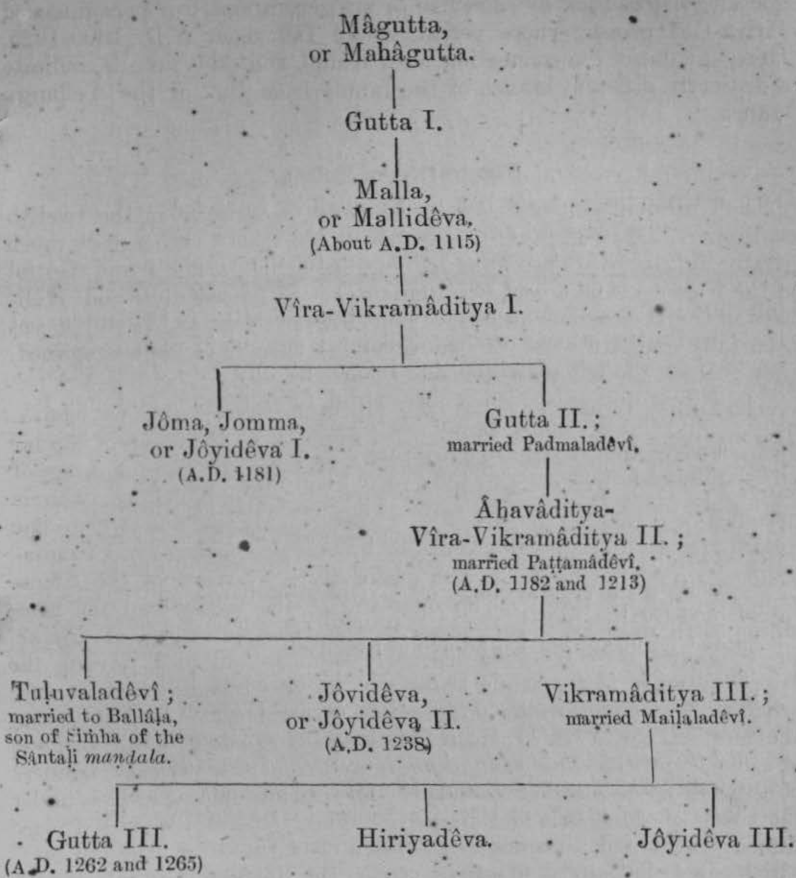
The Guttas of Guttal first come to notice historically in the twelfth century A. D. But their traditions would give them a very much greater antiquity. Their records, obtained at Haraḷahaḷḷi and Guttal in the Karajgi tâluka, and Chauḍadâmpur or Chawadânpur and Hûli-haḷḷi in the Rânebennûr tâluka, of the Dhârwâr District, have not yet been fully explored As far, however, as they have been examined, they furnish the following details.

The family is usually called the Gutta *anvaya*, *kula*, or *vaṁśa*. The members of it are described as "full-moons of the ocean of nectar which is the lineage of Chandragupta, the great supreme king of kings."[1] Their descent is deduced through a Vikramâditya, who is specified as king of Ujjayanî, *i. e.* Ujjain, in Mâlwa, and whom one record appears to represent plainly as himself a descendant of Chandragupta.[2] And the family is also stated to be a branch of the Sômavaṁśa or Lunar Race.[3] The members of the family had the hereditary title, intended to commemorate their place of origin, of *Ujjênî-* or *Ujjayanî-puravar-âdhîśvâra*, or "supreme lord of Ujjayanî, the best of towns;"[4] for which, however, in one passage there is substituted *Pâṭalî-puravar-âdhîśvara*, or "supreme lord of Pâṭalîpura, the best of towns."[5] They had the *mṛigarâja-lâñchhana* or crest of a lion,[6] and the *vaṭavṛiksha-dhvaja* and *Garuḍa-dhvaja* or banners of a sacred fig-tree and of Garuḍa.[7] Their family-god was Śiva, under the name of Mahâkâla of Ujjayanî.[8] Their chief town was a place named Guttavoḷal, meaning "the town of Gutta or of the Guttas," which may be safely identified with the modern Guttal in the Karajgi tâlukâ.[9] And probably they ruled by hereditary right over only the immediately surrounding territory, which was known as the Guttoḷal, *i.e.* Guttavoḷal, *nâḍ* or district.[10] In A. D. 1188, 1191, and 1213, indeed, Vîra-Vikramâditya II. was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province, which, in one of the records, is called his *nij-aiśvarya* or "own proper lordship:" but he alone appears to have held this more extensive authority; and it seems unlikely that the family

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[1] *e. g., P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 108, line 14, combined with No. 109, line 48.
[2] *id.* No. 109, lines 24, 25.
[3] *id.* No. 108, lines 11, 12.
[4] *e.g., id.* No. 109, line 47; No. 234, line 13.
[5] *id.* No. 108, line 11.
[6] *id.* No. 108, line 12.
[7] *ibid.* line 11.
[8] *ibid.* line 10; No. 230, line 24.
[9] Lat. 14° 50′, long. 75° 41′; Indian Atlas, sheet No. 42,—'Gootul.'
[10] *P. S. and O.-C. Incrs.* No. 111, line 74.

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had any real hereditary right to that territory. The pedigree of the family stands as shewn in the table above.

The traditions embodied in the Gutta records involve some confusion. The mention of Pâṭalîpura shews distinctly that the Guttas supposed themselves to be descended ultimately from the great Maurya king Chandragupta of Pâṭaliputra, the grandfather of Aśôka. And the king Vikramâditya of Ujjayanî in Mâlwa, from whom also they claimed descent, is plainly the mythical king who is supposed to have established the Vikrama era, commencing B. C. 58:[1] one passage says that at Ujjain he mastered the *ashṭa-mahâ-siddhi* or eight great supernatural faculties;[2] another, that he ruled over the *Bêtâlas* or

[1] For the explosion of this belief, and for the probably true origin of the name of the era, see Prof. Kielhorn in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 404 ff.

[2] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 109, line 21.

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demons;[1] and a third, that he was the *yuga-purusha* or representative man of the present age.[2] But no mention is made anywhere of the Maurya lineage. On the other hand, the word Gutta is a well-established corruption of Gupta. One of the records places "ten Guptas," after other kings who are not particularised, in the lineage of Vikramâditya of Ujjayanî.[3] And, not only are the members of the family described as *Vikramâditya-vaṁś-ôdbhava*, "born in the race of Vikramâditya,"[4] and *Chandragupta-vaṁś-ôdbhava*, "born in the race of Chandragupta,"[5] but also Mallidêva is styled *Gupta-vaṁśa-Triṇêtra*, "a very Triṇêtra (Śiva) in the Gupta race," and *Guptânvaya-bhûkânta*, "a king belonging to the Gupta lineage,"[6] and Sampakarasa is described as *Gupta-vaṁśa-vârdhi-vardhana*, "increasing (like the moon) the ocean of the Gupta race."[7] It is plain, in fact, that the Gutta princes of Guttal claimed descent in reality from the Early Gupta kings, of whose dominions, at any rate from the time of Kumâragupta I. onwards, Mâlwa did form a part, and not from the Mauryas. From their use of the names Chandragupta and Vikramâditya, they seem to have really had some definite knowledge of the Early Guptas.[8] But they mixed it up with matters which were probably more familiar to them. They evidently identified the Early Gupta king Chandragupta I., or his grandson of the same name, with the far more well known Maurya king Chandragupta. And the introduction of Vikramâditya of Ujjain into their traditions is to be explained by the fact that "Vikramâditya" was a secondary name both of Chandragupta I. and of his grandson.

Malla or Mallidêva.

The first of their records is an inscription at Chauḍadâmpur.[9] It opens by referring itself to the reign of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI. It then mentions his feudatory, the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*, *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka*, and *Mahâpradhâna* Gôvindarasa, who was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand. Then, introducing the Guttas, it tells us that, in the lineage of the Gutta kings or of king Gutta, there became famous a certain Mâgutta,—which name probably stands by metrical necessity for Mahâgutta. His son was Gutta I. And Gutta's son was Malla or Mallidêva. Then follows a description of a sacred Śaiva site called Muktitîrtha, on the Tuṅgabhadrâ, and an account of some princes of the Jaṭâ-Chôḷa lineage.

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[1] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 230, lines 27, 28.

[2] *ibid.* line 28.

[3] *ibid.* line 28.— Extending the table given in my *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introd. p. 17, by the information given in the Bhitarî seal (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVIII. Part I. p. 84, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 224), we have the names of ten Early Guptas in unbroken lineal succession. Eight of them were reigning kings. And, if we include also the detached names of Budhagupta and Bhânugupta, we have ten reigning kings of the Early Gupta stock.

[4] *id.* No. 108, line 15.

[5] *id.* No. 230, line 24.

[6] *ibid.* line 29.

[7] *id.* No. 183, line 87.

[8] For another reminiscence of the Early Guptas in the Kanarese country, see page 284 above, note 2.

[9] At the temple of Muktêśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 619; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 108).

And, after this, the available part of the record comes abruptly to an end, in the middle of a sentence, in line 63.[1] The portion that is extant does not specify the locality of Mallidêva's government: but it seems to imply that he was subordinate to Gôvindarasa, and consequently that he was administering only the Guttavoḷal district; and the imperfect sentence at the end perhaps gives him the title of *Mahâsâmanta.* It does not contain the date; but the dates that we have for Gôvindarasa from other sources,[2] fix it about A.D. 1115.

Sampakarasa.

The next name that we meet with, is that of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Saṃpakarasa. It occurs in an inscription at Baḷagâṁve in Mysore,[3] and in that part of it which refers itself to the reign of the Kaḷachurya king Saṅkama, and gives a date in the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A. D. 1179, of the Vikârin *saṁvatsara* (Śaka-Saṁvat 1102 current), cited as his third year. The record mentions Sampakarasa as one of the witnesses in whose presence a grant was made to the gods Kêśava (Vishṇu) and Sômanâtha (Śiva). It does not state his pedigree. But it describes him as *Gupta-vaṁśa-vârdhi-vardhana,* or "increasing the ocean of the Gupta race." And there can be little doubt, if any, that he was one of the Guttas of Guttal, though he cannot at present be referred to his place in the genealogy.

Jôyidêva I., and Vîra-Vikramâditya II.

An inscription at Haraḷahaḷḷi[4] carries us a few steps further. It refers itself to the reign of the Kaḷachurya king Âhavamalla. And it then mentions his feudatory, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Jôyidêva I. In introducing the pedigree of this person, it says that, in the famous lineage of king Vikramâditya of Ujjayanî, there were "many kings," and, after them, "ten Guptas."[5] At some undefined point after them, it places a certain Mallidêva, who is styled *Gupta-vaṁśa-Triṇêtra,* "a very Triṇêtra (Śiva) in the Gupta race," and *Gupt-ânvaya-bhûkânta,* "a king belonging to the Gupta lineage," and is evidently to be identified with the person of that name mentioned in the Chauḍadâmpur inscription of about A. D. 1115. Mallidêva's son was Vîra-Vikramâditya I. The sons of the latter were Jôma or Jôyidêva I. and Gutta II.[6] And Gutta's son was Vikrama, who, further on in the same record, is mentioned again as the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Vikramâditya II. With Jôyidêva I., there is connected the date of the winter solstice in December, A. D. 1181, of the Plava *saṁvatsara,*

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[1] It is not clear whether the rest of the stone is broken away and lost, or whether it is inaccessible through being covered up by masonry. The transcription in the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* ends with line 46, and says, wrongly, that the remainder is broken away from there.

[2] See page 451 above.

[3] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 183; *Mysore Inscriptions,* p. 152.—The actual name, in line 87, is Sampakara,—not Sampâkarasa, as given by Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.* p. 161); but it is doubtless a mistake for Sampakarasa.

[4] *Id.* No. 230, where it is wrongly described as being at Haḷêbîḍ in Mysore. From ink-impressions brought to me, I find that, with Nos. 231 and 234, it is really at Haraḷahaḷḷi.

[5] See page 580 above, note 3.

[6] In this record, Gutta II. is distinctly called the younger brother of Jôyidêva I.; so also in *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* Nos. 231 and 109. No. 234 mentions Gutta II. before Jôyideva I.,—as if he were the elder brother; but probably only to suit the construction of the verse.

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'Saka-Saṁvat 1103 (expired). With Vîra-Vikramâditya II., there is connected a date in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March), falling in A. D. 1188, of the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1110 (current); and the whole record was probably drawn up on this latter occasion. No information seems to be given in this record, as to the extent of the authority of either of the two *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras*.

Vîra-Vikramâditya II.

Of Vîra-Vikramâditya II., we have also four other records. One is an inscription at Hûlihaḷḷi.[1] It refers itself to the reign of the Kaḷachurya king Âhavamalla. His feudatory, it says, was the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vikramâditya II. In respect of his descent, it only tells us that he was the son of Jôyidêva I.,[2] who was the son of Vikramâṅka, *i. e.* Vîra-Vikramâditya I. It speaks of the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province as his *nij-aiśvarya* or "own proper lordship;" but it does not say specifically that he was ruling it. And it is dated in the month Mârgaśira (Nov.-Dec.) falling in A. D. 1182, of the 'Subhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1104 (expired). Another is an inscription at Haralahaḷḷi.[3] This record says that, in the Mâlava country, there was king Vikramâditya. It then mentions Vîra-Vikramâditya I. His sons, it says, were Jômma and Gutta II. And to Gutta and Padmaladêvî there was born the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Vikramâditya II., who was ruling the Banavâsi province at his capital of Guttavoḷal, with a certain Bâsirâja as his *Mahâpradhâna*. This record, again, is dated in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March), falling in A. D. 1188, of the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1110 (current). It does not mention any paramount sovereign. But it has to be referred to the time of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara IV. Another is an inscription at Chauḍadâmpur.[4] This record mentions first king Vikramâditya, who reigned at Ujjayanî in the Mâlava country. "After him," it says, "others were born in the race of Chandragupta;" and, eventually, Vîra-Vikramâditya I. His sons were Jomma, or Jôyidêva I., and Gutta II. Gutta's wife was Padmaladêvî. And to them was born the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Vîra-Vikrama, otherwise called Âhavâditya-Vîra-Vikramâditya II., who was ruling the Banavâsi province at his capital of Guttavoḷal. This record is dated in the month Mârgaśira (Nov.-Dec.), falling in A. D. 1191, of the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara*, 'S.-S. 1113 (expired). An addition to it, dated at the winter solstice in the same year, seems also to mention Vîra-Vikramâditya II.[5] This record, again, does not mention any paramount sovereign. At this time, the Gutta prince may have acknowledged either the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Bhillama or his son Jaitugi I., or the Hoysaḷa king Vîra-Ballâḷa II., as his master; or he may have been practically independent, pending

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1 At the temple of Râmêśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 252).

2 There seems nothing *primâ-facie* suspicious about the transcription. But there must be a mistake somewhere.

3 *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 231; where it is wrongly described as being at Haḷêbîḍ.

4 At the temple of Îsvara on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrâ (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 697; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 109).

5 The transcription in the *Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.*, however, gives here the name of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* 'Vîra-Permâḍidêvarasa.'

the issue of the contest between the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri and the Hoysaḷas for the southern provinces. And the last is another inscription at Haraḷahaḷḷi.[1] This record mentions king Vikramâditya of Ujjênîpura, *i. e.* Ujjain. In his lineage, it says, after "several kings" whom it does not particularise, there was Vîra-Vikramâditya I., also called Vikrama and Vikramâṅka, "who became illustrious in being called the lord of the Banavâsi province." To him were born Gutta II. and Jôyidêva I.[2] Gutta's wife was Padmaladêvî. To them was born the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Âhavâditya-Vîra-Vikramâditya II., who was ruling the Banavâsi twelve-thousand at his capital of Guttavoḷal. And to him and to Paṭṭamâdêvî there were born a daughter Tuḷuvaladêvî or Tuḷvaladêvî, who was married to Ballâḷa, son of a prince named Siṁha, Siṅga, or Siṅgidêva, of the Sûryavaṁśa or Solar Race, lord of the Sântaḷi *maṇḍala*,[3] and two sons, Jôvidêva (Jôyidêva II.) and Vikrama (Vikramâditya III.). The record is dated in the month Chaitra (March-April), falling in A. D 1213, of the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1136 (current). And it registers the building of a temple of Śiva, and the making of grants to it, by Vîra-Vikramâditya II. This record, again, does not mention any paramount sovereign; and, as before, the Gutta prince may have been practically independent, pending the issue of the contest between the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa and the Hoysaḷas.

Jôyidêva II.

The Haraḷahaḷḷi copper-plate grant of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa,[4] mentions, evidently as a feudatory of his, a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Jôyidêva,— described as "supreme lord of Ujjayanî, the best of towns, born in the lineage of Chandragupta, and a forehead-ornament of the Gutta family,"— who is plainly to be identified with Jôyidêva II., son of Vîra-Vikramâditya II. And it furnishes for him a date in the month Phâlguna (Feb.-March), falling in A. D. 1238, of the Hêmalambin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1160 (current), when, with his permission, a grant was made by the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Chikkadêva.

Gutta III.

And finally, three other inscriptions at Chauḍadâmpur carry the pedigree a generation further. Two of them[5] mention first the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Âhavâditya-Vîra-Vikramâditya II., or, as one of them calls him, Vîra-Vikrama. His son was Vikrama or Vikramâṅka. This person married Maiḷaladêvî. And their son was Gutta III.,[6] who was ruling at his capital of Guttavoḷal. These two records connect with Gutta III. a date in the month Vaiśâkha (April-May), falling in A. D. 1262, of the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara*, which in one of them is coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 (current) and in the other is cited as the third year of the reign of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Mahâdêva.

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[1] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 234; where it is wrongly described as being at Haḷêbîḍ.

[2] See page 581 above, note 6.

[3] See page 506 above, note 2.

[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 383.

[5] At the temple of Muktêśvara (*Carn.-Dêśa Inscrs.* Vol. II. pp. 480, 485; *P. S. and O.-C. Inscrs.* Nos. 110, 111).

[6] No title is here connected with his name.

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The third of them,[1] without any introductory pedigree, mentions three brothers, sons of Mailaladêvî,—*viz.*, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Gutta III., "lord of Ujjayanî, the best of towns, and born in the lineage of Chandragupta," and Hiriyadêva, and Jôyidêva III. And it furnishes for them a date in the month Pausha, falling probably in January, A. D. 1265, of the Raktâkshin *saṁvatsara*, S.-S. 1186 (expired). The three records all refer themselves to the reign of the Yâdava king Mahâdêva of Dêvagiri, thus indicating that the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Gutta III. was feudatory to him. But they do not define the extent of the rule of the Gutta prince.

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[1] Also at the temple of Muktêśvara (*Carn.-Dêsa Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 494; and an ink-impression).

DAKHAN HISTORY:

MUSALMÁN AND MARÁTHA,

A.D. 1300-1818.

Part I.—Poona Sa'ta'ra and Shola'pur.

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[*Contributed in 1877.*]

DAKHAN HISTORY.

PART I.

Part I.

POONA SÁTÁRA AND SHOLÁPUR, A.D. 1300-1818.

Introductory.

THE districts which form the subject of this article, the home of the Maráthás and the birth-place of the Marátha dynasty, stretch for about 150 miles along the Sayhádri hills between the seventeenth and nineteenth degrees of latitude, and at one point pass as far as 160 miles inland. All the great Marátha capitals, Poona Sátára and Kolhápur, lie close to the Sayhádris under the shelter of some hill fort; while the Musalmán capitals, Ahmadnagar Bijápur Bedar and Gulbarga, are walled cities in the plain. Of little consequence under the earlier Musalmán rulers of the Dakhan; growing into importance under the kings of Bijápur and Ahmadnagar; rising with the rise of the state, the foundations of which Shiváji laid in the seventeenth century, these districts became in the eighteenth century the seat of an empire reaching from the Panjáb to the confines of Bengal and from Delhi to Mysor.

Early History.

Early in the Christian era Maháráshtra is said to have been ruled by the great Saliváhana, whose capital was at Paithán on the Godávari. At a later period a powerful dynasty of Chálukya Rájputs reigned over a large part of Maháráshtra and the Karnátak, with a capital at Kalyán, 200 miles north-west of Sholápur. The Chálukyas reached their greatest power under Tálapa Deva in the tenth century, and became extinct about the end of the twelfth century, when the Jádhav or Yádav rájás of Devgiri or Daulatábád became supreme. This was the dynasty which was ruling at the time of the Musalmán invasion in A.D. 1294. We find, besides, that there was a rája at Panhála near Kolhápur at the end of the twelfth century, whose power extended as far north as theNíra river. He was conquered by Singhan the Rájput rája of Devgiri, whose camp is shown at Mhasurna near Pusesávli in the Sátára district. The Ghát Mátha or Highland Konkan was from an early period in the hands of the Sirké family.

Musalmán Invasion, A.D. 1294.

The first Musalmán invasion took place in A.D. 1294, but the Yádav dynasty was not extinguished till A.D. 1312. The conquest of the country was long imperfect, and we find Farishtah recording an attack made in A.D. 1340, by Muhammad Túghlak, the emperor of Delhi, on Nágnák, a Koli chief, who held the strong fort of Kondhána now Sinhgad, twelve miles south-west of Poona, which was not reduced until after an eight months' siege.

The Bahamani Dynasty.

The Dakhan remained subject to the emperor of Delhi till A.D. 1345, when the Musalmán nobles revolted from Muhammad Túghlak and established the Bahamani dynasty whose first capital was at Gulburga

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about sixty miles east of Sholápur. The open country acknowledged the power of the Bahamani sovereigns without a struggle. In A.D. 1426 A'hmad Sháh Bahamani changed the capital to Bidar, said by Farishtah to have been an old Hindu capital, about a hundred miles farther east. Farishtah mentions that about A.D. 1436, in the reign of Alá-ud-dín Bahamani, Sholápur was seized by the king's brother Muhammad Khán, who had revolted; but he was soon defeated and the fort retaken.

The Durgádevi Famine, A.D. 1396-1408.

The terrible famine called after Durgádevi, the Destroyer, is said to have lasted throughout Maháráshtra for twelve years from A.D. 1396 to 1408. The country was depopulated; the hills and strong places which had been conquered by the Musalmáns fell again into the hands of Marátha chiefs, and the Bahamani kings had to recover the lost ground.

Musalmán Recovery, A.D. 1420-1451.

In A.D. 1420 an expedition under Malek-ul-Tujár was sent to subdue the Gháts and the Konkan. He put down the Rámoshi robbers in the Khatáo desh and the Mahádev hills; penetrated to Wái and even into the Konkan, and took measures for the cultivation of the land; but the effects of the expedition were not lasting. Another force sent in A.D. 1436 by Alá-ud-dín reduced the rájás of Ráiri (Ráygad) and Sonkehr. At last in A.D. 1451 more systematic efforts were made to subdue the country. Malek-ul-Tujár was sent in command of a considerable force. He made Chákan, a village eighteen miles north of Poona, his head-quarters; a stone fort still existing was built there; the hill fort of Shivner, which overlooks the town of Junnar, was taken, and a Musalmán garrison placed in it. Junnar soon became the head-quarters of the Musalmáns in the west, and in a fairer country they could not have settled. Malek-ul-Tujár then overran the lands of the Sirké family, their chief surrendered, and induced the Musalmán leader to march against the rája of Kelna (now Vishálgad). When the invading forces were entangled in the dense wilds he gave information to the rája, who surrounded and massacred the greater number, a fate not unlike that which befell another Musalmán army in the defiles of the Gháts two hundred years later, when Shiváji achieved one of his most notable exploits. A few stragglers retired to Chákan, and quarrels broke out between the Mughals who held the fort and the Dakhan troops; the latter, being the more numerous, besieged the Mughals, forced them to surrender, and then treacherously murdered them, though many of them were Saiads. This story Farishtah relates at great length and with much feeling, dwelling with pleasure on the retribution which overtook the murderers of the descendants of the Prophet.

Máhmud Gáwán, A.D. 1472.

In A.D. 1472 Máhmúd Gáwán, the great minister of the last independent Bahamani king, made another effort to subdue the hill country. He forced his way through the forests, and did not leave the country till he had reduced the lesser forts and finally Kelna (Vishálgad) itself. Subsequently he made a new distribution of the Bahamani dominions. Junnar was made the head-quarters of a province which comprehended Indápur, Wái, the Mán desh, Belgaum, and parts of the Konkan. The other districts on the Bhima were under Bijápur, while Sholápur Gulbarga and Purenda formed a separate province.

Yusúf A'dil Sháh, the founder of the Bijápur dynasty, was made governor of Bijápur; Ahmad Sháh, the founder of the Ahmadnagar dynasty, was sent to Junnar; Gulbarga was entrusted to Dustur Dinár, an Abyssinian; while Purenda Sholápur and eleven districts were held by two brothers, Zein Khán and Khwája Jahán. Ahmad Nizám Sháh went to Junnar about A.D. 1485. He found that Shivner, the fort of Junnar, had fallen into the hands of the Maráthás, and he at once reduced it. He then took Cháwand, Lohogad, Purandhar, Kondhána (Sinhgad), and many forts in the Konkan, and brought his charge into good order.

Partition of the Dakhan, A.D. 1491.

The fall of the Bahamani dynasty was now at hand, and the great nobles had become virtually independent. The first who rose in revolt was Bahádur Geláni, who governed the country south of the Várna river; he was soon defeated and killed. Then Zein-ud-dín, the jáhgirdár of Chákan, rebelled with the aid of Yusúf A'dil Sháh. Next Ahmad Nizám Sháh threw off his allegiance in 1489: he was attacked by Zeinud-dín, but the latter was driven into the fort of Chákan; the fort was stormed and Zein-ud-dín killed in the fight. About this time (A.D. 1489) Yusúf A'dil Sháh of Bijápur also asserted his independence and made himself master of the country as far north as the Bhima.

The new kings of the Dakhan made a kind of partition treaty in A.D. 1491, by which the country north of the Níra and east of Karmála, together with some of the present Sholápur districts, were assigned to the Nizám Sháh king, while the country south of the Níra and Bhima was allotted to the Bijápur sovereign. The lesser chiefs who had joined in the revolt against the Bahamani kings were gradually subdued by the more powerful. Dastur Dinár, who held Gulbarga, was defeated and driven away in A.D. 1495, and again in A.D. 1498 by Yusúf A'dil Sháh; but he returned each time, and it was not till A.D. 1504 that he was finally defeated and killed and Gulbarga annexed to the Bijápur dominions.

The districts of Purenda and Sholápur were held as mentioned above by the brothers Khwája Jahán and Zein Khán. In a quarrel between them, Ahmad Nizám Sháh took the part of Khwája Jahán and Yusúf A'dil Sháh that of Zein Khán, who was thus enabled to get possession of the five and a half districts round Sholápur. These he held till after the death of Yusúf A'dil Sháh. Kamál Khán, the regent, who ruled during the minority of Yusúf's son, wished to supplant the young king, and arranged with Amir Berid, the minister of the Bahamani king at Bidar, that he should be allowed to take Sholápur, while Amir Berid took the districts lately held by Dastur Dinár, and that both of them should dethrone their masters. In accordance with this agreement he besieged and took Sholápur in 1511, which with its districts was annexed to Bijápur. Amir Berid took Gulbarga, but Kamál Khán was soon after assassinated, and Gulbarga recovered. Purenda and its five and a half districts remained for many years under Khwája Jahán, who seems to have been a half-independent vassal of the king of Ahmadnagar.

Ahmadnagar and Bijápur, A.D. 1524-1550.

In A.D. 1523, when, after one of their numerous wars, peace was made between the kings of Bijápur and Ahmadnagar, the sister of Ismael A'dil Sháh was given to Burhán Nizám Sháh and Sholápur was promised as her dowry, but it was not given up. During the next forty years the claim to Sholápur by the Nizám Sháh kings was the cause of constant wars. In A.D. 1524, in A.D. 1528, and in A.D. 1531, Burhán Nizám Sháh invaded the Sholápur districts, and each time he was defeated. Again in A.D. 1542 he overran them and made them over to Khwája Jahán, but they were restored on peace being made in the following year. Once more in 1548, Burhán took Gulbarga and Kalyán, and inflicted a severe defeat on Ibráhím A'dil Sháh; and the next year he took Sholápur, again defeating the Bijápur forces; and for some years he held the conquered districts. Irritated at his defeats Ibráhím A'dil Sháh suspected the fidelity of one of his chief nobles Seif Ein-ul-Mulk Geláni, and drove him into revolt by his harsh treatment; he retired into the Mán desh, and by degrees overran the country as far south as Miraj, defeating the detachments sent against him, and finally an army commanded by the king in person, whom he drove into Bijápur. In this difficulty Ibráhím applied to Rámráj, king of Bijánagar, who sent a force which defeated Seif Ein-ul-Mulk and forced him to fly to the Ahmadnagar territory, where he was killed.

After his accession to the throne, A'li A'dil Sháh, son of Ibráhím, made an alliance with Rámráj and attacked the king of Ahmadnagar. In the war which followed, the latter was borne down by the superior forces of his enemies and his capital was twice besieged, but he still held the fort of Sholápur. At last (A.D. 1563) the Musalmán kings, alarmed at the power of Rámráj, and disgusted with his insolence, formed a league against him. Husain Nizám Sháh gave his sister Chánd Bibi to A'li A'dil Sháh and with her Sholápur and its districts, and next year was fought the great battle of Tálikot, which resulted in the death of Rámráj and the complete defeat of his army.

Battle of Tálikot, A.D. 1564.

For some years there was peace; but in A.D. 1590 Diláwar Khán, who had been regent of Bijápur, fled to Ahmadnagar, and urged Burhán Nizám Sháh II. to try and recover Sholápur. In A.D. 1592 they advanced into the Bijápur territory, but Ibráhím A'dil Sháh managed to win back Diláwar Khán; and having got him into his power, sent him as a prisoner to the fort of Sátára and quickly forced the Ahmadnagar troops to retire.

The Mughals, A.D. 1600.

Soon after this the Mughal princes of Delhi began to invade the Dakhan, and in A.D. 1600 Ahmadnagar fell. The country was however only temporarily subdued, and was speedily recovered by Malek Ambar, an Abyssinian chief, who made Aurangábád, then called Kharki, the capital of the Nizám Sháh kings. In A.D. 1616, Sháh Jahán again conquered the greater part of the Ahmadnagar territory; but in A.D. 1629 the country was given up by the Mughal governor Khán Jahán Lodi. A war ensued, and in A.D. 1633 Daulatábád was taken and the king made prisoner; but Shahji Bhonsla, one of the leading Marátha chiefs, set up another member of the royal family, overran the Gangthari and Poona districts, and with the help of the Bijápur troops drove back

the Mughals from Purenda. Sháh Jahán now marched into the Dakhan in person, besieged Bijápur, and forced the king to come to terms (A.D. 1636). The country seized by Sháhji was then easily recovered; that chief surrendered in A.D. 1637, and the Nizám Sháh dynasty came to an end. The country north of the Bhima, including Junnar, was annexed to the Mughal territory, and that south of it was made over to Bijápur. Sháhji took service under the king of Bijápur, and received the jáhgir of Poona and Supa, to which Indápur Bárámati and the Máwal country near Poona were added.

The Maráthás.

Under the Bijápur kings the Maráthás began to make themselves conspicuous. The Bárgis or light horse furnished by the Marátha chiefs played a prominent part in the wars with the Mughals; the less important forts were left in their hands, and the revenue was collected by Hindu officers under the Musalmán Mokásdárs. Several of the old Marátha families received their offices of deshmukh and sardeshmukh from the Bijápur kings. The kingdom of Bijápur was destined to survive that of Ahmadnagar by fifty years; but, weakened by its powerful Mughal neighbour and by internal dissensions, it was gradually falling to pieces. This was the opportunity for the predatory Marátha chiefs, and a leader arose in Shiváji, the son of Sháhji Bhonsla, who knew how to unite the Maráthás into a nation by inspiring them with a hatred for their Musalmán masters, and how to take advantage of the constant quarrels and increasing weakness of those masters.

Shiváji Bhonsla, A.D. 1627-1680.

The ancestors of Shiváji come from Verola or Ellora. Máloji, Shiváji's grandfather, was the first of the family who rose to note. He married the sister of the náik of Phaltan, and about the beginning of the seventeenth century was put in charge of Shivner and Chákan and received the districts of Poona and Supa in jáhgir. His son Sháhji married the daughter of Lokhji Jádhav of Sindkhed, one of the chief nobles of the Nizám Sháh court, and Shiváji was born at Shivner in A.D. 1627. The jáhgir obtained by Sháhji from the king of Bijápur was managed by a Bráhman named Dádáji Kondev, who had also charge of Shiváji. Dádáji made Poona his head-quarters, and his management of the districts was able and successful. Sháhji was for many years employed in the Karnátak, where another large jáhgir had been granted to him.

When Shiváji grew up he associated much with the Máwalis, the men of the wild country west of Poona, and began to think of establishing himself as an independent chief. To this end, in A.D. 1646 he obtained from the commandant the surrender of the fort of Torna in the rugged country near the sources of the Níra river. While he sent agents to Bijápur to make excuses for his conduct, he began to build another fort on a hill called Morbadh, to which he gave the name of Ráygad (A.D. 1647). Dádáji Kondev died about this time, and Shiváji took charge of the jáhgir, appropriating the revenues to his own use. He then set to work to gain the forts not already in his possession. Chákan was in charge of Phirangoji Narsála, whom he won over and left in command. He obtained Kondána by bribing the Musalmán commandant; he surprised Supa, which was held by Báji Mohita, the brother of his father's second wife; and finally he interfered in the

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Shiváji's Exploits, A.D. 1648-1658.

quarrels of the sons of the commandant of Purandhar, and secured the fort. Having thus gained a firm hold of his father's jáhgir, he began to make encroachments on the adjoining country. The district south of the Níra, from the Gháts as far east as Shirwal, was in charge of Bándal, the deshmukh of the Hardas Máwal. His head-quarters were at Rohira. There was a Musalmán Mokásdár at Wái who held the fort of Pándugad, and the hills from the Krishna to the Várna were under the rája of Jávli, a member of the Moré family, which had dispossessed the Sirkés, the old rulers of the Gháts. A Musalmán governor was stationed at Kalyán in the Konkan.

In A.D. 1648 Shiváji surprised Lohogad, the state prison of the Ahmadnagar kings, and Rájmáchi, both in the Máwals, and several forts in the Konkan including Ráiri or Ráygad; meanwhile Ábáji Sondev, one of his Bráhman adherents, pushed on to Kalyán near Bombay, took the town, and made the governor prisoner. Shiváji at once took possession of the district appointing Ábáji subhedár. The Bijápur court could not overlook this open rebellion, and orders were given to Báji Ghorpade of Mudhol to arrest Sháhji, who was suspected of encouraging Shiváji. Báji accomplished his task by treachery, for which he afterwards paid dearly, and Sháhji was kept in confinement till A.D. 1653, during which time Shiváji was obliged to remain quiet. On his father's release he again began to plan attacks on the neighbouring country. The rája of Jávli had resisted all his endeavours to win him over, and Shiváji therefore sent his agents Rágho Ballál and Sambháji Káwaji to examine the country. They suggested that the rája might easily be assassinated, and Shiváji approved of their idea. He collected a strong force in the forests round Mahábaleshvar, and when his agents had murdered the rája and his brother, the troops attacked and stormed Jávli and soon reduced the fort of Vásota and the surrounding country (A.D. 1653). Shiváji next turned on the deshmukh of the Hardas Máwal, stormed the fort of Rohira, and killed him in the fight. To strengthen his hold of the country, he directed a fort to be built at the source of the Koyna river near Mahábaleshvar; the work was carried out by Moro Pant Pingle, and the fort was called Pratápgad.

Shiváji now ventured to attack the territory of the Mughals, and in May 1657 he surprised the town of Junnar and carried off much plunder to Ráygad. The disturbances which took place in Hindustán through the rivalry of the sons of Sháh Jahán prevented his inroads from being punished. At last, in A.D. 1659 the Bijápur government determined to make an effort to suppress him, and sent a strong force under Afzul Khán against him. Afzul Khán proceeded as far as Wái, and then sent a Bráhman named Gopináth Pant to treat with Shiváji, who had made professions of submission. Shiváji won over the Bráhman, who in his turn persuaded Afzul Khán to have a personal interview with Shiváji, who was then at Pratápgad. The Musalmán army marched to Jávli, while Shiváji brought all his forces under Moro Pant Pingle and Netáji Pálkar and surrounded them. He then, attended by Tánáji Málusra, one of his oldest friends, met Afzul Khán who was accompanied by a single armed follower, stabbed him, and

gave the signal for the assault to his troops. The Musalmán army, bewildered at the loss of its chief, gave way, and was utterly dispersed. Shiváji followed up his success with vigour. Panhála and Páwangad surrendered to Annáji Dattu, one of his officers, while he himself took Vasantgad, Rangna, Kelna (Vishálgad), and all the neighbouring forts. A force was sent against him, but he routed it and plundered the country as far as Bijápur. Next year (A.D. 1660) another army was sent against him under Sidi Johár, when he retired to Panhála, where he was closely besieged for some months, and at last, despairing of holding out, he escaped by stratagem to Rangna. The Mughals, disheartened by their want of success, made no further progress until early in A.D. 1661, when Áli Ádil Sháh marched in person to Karad, and thence to Panhála, which he reduced. Many other forts were surrendered to him, but he was called off by a rebellion in the Karnátak, and directed Báji Ghorpade and a Musalmán noble to prosecute the war. Shiváji took this opportunity of revenging himself on Báji Ghorpade for his father's capture, surprised and killed him at Mudhol, and the expedition was stopped. It was soon after this (A.D. 1662) that Shiváji changed his head-quarters from Rájgad to Ráiri, which he called Ráygad. He had public offices built there by Ábáji Sondev, and Ráygad remained the capital of the Maráthás for nearly forty years.

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Shiváji's Murderous Attack on Afzul Khán, A.D. 1659.

Attacks Sháista Khán, A.D. 1664;

As Shiváji's incursions into the Mughal territory continued, Aurangzíb sent a force against him under Sháista Khán, who made Poona his head-quarters. He then besieged Chákan, but though a small fort, it held out under Phirangoji Narsala for nearly two months; and Sháista Khán, discouraged by the difficulty of his first undertaking, did little else. While he was at Poona Shiváji performed one of his best known feats. He descended with a few followers from Sinhgad, entered Poona unperceived, and surprised Sháista Khán, who was living in Shiváji's old house. Sháista Khán escaped with a wound, but most of his attendants and his son were killed. Shiváji then retired to Sinhgad in safety, and next day a body of Mughal horse, which rode out towards Sinhgad, was surprised and routed by Netáji Pálkar. The Mughals soon afterwards withdrew leaving strong garrisons in Chákan and Junnar. Shiváji now extended his ravages from Surat in one direction to Bárcelor in the other, till at last Aurangzíb was roused, and in A.D. 1665 sent a large army under Rája Jáysing and Dilir Khán against him. They occupied Poona, and while Dilir Khán besieged Purandhar, Jaysing blockaded Sinhgad and pushed on to Ráygad. Purandhar made a gallant defence; but Shiváji feeling he was unable to resist longer, came into Jaysing's camp, and agreed to surrender all his forts but twelve, and to join the Mughal army in the war against Bijápur. His offer was accepted, and he accordingly accompanied the Mughal army on its march, and on the way the Phaltan district was overrun and the fort of Tátora stormed by Shiváji's troops. While the war was going on, Shiváji, in A.D. 1666, having given over charge of the territory that remained in his possession to Moro Pant Pingle, Abáji Sondev, and Annáji Dattu, went to Delhi to pay his respects to Aurangzíb; but being slighted, and treated as a prisoner, he escaped and returned to the Dakhan at the end of the year. The Mughal

And Surrenders to Jaysing.

Shiváji's Visit to Delhi, A.D. 1666.

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army, which had failed to take Bijápur, had in the meantime retired, leaving garrisons in Lohagad, Sinhgad, and Purandhar; the other forts were either dismantled or left in charge of a weak party, and they were all reoccupied by Moro Pant.

Shiváji Active Again, A.D. 1677.

Soon after his return from Delhi in 1667, Shiváji opened communications with Sultán Mázum, son of Aurangzíb, then governor of the Dakhan, which ended in Shiváji being confirmed in his jáhgir of Poona, Súpa, and Chákan, the fortresses of Purandhar and Sinhgad being retained by the Mughals. It was not till A.D. 1670 that Shiváji made any attempt to recover them. Aurangzíb had directed the capture of Pratáp Ráo Gujar and the body of horse which were with Sultán Mázum; they escaped, and in retaliation Shiváji planned the capture of these important forts. Sinhgad was stormed after a desperate fight by a body of Máwalis headed by Tánáji Málusra, who fell in the action, and Purandhar was taken soon after with less difficulty. An attempt on Shivner failed, but Lohogad was surprised and several forts to the north of Junnar were captured by Moro Pant.

Aurangzíb's Second Effort to crush Shiváji, A.D. 1671.

In 1671 another effort was made by Aurangzíb, and a force despatched under Mohábat Khán against Shiváji. One half attacked Chákan and the other half the fort of Sálher. Chákan was taken by the next year; but the detachment at Salher was utterly defeated by the Maráthás under Moro Pant and Pratáp Ráo Gujar, and the Mughals hastily retreated to Aurangábád.

Soon after this (A.D. 1671) Áli Ádil Sháh died at Bijápur, and Shiváji took advantage of the confusion which ensued to recover Panhála and sack Hubli. In May 1672 he surprised Párli and then attacked the neighbouring fort of Sátára, the state prison of Bijápur, which held out till September The forts of Chandan, Wandan, Pandugad, Nándgiri, and Tátora all fell into his hands in the same campaign. The Bijápur troops made two attempts to recover Panhála, but without success, though in one action Pratáp Ráo Gujar was killed, and his army would have been routed but for the exertions of Hasáji Mohita and two of his officers, afterwards well known as Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanáji Jádhav. Shiváji gave Hasáji the title of Hambir Ráo and the office of Sarnobat, which had been held by Pratáp Ráo Gujar.

Shiváji Crowned, A.D. 1674.

In June 1674 Shiváji ventured openly to declare his independence by being formally crowned at Ráygad; his ministry was reformed, and new names were given to the offices. His chief ministers (Asht Pradhán) were Moro Pant Pingle Peshwa or Mukhya Pradhán, Rámchandra Pant Bawrikar the son of Ábáji Sondev Mujumdár or Pant Amát, Annáji Dattu Pant Sachiv, Hambir Ráo Mohita Senápati, and Janárdan Pant the Sámant. Of the officers not among the Asht Pradhán the chief was Bálaji Auji, his chitnis, a Parbhu. In 1675 Shiváji again began hostilities with the Mughals, and Moro Pant retook several of the forts near Junnar, but again failed in an attempt on Shivner. Shiváji also regained the forts between Panhála and Tátora; but while he was occupied in the Konkan with the siege of Phonda, these forts were taken by the deshmukhs of Phaltan and Maláwdi acting for the king of Bijápur. Next year Shiváji again recovered them; and, in order

Shiváji's Expedition to the Karnátak, A.D. 1678.

to strengthen his hold on the country, he built the intermediate forts of Vardangad, Bhushangad, Sadáshivgad, and Machandragad. Having completed these arrangements he set out on an expedition to the Karnátak, where he took Jinji, Bellári, and other forts, and overran his father's jáhgir round Bangalor held by his half brother Venkáji. He returned to Ráygad about the middle of A.D. 1678, and next year made an alliance with Bijápur, which was threatened by the Mughal army under Dilir Khán. Unable to divert the Mughals from the siege of Bijápur, Shiváji ravaged the country north of the Bhíma, penetrating as far as Jálna about thirty miles south of Ajánta; but on his return he was intercepted by a force near Sangamner, and made his way to the hill fort of Patta only after a hard-fought action. Here he stayed till he was recalled south by the entreaties of the regent of Bijápur and the desertion of his son Sambháji to the Mughals. His troops cut off the supplies of the Mughal army, defeated two detachments, and forced Dilir Khán to raise the siege, while Sambháji returned to his father. Soon after this Shiváji died at Ráygad in April 1680. At the time of his death he held the country from the Harankáshi river on the south to the Indráyani river on the north. Supa Indápur and Bárámati were his jáhgir districts, and the forts between Tátora and Panhála mark his boundary on the east. Besides this tract he had territories in the Konkan, in the Karnátak, in Baglán, and in Khándesh.

His Death, A.D. 1680.

Sambháji.

Shiváji left two sons, Sambháji and Rám Rája, the former of whom was in confinement at Panhalla. The majority of the ministers desired to put Rám Rája on the throne; and Sambháji, who managed to get possession of Panhála, was besieged there by Janárdan Pant Sumant. He contrived, however, to win over a body of the besieging troops, surprised Janárdan Pant in Kolhápur, and being joined by Hambir Ráo Mohita and others of the ministers, he marched to Ráygad, which surrendered. He now revenged himself savagely on his opponents, putting to death Rám Rája's mother Soyrábái Sirké and several officers, and throughout his reign his cruelty and violence made him an object of dislike to his countrymen. Nor did intrigues against him cease. In A.D. 1681 a plot was formed by members of the Sirké family, to which Rám Rája's mother had belonged. In this Annáji Dattu, the Pant Sachiv, and Báláji Auji Chitnis being implicated, both of these old servants of Shiváji were executed.

Aurangzíb, A.D. 1684.

The usual inroads took place into the Mughal territory, and at last Aurangzíb determined to take command of his army in person, and arrived at Ahmadnagar in the year A.D. 1684. He sent out detachments to reduce the forts in the Gangthari, and, in A.D. 1685, while his son Azam Sháh took Sholápur and so began the war with Bijápur, Khán Jahán took Poona and the open country north of Sinhgad. The emperor then marched to Sholápur, and thence to Bijápur, which fell in October 1686, and the country round at once submitted to him. Eleven months later Golkonda surrendered, and Aurangzib was left in apparent possession of the whole country, which he endeavoured to bring into better order.

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Shirzi Khán, a Bijápur noble who had joined the emperor, invaded the Sátára districts, but was met and defeated at Wái by Hambir Ráo the Senápati, who himself fell in the action, and for a time the Maráthás recovered much of the open country: but Sambháji was daily growing more imbecile and indolent under the influence of his favourite a Kanoja Bráhman named Kalusha. No organized resistance could be made, and in A.D. 1689 the country was again subdued by the Mughals as far as the hills, and the forts between Tátora and Panhála were taken.

Sambháji's Execution, A.D. 1689.

Auràngzíb now marched to Akluj on the Níra, and then to Tulápur at the junction of the Indráyani with the Bhíma, intending to subdue the hill country thoroughly; and while there Sambháji was brought in as a prisoner and executed (August 1689). He had been captured by a Mughal officer named Takarib Khán and his son Ikhlas Khán in command at Kolhápur, who had penetrated to Sangmeshvar in the Konkan, and surprised him with his favourite Kalusha.

Rám Rája.

Sambháji left a child named Shiváji afterwards known as Sháhu; but as he was only six years old, Sambháji's brother Rám Rája was made regent. The Marátha chiefs now met to decide on a plan for opposing Aurangzíb, whose power may well have seemed to them overwhelming. They decided that the principal forts should be carefully garrisoned; that Rám Rája should move from one fort to the other, and if hard pressed should retire to Jinji in the Karnátak. The Marátha chiefs were to plunder and annoy the enemy in their old fashion. The principal men at this time were Pralhád Niráji son of the late Nyáyádhish Pradhán, Janárdan Pant Sámant, Rámchandra Pant Bourikar Ámát, Máhádáji Náik Pánsambal the Senápati, Santáji Ghorpade, Dhanáji Jádhav, and Khanderáo Dábháde.

Sháhu a Prisoner, A.D. 1690.

The Mughals continued to advance, and in A.D. 1690 Ráygad fell and Sháhu was made prisoner. On this Rám Rája made his escape to Jinji, accompanied by Pralhád Niráji, Santáji Ghorpade, Dhanáji Jádhav, and Khanderáo Dábháde, while Rámchandra Pant was left in charge of the hill districts with a Bráhman named Parashrám Trimbak under him. His head-quarters were at Sátára. Santáji Ghorpade was soon after made commander-in-chief, and was sent with Dhanáji Jádhav to collect men and plunder the Mughals, while Pralhád Niráji, who stayed at Jinji, was made Pratinidhi. Against them and the other Marátha chiefs Aurangzíb made little progress. Rámchandra Pant kept his own districts clear, and even surprised the Mughal fauzdár of Wái. It was under Rámchandra's command that the heads of the families of Pavár, Thorát, and Atáwla came under notice. Aurangzíb, in A.D. 1694, after moving slowly along the banks of the Bhíma, at last fixed on Brahmapuri, a village on that river, as his head-quarters, and built a cantonment, where he stayed five years.

Meanwhile the siege of Jinji had been going on in a desultory manner. Santáji and Dhanáji inflicted several defeats on Mughal detachments, and once forced them to raise the siege; but at last Zulfikár Khán was ordered peremptorily to take the fort. He first allowed Rám Rája to escape, and then pressing the siege, soon became master of the fort. Rám Rája arrived at Vishálgad at the end of

A.D. 1697, and soon went to Sátára, which he made the seat of government. Rámchandra Pant, who had so ably managed the government in his absence, was made Pant Ámát, and one of his kárkúns, Sankráji Náráyan Gaudekar, was made Pant Sachiv, and is the ancestor of the present chief. Timoji Hanwanta, the son of Janárdan Pant, was made Pant Pratinidhi; but he did not keep the office long, as in A.D. 1700 Tárábái bestowed it on Parashrám Trimbak.

Marátha Dissensions, A.D. 1697 - 1700.

Santáji Ghorpade, the Senápati, had for some time been on bad terms with his lieutenant Dhanáji Jádhav; at last an open quarrel broke out, and Rám Rája took the part of Dhanáji. Santáji's troops deserted him, and he was hunted down and at last surprised and killed in the Sátára districts by Nágoji Máne, deshmukh of Mhaswar, who as a reward was taken into the imperial service. The office of Senápati was given to Dhanáji.

In A.D. 1699, Rám Rája made a plundering expedition on a large scale through Gangthari, Báglán, Khándesh, and Berár, and levied *chauth.* Irritated by this the emperor determined again to attempt the reduction of the hill forts. Leaving his cantonment at Brahmapuri he moved on Sátára. Wasantgad fell first and then Sátára was invested. Aurangzíb pitched his camp near the village of Karinja, his son Ázam Sháh was stationed on the west at Sháhpur, Shirzi Khán on the south, and Tarbiat Khán on the east. Though thus surrounded Sátára held out for several months, as provisions were brought in through the connivance of some of the imperial commanders. This was stopped at last; the defences were mined, and the garrison surrendered. Párli was then attacked and fell in June, and the Mughals retreated to Káwaspur on the Mán river to avoid the rains.

Shiváji II. A.D. 1700 - 1708.

In the meantime Rám Rája died at Ráygad, leaving two sons, the older of whom, Shiváji, was put on the throne with his mother Tárábái as regent. The war went on as before. In the next few years Aurangzíb reduced all the principal forts from Purandhar to Panhala; but the Maráthás plundered in his rear, and the great families, the Mánkaris, began to side more openly with them. In A.D. 1705, after the capture of Ráygad and Torna, Aurangzíb stayed for some time near Junnar; then marched to Bijápur, and thence to besiege Vákinkera, a village held by Pemnáik, a plundering Berad chief. While engaged here his work in the hills was being undone and the forts were being retaken. Panhála and Pávangad were surprised by Rámchandra Pant, and the former became the residence of Tárábái. Parashrám Trimbak, the Pant Pratinidhi, took Vasantgad and Sátára, while Sankráji Náráyan, the Pant Sachiv, recovered Sinhgad, Ráygad, Rohira, and other forts. After Vákinkera was taken Aurangzíb returned hard pressed by the Maráthás, and reached Ahmadnagar in A.D. 1707. Zulfikár Khán retook Sinhgad; but it was almost immediately regained by Sankráji Náráyan, and in February 1707 Aurangzíb died at Ahmadnagar. With him perished all hope of crushing the Marátha power, and thirteen years after his death Marátha independence was formally recognized by the emperor of Delhi.

The Release of Sháhu.

The grand army under the command of Ázam Sháh at once withdrew from the Dakhan, which was left bare of troops, while the

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contest between the sons of Aurangzíb was going on. Hoping to keep the Maráthás occupied by internal quarrels, Ázam Sháh, on his march northwards, released Sháhu the son of Sambháji, under condition of allegiance to the imperial crown. Sháhu gained over to his side several chiefs, among whom were Parsoji Bhonsla, Chimáji Dámodar, Haibatráo Nimbálkar, and Nimáji Sindia, and marched south with a large force. Dhanáji Jádhav, who had been recovering the Poona districts, had defeated Lodi Khán the fauzdár of Poona, and retaken Chákan, marched with the Pratinidhi, Parashrám Trimbak, to oppose Sháhu. The armies met at Khed on the Bhíma, but Parashrám Trimbak, finding he was not supported by Dhanáji, whom Sháhu had secretly gained over, fled to Sátára, while Dhanáji openly joined Sháhu.

The Accession of Sháhu, A.D. 1708.

The united armies now marched by Chandan and Vandan on Sátára; the fort was surrendered by the commander, a Musalmán, who imprisoned the Pratinidhi, and Sháhu entered the city and was formally seated on the throne (March 1708). Dhanáji was confirmed as Senápati, and one of his kárkúns, Báláji Vishvanáth Bhat, the founder of the Peshwa dynasty, now came into notice. Gadádhar Pralhád was made Pratinidhi and Bahiro Pant Pingle Peshwa.

Kolhápur, A.D. 1710.

The war between the two branches of the house of Shiváji went on generally in favour of Sháhu. In the year after his accession Sháhu took Panhála and Vishálgad, but was repulsed in an attack on Rangna. At the end of the year Dhanáji died, and his son Chandrasen was made Senápati in his place. In A.D. 1710 Panhála was retaken by Tárábái, and this fort and the neighbouring city of Kolhápur became her residence and the capital of the younger branch of the family of Shiváji. Tárábái's chief adherents were Rámchandra Pant the Ámát, and Sankráji Náráyan the Pant Sachiv; and in A.D. 1711 Sháhu determined to reduce the territory of the latter chief, which lay round the sources of the Níra. Rájgad had been taken, when the war was ended by the suicide of the Sachiv, and Sháhu took the opportunity to conciliate his party by confirming Náro Shankar the son of the Pant Sachiv in his father's estate and title.

Marátha Quarrels.

Though Sháhu was now firmly seated on the throne, the country was in a state of great confusion; the petty chiefs fortified themselves in their villages and plundered everywhere; and it was some time before order could be restored. The relations between Chandrasen Jádhav and his father's kárkún, Báláji Vishvanáth, had long been far from cordial, and in the year 1713 an open quarrel burst out. Báláji was forced to fly, and first went to Purandhar, where he was refused admittance, and then to Pándugad, at which place he got shelter and where he was besieged by Chandrasen. Sháhu took Báláji's side and ordered Haibatráo Nimbálkar, the sar-lashkar, to raise the siege. He met Chandrasen at Deur, and routed him, whereon the latter retired, first to Kolhápur and then to Nizám-ul-Mulk, the Mughal governor of the Dakhan, who gave him a jáhgir at Bálki. He was accompanied by Ghátge Shirzi Ráo of Kágal and Rambháji Nimbálkar, who afterwards distinguished himself in the Mughal service and received the title of Ráo Rambha, which remained in the family for many years. The office of Senápati was given to Mánáji Moré.

Soon after the arrival of the fugitive chiefs, Nizám-ul-Mulk declared war with Sháhu, who sent Báláji Vishvanáth with a force to join Haibatráo Nimbálkar. A battle was fought near Purandhar with no decisive result, but the Maráthás fell back to the Sálpi pass, and Rambhāji Nimbálkar overran the Poona district. After a time Nizám-ul-Mulk withdrew to Aurangábád.

Sháhu's Attempts at Order.

Sháhu now attempted to bring the country into order. A Bráhman named Krishnaráo Khatáokar had collected a body of men in the Máhádev hills, and was levying contributions on all sides, Damáji Thorát had fortified the village of Hingni, forty miles east of Poona, and committed similar depredations. Udáji Chawhán seized the fort of Battis Shirála in the Várna valley, and Sháhu was obliged to win him over by granting him the *chauth* of Shirála and Karád. Báláji Vishvanáth set out to reduce Damáji Thorát, but was treacherously seized by him, and released only on the payment of a large ransom. After his release he marched against Krishnaráo Khatáokar, and with the help of Shripat Ráo, the Pratinidhi's son, routed him at Aundh. Krishnarao then submitted and was granted the village of Khatáo in inám. After this Báláji, who had effected a satisfactory arrangement with Angria, Shiváji's admiral in the Konkan, was in A.D. 1714 made Peshwa in the place of Bahiro Pant Pingle, and he chose Ábáji Pant Purandhare as his Mutálik or deputy, and Rámáji Pant Bhánu, the ancestor of the famous Nána Phadnavis, as his Phadnavis or secretary. Soon afterwards Haibatráo Nimbálkar died, and his office was given to Dáwalshi Somvanshi, whereon his son went over to Nizám-ul-Mulk and received Bársi as a jáhgir. In the meantime Damáji Thorát had seized the young Pant Sachiv, and an expedition was again planned against him. Báláji managed first to effect the Sachiv's release, and in return received the Sachiv's rights in the Poona district and the fort of Purandhar, and Damáji was soon after defeated and taken prisoner.

Rise of the Peshwás, A.D. 1715.

The following year (A.D. 1715) Báláji induced the Mughal officers in charge of Poona to make it over to him, and he began to bring it into order and lay the foundation of the future power of his family. He had become the leading minister of Sháhu, and by his advice the Maráthás began to interfere in the quarrels at Delhi and to attempt to get a formal grant of the territory occupied by them. In A.D. 1718 Báláji marched to Delhi with a force of Maráthás as an ally of the Saiad ministers, and stayed there till A.D. 1720, when he obtained the desired grants of the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the Dakhan and the sovereignty of the districts south of the Bhíma and north of the Varda and Tungbhadra from Poona to Kolhápur, some parganás in the Karnátak, and several in the Konkan. The districts of Akalkot and Nevása, granted to Sháhu on his marriage by Aurangzíb, were also given up.

Báji Ráo Peshwa, A.D. 1721.

Soon after his return from Delhi Báláji died; and in A.D. 1721 his son Báji Ráo was made Peshwa in his place, though his appointment was opposed by Shripatráo, the son of Parashrám Trimbak, now Pratinidhi. Khanderáo Dábháde, who had been made Senápati in A.D. 1716, also died about this time, and was succeeded by his son

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Trimbakráo, with Piláji Gáikwár as second in command. Báji Ráo while preserving his superiority at home, directed his attention chiefly to conquests in Hindustán, and it was under him that Malhárji Holkar, a Dhangar from the village of Hol on the Nira, and Ránoji Sindia, a Marátha of Kanarkhed near Sátára, rose to note. Another of his officers, Udáji Pavár Vishwás Ráo, now established himself at Dhár in Málwa.

Revival of Family Quarrels, A.D. 1727.

The quarrel between the two branches of the Marátha royal family, which had been slumbering for some time, was revived about A.D. 1727 by Nizám-ul-Mulk, now master of the Dakhan. War followed between the Nizám and Sháhu, in which the former was worsted, and came to terms; but in 1729, Sambháji, rája of Kolhápur, being joined by Udáji Chawhán, crossed the Várna; he was soon surprised by the Pratinidhi and driven back, and Tárábái, the widow of Rám Rája, was taken prisoner and brought to Sátára. The disaster induced Sambháji to make peace, and in A.D. 1730 a treaty was framed by which the Várna and the Krishna were made the boundaries of the two states. Tásgaon, Miraj, and other districts were ceded to Sháhu.

The Dakhan now enjoyed peace for some years, while the Maráthás were engaged in the Konkan Gujarát and Hindustán. Soon after the peace with Kolhápur, Trimbakráo Dábháde, incited by Nizám-ul-Mulk, marched against Báji Ráo to depose him from his superiority; but Báji Ráo, ever on the alert, met him near Baroda and completely defeated him. Trimbakráo fell in the action, and his infant son Yashvantráo was made Senápati, and Piláji Gáikwár was appointed his guardian (A.D. 1731). Ráygad, which since its capture by Aurangzíb had been held by the Sidi of Janjira, was recovered in A.D. 1735. In A.D. 1740 Báji Ráo, the greatest of the Peshwás, died near the Narbada, in the midst of schemes for the conquest of the Dakhan. He had raised himself to a complete pre-eminence among the Marátha chiefs, and had acquired large territories in Málwa, but outwardly he was still subordinate to Sháhu.

Báláji Ráo Peshwa, A.D. 1740-1761.

Báláji was appointed Peshwa in his father's place, though the nomination was opposed by the creditors of Báji Ráo, who had died deeply in debt. A few more years passed quietly in the Dakhan while the Marátha troops overran Hindustán and penetrated into Bengal Orissa and the Karnátak. At last in A.D. 1749, Sháhu, who had long been imbecile, died, and the change which had been impending took place; the sovereignty passed from the Marátha rájás to the Bráhman Peshwás. Sháhu left no direct heirs, and before his death disputes had arisen between his wife Sakwárbái Sirké, who declared for Sambháji the Kolhápur rája, and Tárábái who brought forward a boy whom she called her grandson, Rája Rám, son of Shiváji, who she said had been kept in concealment since his birth. Jagjivan the Pratinidhi, brother of Shripatráo, took the side of Sakwárbái, while Báláji supported the claim of Rám. Immediately Sháhu died, Báláji seized the town and fort of Sátára and took the Pratinidhi and Sakwárbái prisoners. The latter he forced to perform the rite of *sati* or widow-sacrifice, and the former he imprisoned in a hill fort.

Transfer of Sovereignty to the Peshwa, A.D. 1749.

Peshwa Sovereignty.

On the strength of a deed given to him by Sháhu, he assumed the management of the Marátha empire, agreeing to acknowledge the independence of the Kolhápur state and to preserve the jáhgirs of the chiefs. He won over to his side Rághoji Bhonsla, whom he confirmed in his possessions in Berár, as also he did Yashvant Ráo Dábháde in Gujarát, and Fatehsing Bhonsla as rája of Akalkot. The districts in Málwa, conquered by Báji Ráo, were divided between Holkar, Sindia, Pavár, and other chiefs. Jagjivan the Pratinidhi was soon released, but much of his jáhgir west of the Krishna, between the Várna and Urmodi rivers, was taken from him.

The change of rulers was generally agreed in. Yamáji Sevdev, the mutálik of the Pratinidhi, raised an insurrection and threw himself into the fort of Sángola near Pandharpur; but this revolt was at once suppressed by Sadáshiv Bháu, cousin of the Peshwa. Finally, before proceeding to take part in the dispute between the sons of Nizám-ul-Mulk, the Peshwa persuaded the Pant Sachiv to give him up the fort of Sinhgad in exchange for those of Tung and Tikona, and he thus gained the fortress which threatened his capital, Poona. He gave up the fort of Sátára to Tárábái, the rája being kept in the city with a large establishment of attendants.

Rám Rája Entrapped, A.D. 1751.

When the Peshwa had gone (A.D. 1751) Tárábái tried to rouse Rám Rája to revolt. Finding this useless, she sent for Damáji Gáikwár, and on his approach invited the rája into the fort and made him prisoner. The Peshwa's officers in Sátára marched to meet Damáji at Arla on the Krishna, then retired to Nimb, where they were defeated, and Damáji joined Tárábái. Several forts were given up to her, but Nána Purandhare again attacked Damáji and forced him into the Jor Khora, a valley near Wái, where he waited hoping for aid from the Pratinidhi at Karád. The Peshwa hearing of the danger, came up with his army and surrounded Damáji; and then, while amusing him with negotiations, suddenly attacked and took him prisoner and sent him to Poona. Tárábái he left in possession of Sátára and of the person of the rája, as another enemy was pressing on him.

War with the Nizám, A.D. 1751.

The Peshwa had sided with Gázi-ud-dín as a claimant to the Nizám's throne against his brother Salábat Jang; and when the latter by the aid of French troops had secured his succession, he determined to punish the Peshwa, and invaded the Poona districts with the French leader Bussy at the head of a disciplined force. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Marátha army under Máhádáji Pant Purandhare, the Mughals advanced, sacked Ránjangaon, and destroyed Talegaon Dhamdhere. They were there fiercely attacked, and almost routed by the Maráthás, but were saved by Bussy and his artillery, and again advanced as far as Koregaon on the Bhíma. Here Salábat Jang heard that the fort of Trimbak near Násik had been taken by the Maráthás, and returned to Ahmadnagar to get his heavy guns for the siege of the fort. Early in 1752 he moved towards Junnar, but he was harassed by the Maráthás, his troops were mutinous, and danger was threatening from the north, whence his brother Gázi-ud-dín was approaching

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with a large army. He therefore came to terms with the Peshwa, and turned to meet his brother. The whole Marátha force also collected near Aurangábád, and though Gázi-ud-dín was poisoned and war averted, Salábat Jang confirmed a cession of territory promised by Gázi-ud-dín to the Maráthás, comprising the greater part of Khándesh and the Gangthari.

Ráni Tárábái Rebels.

During the absence of the Peshwa Tárábái collected a force of Rámoshis and occupied the Wái and Sátára districts. Her troops were soon driven back and she was besieged in the fort, but the siege was not pressed. Next year (A.D. 1754) Damáji Gáikwár was released and returned to Gujarát after coming to an agreement with the Peshwa about the revenues of that country. He was accompanied by Raghunáth Ráo the Peshwa's younger brother, and their united forces soon took Ahmadábád, and firmly established Marátha supremacy in that province.

Acquisition of Ahmadnagar by the Peshwa, A.D. 1759.

The fort of Ahmadnagar, which had till then been held by the Nizám, was in A.D. 1759 acquired by the Peshwa, who bribed the commander Kavi Jang. Consequently in 1760, the Nizám declared war, but he was defeated by Sadáshiv Bháu at Udgir and forced to make a treaty surrendering the forts of Daulatábád Shivner Asirgad and Bijápur, the provinces of Bijápur, and part of Bidar Ahmadnagar and Aurangábád. Thus Shivner, the birthplace of Shiváji, at last fell into the hands of the Maráthás.

Defeat at Pánipat, A.D. 1761.

The Peshwa Báláji had long been interfering in the affairs of Hindustán, and had incurred the enmity of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli the Afghán king, whose forces Raghunáth Ráo the Peshwa's brother, had driven out of the Panjáb. He advanced in 1759 bent on punishing them, and routed two detachments commanded by Sindia and Holkar with great slaughter. It was necessary to send a larger force to meet him, and in A.D. 1760 the grand army of the Maráthás, with the contingents of all the chiefs, led by Sadáshiv Bháu, marched into Hindustán. After some skirmishing the two armies met at Pánipat in January 1761 and the Maráthás were utterly routed. Sadáshiv Bháu, Vishvás Ráo the Peshwa's eldest son, many other chiefs, and nearly the whole army fell in the fight. Soon after hearing the news Báláji Ráo the Peshwa died (June 1761). The defeat had a decisive effect on the fortunes of the Marátha empire. Up to this time the great chiefs had been generally obedient to the Peshwa, and had always joined his standard. Now his prestige was gone, and the chiefs became more and more independent. Doubtless this might in any case have occurred later; the distant conquests could not long have been controlled from Poona, but the defeat of Pánipat hastened the catastrophe. The minority of Báláji's successor, Mádhav Ráo a boy of sixteen, and the quarrels between him and his uncle Raghunáth, tended to the same result. When Mádhav Ráo grew up, his personal character held together the confederacy for some time; but his early death, and the quarrels as to the succession, decided the matter, and without doubt facilitated the conquest by the English.

Mádhav Ráo Peshwa, A.D. 1761-1772.

Nizám Ali, hoping to profit by the Marátha disasters, declared war, and, though vigorously opposed, advanced to within fourteen

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miles of Poona, when he was induced to return by the cession of the districts of Aurangábád and Bidar, lately acquired by the Maráthás. Soon afterwards the death of Tárábái (December 1761) relieved the Peshwa's government of an inveterate enemy; the fort of Sátára was surrendered, and Rám Rája, who had been kept a close prisoner there, was allowed to live in the city.

Raghunáth Ráo's Disagreement with the Peshwa.

At first the management of affairs was entirely in the hands of Raghunáth Ráo; but Mádhav Ráo, the young Peshwa, soon became desirous of having a share in the administration, and disputes arose between him and his uncle. The latter retired, and having obtained help from the governor of Aurangábád and collected a large force of Maráthás, marched on Poona, defeated his nephew's army, and again took charge of the government. He made Sakhárám Bápu, a descendant of Gopináth, the Bráhman who betrayed Afzul Khán to Shiváji, and Nilkanth Purandhare, his chief ministers; gave over the fort of Purandhar to the latter, and made several other changes in the ministry. He also, as the price of the aid he had just received, agreed to give back to the Nizám the rest of the provinces ceded in A.D. 1760, but his promise was not kept. The Nizám in consequence declared war, and being joined by Jánoji Bhonsla and other disaffected chiefs marched on Poona in A.D. 1763. As it was an open city, the people fled, and the Mughals sacked and burned Poona; thence they marched to Purandhar, and ravaged the country as far north as the Bhíma. The Marátha army had meanwhile assembled and plundered the Nizám's country; and now, following the Mughals on their return, assailed them as they were crossing the Godávari at Rákshasbhuvan, and inflicted a severe defeat on them, which brought the war to a close. Jánoji Bhonsla, who had deserted the Mughals, was the chief gainer.

Soon after this Mádhav Ráo recovered the management of the government, and kept on good terms with his uncle till A.D. 1768, when Raghunáth retired from court, raised a force and encamped near Dhodap in the Chándod range; but he was soon defeated and taken prisoner, and was kept in custody till the close of Mádhav's reign.

During the four remaining years of his life Mádhav Ráo was chiefly occupied with wars with Jánoji Bhonsla of Berár and invasions of the Karnátak. In one of these wars in A.D. 1769 Jánoji penetrated to Poona and ravaged the country round till peace was made. Mádhav Ráo died in A.D. 1772. His reign may be looked on as the time during which the administration of the country reached its highest excellence; the mámlatdárs and other officers were carefully looked after, the assessment was paid without much difficulty owing to the wealth brought into the country by war, and justice was well administered by the famous Rám Shástri. Mádhav Ráo's chief ministers were Sakhárám Bápu, Moroba Phadnavis, and Moroba's cousin Nána. After Mádhav's death the Marátha empire was plunged in confusion and a period of civil war followed; the great chiefs became completely independent, and an opportunity was given to the English Government to interfere.

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Náráyan Ráo Peshwa, A.D. 1772-1773.

Náráyan Ráo succeeded his brother Mádhav Ráo. Raghunáth, who had been released before Mádhav's death, kept on good terms with Náráyan for a time; but after a few months he interfered in the administration, and was again placed in confinement. In August 1773 a disturbance arose among some of the troops at Poona, and their leaders burst into the palace; Náráyan Ráo took refuge with his uncle Raghunáth, but was followed and murdered in his presence, and there was reason to believe that Raghunáth was implicated in the murder.

Raghunáth Ráo Peshwa, A.D. 1773.

Raghunáth at once assumed charge of the government, but Sakhárám Bápu, Nána Phadnavis, Trimbak Ráo Máma, Hari Pant Phadke, and the other ministers were ill-disposed towards him, and none of his own followers were competent to take their places. Soon after his accession, while he was engaged in war with the Nizám, the old ministers withdrew from his camp to Poona, and having discovered that the widow of Náráyan Ráo was pregnant, had her conveyed in January 1774 to Purandhar, and formed themselves into a regency. Hearing of this, Raghunáth, who had marched into the Karnátak, returned with his army, and was met near Pandharpur by the army of the ministers under Trimbak Ráo Máma. He completely defeated them with the loss of their leader, but instead of marching on Poona, he retired to Burhánpur, and the birth of a son to Náráyan Ráo's widow (April 1774), to whom the name of Mádhav was given, put an end to Raghunáth's chance of success.

The Ministers form a Regency.

Birth of Mádhav Ráo II. A.D. 1774.

First War with the English, A.D. 1775.

Raghunáth retired to Gujarát, hoping to bring there to a successful termination the negotiations for aid which he had already begun with the Government of Bombay. In this he obtained his wish; but the interference of the English was at first limited to Gujarát and the Konkan, and they were soon ordered to suspend hostilities by the Supreme Government of Bengal. Colonel Upton was sent as a commissioner to arrange a peace at Poona, and in March 1776 he signed the treaty of Purandhar, by which the English agreed to give up the cause of Raghunáth.

Treaty of Purandhar, A.D. 1776.

In A.D. 1777, Rám Rája, who for nearly thirty years had been the titular rája of Sátára, died, and was succeeded by his adopted son Sháhu.

A rivalry which for some time had been growing between two of the leading ministers at Poona, Nána Phadnavis and his cousin Moroba, now passed into an open quarrel. Sakhárám Bápu remained neutral, but Moroba was supported by the greater number of the ministers and by Tukáji Holkar. Hari Pant Phadke took the side of Nána, and so did Máhádji Sindia, and though Moroba was at first in the ascendant and Nána had to retire to Purandhar, the position was soon changed when Hari Pant and Sindia came up with their forces and Tukáji Holkar was induced to leave Moroba's party. In July Moroba and his adherents were seized and confined in various forts, and Nána had only one rival left, Sakhárám Bápu.

Second War with the English, A.D. 1778.

The Bombay Government, whose aid had been sought by Moroba, now declared war with the Peshwa's ministry. Their first effort was disastrous. In November 1778 a force occupied the Bor Ghát

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and encamped at Khandála. The main body under Colonel Egerton followed in December, and marched slowly to Kárli, eight miles over level ground in eleven days, constantly engaged with the Maráthás, whose main army was assembled at Talegáon Dábháde under Sindia, Holkar, and Hari Pant, and retired slowly when the English reached that village. Here Colonel Cockburn, who was now in command, embarrassed by his commissariat train, determined to retire, and having thrown his guns into a pond, began his retreat. The Maráthás pressed closely on him, and his rear guard was perpetually engaged till the village of Vadgaon was reached. Colonel Cockburn, despairing of effecting his retreat, began to negotiate, and at last a convention was made through Sindia, by which the English army was allowed to retire on condition of the surrender of the conquests made since the year 1773. This disgraceful convention was at once disavowed by the Bombay Government, and the war was continued. For some months nothing was done, as the Bombay Government awaited the arrival of the army under General Goddard, which was on its march across India. It arrived at Surat in March, and negotiations were carried on till the end of the year. In the meantime Nána Phadnavis, with the connivance of Máhádaji Sindia, got rid of his last rival Sakhárám Bápu, who was thrown into prison and sent to Pratápgad. Before the close of A.D. 1779 negotiations were broken off, and the war was carried on successfully in Gujarát and the Konkan by General Goddard and Colonel Hartley. In the beginning of 1781, General Goddard determined to advance towards Poona, and a detachment forced the Bor Ghát; but when they reached Khandála they were at once attacked in front by the Marátha main army under Hari Pant Phadke and Holkar, while Parashrám Pant Patvardhan was sent with a strong force into the Konkan to assail the flank of the army and cut off its communications with Bombay. After a month of constant fighting, General Goddard was forced to retreat to Bombay with severe loss. The war now languished, and in the beginning of 1782 negotiations were begun with the Poona government through Sindia, and ended in the treaty of Sálbái, by which the conquests in the Konkan were given up with the exception of Sálsette, and a provision was made for Raghunáth Ráo.

Convention of Vadgaon, A.D. 1778.

Treaty of Sálbái, A.D. 1782.

Rise and Death of Sindia, A.D. 1789-1794.

For some years there was peace in the Dakhan, and Sindia was fully occupied in Hindustán warring with the Rájput princes, whom after a hard struggle he worsted. At last in A.D. 1789 he gained possession of Delhi and the person of the emperor, and thus reached the height of his ambition. In A.D. 1790, war broke out between Tipu Sultán of Mysor and the English, and the Maráthás joined as allies of the English and took part in the campaigns of 1790 and 1791, after which Tipu was compelled to sue for peace and surrender a large extent of territory. Soon after peace had been made with Tipu, Sindia marched to Poona, ostensibly to invest the young Peshwa with the insignia of the office of Vakil-i-Mutálik which he had obtained for him from the emperor, but really to supplant Nána Phadnavis and win over the Peshwa. Contrary to Nána's wishes, the Peshwa

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was decorated by Sindia, and a war of intrigue ensued between the rivals, which was only ended by the death of Máhádáji Sindia in February 1794. As Mahádáji's successor was his grand nephew Daulat Ráo, a boy of fourteen, Nána Phadnavis was freed from his most dangerous rival.

The Battle of Kharda, A.D. 1794.

Tedious negotiations had been going on for long between the Nizám and the Peshwa; the Maráthás claimed long outstanding balances of *chauth* and the Nizám made counter-claims. At last, in the end of 1794, war was declared; all the great Marátha chiefs joined the national standard, while the Nizám advanced with all his forces. The armies met near Kharda in Ahmadnagar. In the battle which took place the Mughal army was routed, mainly owing to the cowardice of Nizám Ali, who allowed himself to be shut up in Kharda fort, where he was forced to sign a treaty giving up territory on his western frontier from Purenda to the Tápti.

Death of Mádhav Ráo II, A.D. 1795.

The sons of Raghunáth Ráo, Báji Ráo and Chimnáji, were kept in close confinement by Nána Phadnavis; but the young Peshwa, who was also in complete subjection, opened a correspondence with Báji Ráo. When Nána discovered the correspondence he stopped it at once, and Mádhav Ráo, apparently in a fit of despair, committed suicide on the 23rd of October 1795 by throwing himself from his palace in Poona.

The greatest confusion ensued. Nána Phadnavis, knowing that Báji Ráo, the heir to the throne must be his enemy, summoned the Marátha chiefs to Poona, and persuaded them to agree to the adoption of a son by the widow of Mádhav Ráo. Báji Ráo, though imprisoned in the fort of Shivner, opened communications with Báloba Tátya, one of Sindia's chief advisers, and won him over. Nána, hearing of this, was greatly alarmed, and determined to forestall Báloba, and himself to seat Báji Ráo on the throne. He summoned Parashrám Bháu Patvardhan from Tásgaon, and sent him to Shivner to make the proposal to Báji Ráo, who consented, and came to Poona. Sindia, enraged at his treachery, marched on Poona; Nána Phadnavis, afraid to risk a battle, retired to Purandhar, and thence to Sátára, while Parashrám Bháu and Báji Ráo awaited the arrival of Sindia. By the advice of Báloba Tátya Sindia determined to put Chimnáji, Báji Ráo's younger brother, on the throne; to this Parashrám Bháu agreed, and Chimnáji was installed against his own will in May 1796. Nána Phadnavis had meanwhile retired into the Konkan, where he began to plot afresh for the restoration of Báji Ráo. He won over Sakharám Ghátge Shirzi Ráo, who had joined Sindia's army, and through him Sindia who in October 1796 arrested Báloba Tátya and declared for Báji Ráo. Parashrám Bháu fled, but was captured and thrown into prison. Nána returned to Poona and was reconciled to Báji Ráo, and in December 1796

Accession of Báji Ráo, A.D. 1796.

Báji Ráo was at length formally installed Peshwa. Ahmadnagar and its districts were made over to Sindia as the reward of his help, and Nána Phadnavis again became chief minister. His tenure of power was short. After a year of constant disturbance at Poona, at Báji Ráo's request he was treacherously arrested by order of Sindia

and sent a prisoner to Ahmadnagar. His friends and relations were seized and plundered, and great excesses were committed by Sindia's troops, urged on by Shirzi Ráo Ghátge. Báji Ráo having got rid of Nána Phadnavis, was now anxious to send Sindia away; but as he was unable to pay Sindia the arrears due to his troops, he allowed him to levy the money he wanted from the inhabitants of Poona; Shirzi Ráo Ghátge was employed on this congenial occupation, and executed his orders in the most brutal manner, ill-treating all who were supposed to have money.

Accession of Báji Ráo, A.D. 1796.

Meanwhile trouble was threatening from Sátára. The rája had been allowed, previous to Nána's arrest by Báji Ráo, to seize the fort. He now refused to surrender it, and having collected some troops, drove back a force commanded by Máhádev Ráo Rástia. Parashrám Bháu, who was still a prisoner, offered, if released, to march against the rája. His offer being accepted, he surprised the rája at Sátára, completely routed his troops, and took him prisoner. The rája's brother, Chitúr Singh, escaped to Kolhápur, and with the help of that prince carried on a predatory warfare with considerable success.

The War of The Báis, A.D. 1798-1800.

Quarrels which broke out in Sindia's family between him and the Báis or widows of his uncle Mahádaji, reduced him to great difficulties and kept him for some time in the Dakhan. The Báis, who had been grossly ill-treated by Shirzi Ráo Ghátge, were being sent as prisoners to Ahmadnagar, when they were released by a party of Sindia's own horse, and took refuge in the camp of Amrutráo, the Peshwa's adoptive brother. A large party in Sindia's army, disgusted with the tyranny of Ghátge, took part with the Báis. An attempt to surprise Amrut Ráo's camp failed; but when he marched to Poona, Ghátge attacked him suddenly and pillaged his camp at Kirki. At last Sindia was forced to arrest Shirzi Ráo to put an end to his excesses; and in order to obtain money to enable him to return to Hindustán, where his presence was much needed, he determined to release Nána Phadnavis on payment of a large ransom, hoping too that his release would annoy Báji Ráo. In this however he was disappointed, as Báji Ráo soon persuaded Nána to resume his old place as minister (October 1798). Sindia was still unable, through want of money, to leave Poona; the Báis had taken refuge at Kolhápur, and being joined by large numbers of followers, marched northwards, plundering all Sindia's villages, and he was unable to check them. At last by releasing his old minister Báloba Tátya, Sindia was enabled to bring his affairs into some order. An arrangement had been nearly effected with the Báis, when they took alarm and again began plundering. It was not till the year 1800 that, with the help of Yashvant Ráo Holkar, they were driven into Burhánpur and thence to Málwa.

War with Kolhápur, A.D. 1799-1800.

The war with Kolhápur and Chitúr Singh had been going on with varying success, till in September 1799 Parashrám Bháu was defeated and killed by the Kolhápur troops. Reinforcements were sent up, and Kolhápur was besieged and would have fallen had not the death of Nána Phadnavis in March 1800 brought about a change of policy.

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Sindia and Holkar, A.D. 1801.

Holkar Defeats Báji Ráo, A.D. 1802.

Treaty of Bassein, A.D. 1802.

Nána's relations and friends were seized and imprisoned, Sindia was allowed to send troops to overrun the jáhgir of the Patvardhan family, and peace was made with Kolhápur.

At last, in 1801 Sindia marched north to check in person the progress of Yashvant Ráo Holkar. The country he left was in the greatest disorder, ravaged by bands of marauders, among whom was Vithoji, the brother of Yashvant Ráo Holkar, who was taken and executed by order of the Peshwa. Báji Ráo also disgusted the more respectable of his chiefs by his treatment of the Rástia family, the head of which, Mahádev Ráo, was treacherously seized and imprisoned in Ráygad. Yashvant Ráo Holkar, who had at first been successful against some of Sindia's detachments, was completely defeated by him at Indor in October 1801; but he soon rallied his forces and marched south, sending on a detachment under Fateh Sing Máne to ravage Khándesh and the Dakhan. His orders were carried out; the Peshwa's officers were defeated and Khándesh and the Gangthari desolated. Fateh Sing Máne advanced south, defeated a force under Báláji Kunjar at Gár Dhond, and stormed the camp at Báramati. Sindia sent a large force to the aid of the Peshwa, which, passing Holkar's army, joined the Poona troops, and the united forces took up a position at the Alla pass. Holkar, however, marched south by Ahmadnagar, and thence to Jejuri, joined Fateh Sing Máne, and came down the hills towards Poona, encamping between Loni and Hadapsar. Here he was met by the allied forces, and a battle ensued on the 23rd October 1802, in which he was completely victorious. Báji Ráo fled to Sinhgad, thence to Ráygad, and finally to Máhád in the Konkan; and not feeling safe even there, he took ship and landed at Bassein. Holkar was thus left complete master of Poona. At first he did not abuse his victory. He invited Amrut Ráo to come from Junnar and take charge of the government, which he did after some delay, and allowed his son Vináyak Ráo to be placed on the throne. This being done, Holkar began to plunder the helpless inhabitants of Poona mercilessly, till he and Amrut Ráo were drawn from the city early in 1803 by the approach of the British troops.

Báji Ráo, as a last resource, had entered into an alliance with the English, and signed a treaty at Bassein in December 1802, binding himself to keep up a subsidiary army, and not to engage in hostilities without the consent of the English Government. At the same time, with his usual duplicity, he intrigued with Sindia and Raghuji Bhonsla, with the double aim of persuading them to attack Holkar and to make war on the English. The British Government took immediate steps to replace Báji Ráo on the throne. A force under General Wellesley marched from Mysor to Poona, while a part of the Haidarábád contingent moved to Purenda. General Wellesley was joined on his way by the jáhgirdárs of the Southern Marátha Country, and drove before him the plundering bands of Holkar's horse. As it was feared that Amrut Ráo who was hanging about Poona, might burn the city, General Wellesley made a march of sixty miles in thirty-two hours, and arrived there on the 20th April, while Colonel Stevenson moved with the Haidarábád troops to Gárdaund (the present Dhond)

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War with Sindia and Holkar, A.D. 1803-1805.

on the Bhíma, and thence to the Godávari. Amrut Ráo retired before General Wellesley to Sangamner, and thence to Násik, which town he sacked. He subsequently came to terms with the English, served with them during the war, and was afterwards pensioned. Báji Ráo was brought back to Poona in May 1803, and General Wellesley took up a position near Ahmadnagar to await the result of the negotiations which were going on with Sindia and Raghuji Bhonsla. These chiefs viewed the treaty of Bassein with much dissatisfaction, and at last war broke out in August 1803; by the close of the year the confederates had been completely defeated at Assaye and Argaon, and peace was made. Next year Holkar forced on a war with the English Government, which lasted for more than twelve months, and was chiefly confined to Hindustán. He too was forced to sue for peace in 1805.

Misgovernment by Báji Ráo.

When Báji Ráo was restored, the country was in the utmost confusion; but with the aid of the British troops the forts were recovered and order partly established. Still his misgovernment and the bad counsels of his chief advisers, Sadáshiv Bháu Mánkeshvar and later on Trimbakji Dengle, prevented the country prospering. Báji Ráo turned off without scruple all the old servants of Government and disbanded the troops. In A.D. 1803 the rains failed, and a fearful famine ensued, aggravated by the war, and the country was nearly depopulated. Great numbers of the disbanded soldiers died and the rest settled in their villages. The Bhils took advantage of the confusion, and plundered the open country, even to the south of the Gangthari; and it was not till years had passed and great cruelties had been exercised, that the Peshwa's officers cleared the country of robbers south of the Chándod range.

Predatory Warfare, A.D. 1805.

In 1805, after the close of the war with Holkar, Fateh Sing Máne, one of his officers, re-appeared in the Dakhan, and began plundering the country south of the Níra till he was attacked and killed by Balvant Ráo Phadnavis, the Mutálik of the Pratinidhi.

Báji Ráo, when he felt secure through the aid of the British troops, endeavoured systematically to depress his jáhgirdárs and centralize his power. He took advantage of quarrels between the Pratinidhi Parashrám Shriniyás and his Mutálik, to interfere on behalf of the latter, and he confined the Pratinidhi at Mhasvad (A.D. 1806). The chief was soon rescued by his mistress, a Telin by caste, and having collected a body of men, began plundering the Sátára district, till he was defeated and taken prisoner by Bápu Gokhlé near Vasantgad. His mistress retired to the fort of Vásota in the Gháts, and held out for eight months (A.D. 1807). The jáhgir was then given over to Bápu Gokhle who levied heavy contributions before he gave it to the Peshwa in A.D. 1811.

Báji Ráo's Crafty Policy.

Báji Ráo next turned on the powerful Patvardhan family, the members of which had never been well disposed towards him, and had neglected to send their contingent of troops. A war, in which other jáhgirdárs would have joined them, was prevented only by the

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interposition of the English Resident, who collected an army at Pandharpur ready to march on them; but the British Government, while enforcing the military service due from the jáhgirdárs, determined to protect them in the possession of the lands lawfully held by them. At a later period Mádhav Ráo Rástia failed to send his contingent, and was stripped of all his lands; and for similar conduct Appa Desái Nipánikar lost a large portion of his jáhgir. In both these cases Báji Ráo had craftily led the jáhgirdárs to disobey orders that he might have an excuse for seizing their lands.

Trimbakji Dengle, A.D. 1813-1814.

In A.D. 1813 Báji Ráo determined to raise a body of disciplined troops commanded by English officers. A brigade was formed and stationed near Poona, as was also a brigade of the subsidiary force, the rest of it being sent to Sirur on the Ghod river about forty miles east of Poona. It was about this time that Trimbakji Dengle reached the height of his power, and under his influence Báji Ráo's government rapidly deteriorated. His one object was to accumulate money; districts were farmed to the highest bidder; no mercy was shown to the farmers who defaulted, and the farmers showed none in their turn to the husbandmen, and made money by the open sale of justice. Trimbakji, who disliked the English, also induced his master to increase his forces, and to intrigue with all the Marátha chiefs. Negotiations had long been going on between the Peshwa and the Gáikwár respecting tribute due to the former, and in 1814 Gangádhar Shástri was sent on behalf of the Gáikwár to Poona. Many efforts were made by the Peshwa to win him over but without success, and at last he was treacherously murdered at Pandharpur by Trimbakji's orders, with the consent of the Peshwa (July 1815). The British Government at once demanded Trimbakji's surrender, and after some delay he was given up and imprisoned in the fort of Thána. In less than a year he managed to escape, and, though in constant communication with the Peshwa, evaded capture by the English by wandering in the hilly parts of the country from Khándesh to Sátára, stirring the wild tribes to revolt.

Rising against the Peshwa, A.D. 1815.

Meanwhile a rising against the Peshwa's authority was spreading in the Gháts. Chitúr Singh, the brother of the late rája of Sátára, had been seized in Khándesh in 1812 by Trimbakji Dengle and imprisoned in the fort of Kánguri; but in 1816 a Gosávi, with the help of some Rámoshi chiefs, gave out that he was Chitúr Singh, and seized Prachitgad, a strong fort in the hills south of Sátára; several other forts fell into their hands, and the insurrection was never quite quelled by Báji Ráo.

The Surrender of Trimbakji, A.D. 1817.

Trimbakji, assisted by the Peshwa, had since his escape been levying men, and in 1817 a large body assembled at Náteputa, south of the Níra; when the subsidiary force moved against them they retired to Jath, and then turned back to the Máhádev hills north of Sátára, where they were attacked and dispersed. A similar rising took place in Khándesh. At last the Resident insisted on the surrender of Trimbakji, and on a new treaty giving up the forts of Sinhgad Purandhar and Ráygad. Báji Ráo yielded with great reluctance.

A new treaty was signed in May 1817, by which he consented to cede territory for the maintenance of the subsidiary force and the fort of Ahmadnagar, to recognize the settlement with the jáhgirdárs in 1812, and to restore Mádhav Ráo Rástia's jáhgir. The three forts were given back in August, as the Peshwa appeared to be complying with the treaty. In reality he was making preparations for the war which soon broke out.

War with the Peshwa.

The Governor General had for some time been concerting measures for suppressing the Pendháris and restoring order in Central India. Accordingly by the end of the rains the greater part of the British troops were sent north to take part in the operations. The Peshwa, seeing his opportunity, proceeded rapidly with his preparations for war, promising all the time to send his troops north to aid the British forces. At last, as the Resident suspected his sincerity, the small force at Poona was moved to a position at Kirki, and was reinforced by a European regiment from Bombay, and on the afternoon of the 5th of November A.D. 1817 the long-determined attack was made by the Peshwa's troops; 26,000 Maráthás assailed a British force numbering 2800 men, and were decisively repulsed. General Smith who commanded the subsidiary force, had already begun his march from the Gangthari on Poona, and on his approach the Peshwa returned to Máhuli near Sátára, and there brought the rája of Sátára into his camp. The English commander, after occupying Poona, followed Báji Ráo, who returned hastily to Pandharpur, and then up the Bhima, past Junnar, and on to Bráhmanváda, where he occupied a strong position in the hills; but General Smith, marching round by Ahmadnagar and Sangamner, headed him, and he again fled south. On the news of his approach a detachment of the subsidiary force had been summoned from Sirur to Poona, and on the 1st of January 1818 reached Koregaon on the banks of the Bhíma, and found the Marátha army of 25,000 men on the opposite bank. Though only 800 strong, the detachment held the village all day long against the assaults of the Marátha army, and at night the enemy retired baffled and continued their flight south. After a long and futile chase, it was determined to reduce Sátára, and the fort surrendered on the 10th of February 1818. A detachment was then sent to take the other hill forts, and the rest of the army under General Smith resumed the pursuit of Báji Ráo, who had been staying near Sholápur. He was overtaken on the 20th of February at Ashti, and in the skirmish Bápu Gokhle his general was killed and the rája of Sátára taken. Thence Báji Ráo fled to Kopargaon on the Godávari and waited for help from Holkar; but being disappointed, again started, and after long wanderings surrendered to Sir John Malcolm at Dholkot in May 1819.

Battle of Kirki, A.D. 1817.

Battle of Koregaon, A.D. 1818.

Báji Ráo Surrenders, A.D. 1819.

Peshwa's Territories.

Meantime the English troops had taken the Peshwa's country. Chákan was captured by a force under Colonel Deacon; Sinhgad Purandhar and Vásota, where two European officers were confined, fell after short sieges by April 1818, and Pratápsinh was formally installed rája of Sátára on the 14th of April 1818. A force under

Part I.
Poona Sátára and Sholápur, A.D. 1300-1318.

Peshwa's Territories Conquered, A.D. 1818.

General Munro had marched north from the Karnátak, occupying the forts on the way; they routed a body of Báji Ráo's infantry under the walls of Sholápur, and stormed the fort on April 13th, 1818. Ráygad, where the Peshwa's wife had taken refuge, was surrendered on the 7th of May, and during the same month the forts to the north of Poona were reduced by Major Eldridge. The last fort to fall in this part of the country was Prachitgad, held by the false Chitursingh, which was captured on the 13th of June. Thus the territory of the Peshwa was completely conquered by the English. Out of this territory it was thought politic to assign a part as a principality for the titular rája. A tract extending from the Níra to the Várna and from the Gháts to the Bhíma was reserved for him, but was for the time placed under the management of a British officer, Captain Grant Duff, until the young rája could gain experience. The other districts were put in charge of officers whose powers resembled those of the sarsubhedárs, and the superintendence of the whole country was entrusted to a Commissioner, Mr. Elphinstone.

Conspiracy against the English.

For a time troops were stationed at the chief places, Karád, Sátára, Sholápur, Poona, Sirúr, and Junnar, and many of Báji Ráo's levies accepted service. They were however disbanded as soon as possible, and the hill forts were dismantled. At first no one was allowed to travel armed without a passport; but this restriction was soon relaxed and the country remained quiet. Soon after the conquest a conspiracy for the expulsion of the English was discovered at Poona and Sátára, but the prompt execution of the ringleaders, among whom were some Bráhmans, had a good effect in preventing the recurrence of such attempts.

Treaty with Landholders, A.D. 1818.

Treaties were entered into with the jahgirdárs, and they were dealt with in accordance with their standing and their behaviour to the British Government during the war. The land of the old Mánkaris, such as the Nimbálkars of Phaltan, the Daphles of Jath, and the Ghorpades of Mudhol, were restored to them intact, as were those of the great officers of the Marátha rájás, the Pant Sachiv, the Pratinidhi, and the rája of Akalkot. All these chiefs, with the exception of the Ghorpades, were placed at their own wish under the rája of Sátára; the lands of the Patvardhan family, which had risen under the Peshwás, were restored to them, as they had taken the English side at an early opportunity, and even chiefs like the Rástiás and the Vinchurkar, who had followed Báji Ráo to the last, were allowed to retain their personal estates.

Sátára Annexed, A.D. 1848.

In April 1822 the Sátára territory was formally handed to the rája, and thenceforward was managed by him entirely. After a time he became impatient of the control exercised by the British Government, and as he persisted in intriguing and holding communications with other princes in contravention of his treaty, he was deposed in A.D. 1839 and sent as a state prisoner to Benares and his brother Sháhji was put on the throne. This prince, who did much for the improvement of his territory, died in A.D. 1848 without male heirs,

and after long deliberation it was decided that the state should be resumed by the British Government. Liberal pensions were granted to the rája's three widows, and they were allowed to live in the palace at Sátára. The survivor of these ladies died in 1874.

Since A.D. 1848 no events of political importance have taken place in these districts. Throughout the Mutinies of 1857 peace was maintained and no open outbreak took place, though the mutiny of a regiment at Kolhápur gave rise to uneasiness, and there was undoubtedly a good deal of disaffection at Sátára among the classes whom the resumption of the country had impoverished. In Poona too the doings of Nána Sáheb, the adopted son of the last of the Peshwás, could not fail to create an excitement among the Bráhmans, who felt that power had passed out of their hands, and who would gladly have regained it.

Leading Marátha Families: *Under the Bhonslás.*

Of the Marátha families whose names figure constantly in history, the first are the Mánkaris or honourables, the old families who held lands previous to the rise of the Bhonsla dynasty. Mention has already been made of the Sirké family, the old rulers of the Ghát Mátha, who were dispossessed by the Morés. They have always held high rank among the Maráthás, and were frequently connected by marriage with the rájás of Sátára. The conquest of the Ghát country by Shiváji from the Morés, the rájás of Jávli, has also been mentioned. Members of the family were conspicuous as soldiers, and one of them was for a time Senápati. The Nimbálkars of Phaltan, whose surname was originally Pavár, are one of the oldest Marátha families. They have been deshmukhs of Phaltan since time immemorial, and were confirmed in their rights by the kings of Bijápur. Though connected by marriage with the Bhonslás, they continued faithful to Bijápur till the fall of the monarchy. In the reign of Sháhu, one of the family was sar-lashkar, and another member sided with the Mughals and obtained the jághir of Karmála and the title of Ráo Rambha. The Phaltan jáhgirdár is one of the chiefs with whom the British Government has entered into a treaty. He was placed under the rája of Sátára and bound to furnish a fixed number of horse, and since the resumption of the state he has been placed under the Collector of Sátára. His jáhgir is a strip of country lying between the Níra river on the north and the Mahádev hills on the south; it is about 400 square miles in extent and yields a gross yearly revenue of about Rs. 1,00,000. Frequent failure of the rainfall prevents the district from being a fertile one, but it is fairly prosperous. Other branches of the Pavár family distinguished themselves under Sháhu and the Peshwás, and founded the states of Dhár and Dewás in Central India. The Daphles of Jath, whose original name was Chawhán, take their present name from the village of Daphlápur, of which they were pátils. They held a *mansab* under the Bijápur kings, but never rose to any great eminence afterwards. A separate treaty was made with them as with the chief of Phaltan. Jath lies to the south-east of the Sátára district, not far from Bijápur, and is neither fertile nor populous. Its area is about 700 square miles and its gross yearly revenue about Rs. 1,70,000.

Leading Marátha Families: *Under the Bhonslás.*

The Mánes of Mhasvad were from an early period deshmukhs of part of the Mán desh, and were powerful chiefs. They sided with the Bijápur government against Shiváji; and one of them, Nágoji Máne, made himself notorious by the murder of the gallant Santáji Ghorpade, an action for which he was rewarded by a place in the imperial service. The family never attained to any distinction under the Peshwás. The Ghátges of Khatáv were deshmukhs of Málavdi in the Mán desh, and held a *mansab* under the Bahamani kings. They also received a sanad as sardeshmukhs from Ibráhím A'dil Sháh in A.D. 1626. Another house of the same name, with the title of Shirzi Ráo, came from Kágal near Kolhápur. One of this family is infamous as the evil-adviser of Daulut Ráo Sindia, and the instigator and executor of the sack of Poona in 1797. The Ghorpades of Kápsi near the Várna and of Mudhol near the Ghatprabha furnish several well-known names. The original surname of the family was Bhonslé, and the tradition is that the present name was won by an ancestor who scaled a steep Konkan fort by the help of a string tied to the tail of an iguana or *ghorpad*. The most celebrated of this family was Santáji, who was Senápati from A.D. 1691 to 1698, and during that time was the terror of Mughal detachments. He fell a victim to the jealousy of his colleagues, and his sons left the Marátha service and established themselves at Sondur and Guti in the Karnátak. Murár Ráo (the Morary Row of Orme) was a member of this family, and was a conspicuous character in the war between the English and French on the Coromandel coast. He was reconciled to the Maráthás under Mádhav Ráo, but never kept up a close connection with them. His fate was a sad one. Guti, his capital, was taken by Haidar Ali, and he was thrown into prison, where he died. Of this family too was Báji Ghorpade, the chief who seized Shiváji's father Sháhji, and who was afterwards surprised and killed by Shiváji.

Under the House of Shiváji.

Next we come to the families who owe their rise to Shiváji and his house. The story of the rájás of Akalkot is romantic. When Sháhu was marching southwards on Sátára after his release in the year A.D. 1707, his troops had a skirmish with some villagers, and in the middle of the fight a woman came and laid her child at Shahu's feet. He took it up and adopted it, giving it in place of its own surname Lokhande, the name of Fateh Sing Bhonsla. Though not a man of any great ability, the adopted son of Sháhu took part in the wars of the time, and received the jáhgir of Akalkot in the Sholápur collectorate. The Akalkot chief was one of those with whom the British Government entered into a treaty; and he was put under the rája of Sátára and is now under the supervision of the Collector of Sholápur. The area of the state is about 500 miles and the gross yearly revenue about Rs. 3,25,000.

Of the ministers of the Sátára rájás two only retain any position. The Pratinidhi, whose office was not one of the eight created by Shiváji, but was made by Rája Rám in A.D. 1680 for Pralhád Niráji, his chief adviser, who accompanied him to Jinji. The office was supposed to entitle the holder to take precedence of the Asht Pradháns. The first of the present family who attained distinction was Parashrám,

Leading Marátha Families: *Under the House of Shiváji.*

Trimbak. He brought himself into notice as a subordinate of Rámchandra Pant, the officer in charge of the Sátára territory during Rám Rája's absence at Jinji, and was made Pratinidhi in A.D. 1700 by Tárábiá; having opposed Sháhu on his return, he was deprived of his office in 1708, but restored in A.D. 1720. His son Shripat Ráo, who was Pratinidhi from A.D. 1720 to 1747, was the able opponent of the Peshwás, and his brother and successor Jagjivan attempted to prevent the transfer of power to them in A.D. 1749; he was, however, no match for his crafty rival, and was imprisoned, and lost a considerable portion of his jáhgir near Sátára. The family continued to hold a large part of the eastern districts of Sátára, which they had originally recovered from the Mughals, till the rebellion of the young chief, already mentioned, in A.D. 1806. He was restored to the portion of his estates that remained in A.D. 1818, when a treaty was made with him, and he was placed under the rája of Sátára. The Pratinidhi is now like the other jáhgirdárs under the charge of the Collector of Sátára. His possessions consist of the Atpádi Mahál in the Mán desh, and a number of detached villages. His gross yearly income is about Rs. 2,00,000. The Pant Sachiv was one of the Asht Pradháns, and the office became hereditary like most of the others instituted by Shiváji. The founder of the present line was Sankráji Náráyan Gaudekar, who was appointed to the post in A.D. 1698 by Rám Rája. He distinguished himself by recovering the country round the source of the Níra from the Mughals, and it has been ever since held as the jáhgir of his family. He also had in his possession Sinhgad and Purandhar. He was among the chiefs who opposed Sháhu, but when he committed suicide in A.D. 1712, his son Náru was confirmed in the post. Purandhar was given by the Pant Sachiv to Bálája Vishvanáth Peshwa in A.D. 1714 in return for his services in releasing the young chief from Damáji Thorát; and Sinhgad was exchanged for Tung and Tikona in A.D. 1750. A treaty was entered into with this chief in A.D. 1818, similar to that made with the other jáhgirdárs; and he too is now under the Collector of Sátára. His estate of Bhor is an extensive but hilly tract lying along the Gháts to the west of Poona; its area is about 1500 square miles, and its gross yearly revenue is about Rs. 3,75,000, a good deal of which is derived from the chief's assignment on the revenue of certain districts called the Sahotra Amal. The Dabháde family rose into importance under Sháhu, and in 1716 Khanderáo Dábháde was made Senápati. The chief scene of his exploits was Gujarát, where he gained a firm footing. His son Trimbakráo was one of the opponents to the rise of the Peshwás, but he was defeated and killed at the battle of Dabhoi in A.D. 1731 by Báji Ráo. Though his child Yashvantráo was made Senápati in his place, the family never recovered their former position, but were supplanted by their subordinates, the Gáikwárs, the present rulers of Baroda. The representative of the Dábhádes now holds only the two villages of Talegaon and Induri, some twenty miles north-west of Poona.

Under the Peshwás.

Of the families who rose to greatness under the Peshwás, the most important was that of the Patvardhans, but their history does not

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come within the scope of this summary. When Báláji Vishvanáth was serving as a kárkún under Dhanáji Jádhav the Senápati, one of his fellow-kárkúns was A'báji Purandhare, kulkarni of Sásvad, a village eighteen miles south-east of Poona. When Báláji was made Peshwa in 1714, A'báji Purandhare became his mutálik or deputy, and the family were ever after faithful servants of the Peshwás, and acquired great influence. They still hold a high position among Bráhmans. The Rástiás rose to great power under the earlier Peshwás; but Báji Ráo took a strong dislike to the family, which was represented in his reign by Mádhav Ráo and Khande Ráo. In A.D. 1801 he treacherously imprisoned the former, and in A.D. 1815 deprived him of his jáhgir; still the family served him throughout his last war with the English, and thereby forfeited considerable possessions. The Vinchurkar family, who were equally faithful to Báji Ráo, have been mentioned in another section (Part II. page 633), as the larger portion of their estates lies in the Gangthari.

DAKHAN HISTORY:

MUSALMÁN AND MARÁTHA,

A.D. 1300 - 1818.

Part II.—Kha'ndesh Na'sik and Ahmadnagar.

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[*Contributed in 1875.*]

DAKHAN HISTORY.

PART II.

Part II.

Khándesh Násik and Ahmadnagar, A.D. 1300 - 1818.

Early History.

Little is known of the territories included in Ahmadnagar Násik and Khándesh previous to the Musalmán invasions at the close of the thirteenth century. The ancient remains, the rock temples of Ajanta, Ellora, of Pátna in the Sátmála hills, of Násik and Junnar with their elaborate carvings and paintings, and the fine old wells and temples which are found throughout these districts and known by the name of Hemádpanti, show that at different periods before the arrival of the Musalmáns the inhabitants had risen to a considerable height of civilization and prosperity. The author of the Periplus (A.D. 247) mentions that Dachanabades that is the Dakhan, from its two cities, Tagara whose site is doubtful and Plithana the modern Paithan on the Godávari, carried on trade with Barygaza or Broach. In Khándesh traditions of the shepherd kings or Gauli rájás, to whom are attributed some old remains, such as a tank hewn out of the solid rock in the Songir fort and the walls of the Turan Mal fort, probably chiefly belong to the Devgiri Yádavs. The old dam to the lake of Turan Mal is attributed to the god Goraknáth. Hiuen Thsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who visited Maháráshtra early in the seventh century of the Christian era, talks of its great capital near a great river, probably Násik on the Godávari, and its warlike inhabitants governed by a Kshatriya king.

The Devgad Kings.

The capital of the Dakhan was afterwards moved to Devgad or Daulatábád; and there, at the time of the first Musalmán invasion in A.D. 1294, reigned a king of the Yádav family. His power probably extended over the open country of Daulatábád Ahmadnagar and Násik. The hilly country of Báglán and of Gálna about fourteen miles north of Málegaon was held by independent rájás, while the Sátpuda hills near Nímár belonged to a race of Ahírs or shepherds, the last of whom, Ása the Shepherd King, is said to have built the fort of Asírgad shortly before A.D. 1370.

Musalmán Invasion, A.D. 1294.

In A.D. 1294 Ala-ud-dín Khilji, during the reign of his uncle Jelál-ud-dín, emperor of Delhi, invaded the Dakhan through Berar with 7000 horse, surprised Rámdev Yádav the king of Devgad, and extorted from him a large tribute, before the rájás of Khándesh and Gulbarga, whom he had summoned, could come to his aid. Ala-ud-dín then retired to Hindustán through Khándesh.

Conquest of the Dakhan, A.D. 1312.

In A.D. 1306 Malik Kafur, Ala-ud-dín's general, invaded the Dakhan through Sultánpur, a province of Khándesh, and overran Maháráshtra. Rámdev remained tributary to the Musalmáns till his death. His son revolted but was defeated, and Devgad his capital was taken in A.D. 1312. Maháráshtra then became part of the Delhi empire: a governor was

Part II.
KHÁNDESH NÁSIK AND AHMADNAGAR, A.D. 1300-1818.

placed at Devgad, and Berar and Khándesh were formed into a separate province. In A.D. 1316 a second insurrection headed by Hirpal Dev, a cousin of the last chief, was successful for a time, but was put down in A.D. 1318.

The Bahamani Dynasty, A.D. 1347-1500.

In A.D. 1344 the Musalmán nobles of the Dakhan revolted against Muhammad Tughlak, and by A.D. 1347 they established their independence. They chose for their king the general who had taken the leading part in the war; and his dynasty is known as the Bahamani dynasty. It lasted for about 150 years. The capital at first was at Gulbarga and then at Bidar. The territory included the districts of Násik and Ahmadnagar; but the rájás of Báglán and Gálna maintained their independence; and Khándesh remained for some time longer under the Delhi sovereigns. Farishtah speaks of a rája of Antur, and more than a hundred years later the forts of Antur and Vairagad were in the hands of the Maráthás, from which it would appear that the Bahamani kings had not a firm hold of the country about the Sátmála hills. A governor was stationed at Daulatábád, and ruled a province comprising Cheul in the Konkan, Junnar, Daulatábád, and Mhiropatan or Maháráshtra.

For many years the western districts enjoyed peace. A rising took place at Daulatábád in A.D. 1366 headed by one Bahrám Khán, aided by a Yádav chief and by the rája of Báglán; the rebels marched to Paithan, and the king's troops encamped at Shevgaon. In the engagement that followed the rebels were routed, mainly through the impetuous attack of king Muhammad Sháh.

The Kingdom of Khándesh, A.D. 1370.

About A.D. 1370 the districts of Thálner and Kurunda in Khándesh were given by Firúz Tughlák of Delhi to Malik Rája an Arab adventurer. He attacked the rája of Báglán and forced him to pay tribute; and also invaded Sultánpur, which belonged to Gujarát, but was driven back into Thálner. He died in Thálner in A.D. 1399, and he and several of his successors were buried there. Thálner was given to his younger son, and the rest of his possessions to Malik Názír his elder son, who is considered the first king of Khándesh and the founder of the Faruki dynasty. Malik Názír married the daughter of Muzaffar Sháh of Gujarát, and though there was not unfrequently war between them, the Khándesh princes usually acknowledged the supremacy of the kings of Gujarát.

Soon after his accession Malik Názír seized by treachery the fort of Asirgad from A'sa the Ahír; and at the advice it is said of Shaikh Zeinudín, a sage of Daulatábád, he built the towns of Burhánpur and Zeinábád on the Tápti. Burhánpur became the capital of Khándesh and one of the most important towns south of the Narbada, standing on one of the highways between Hindustán and the Dakhan. In A.D. 1417, with the help of the king of Málwa, Málik Názír recovered the fort of Thálner from his brother; took Sultánpur and overran Nandurbár in A.D. 1420, but his troops were soon driven out by the Gujarát army. In A.D. 1435 he invaded Berar, which was then subject to the Bahamani kings, but he was attacked by Ala-ud-dín Bahamani, who took Burhánpur and ravaged Khándesh. Málik Názír took refuge in the fort of Laling, but was defeated and besieged by

The Kingdom of Khándesh, A.D. 1370.

the Dakhan troops in A.D. 1437. He died during the siege, which was raised on the approach of aid from Gujarát. The Khándesh dominions appear to have included the country between the Sátpudás and the Tápti as far west as Thálner, which was a frontier fort, and as far east as Burhánpur and A'sirgad; and to the south of the Tápti, the country from Zeinábád up to the Sátmála hills, as far west as Laling, which was also a frontier fort.

Malik Názír was succeeded by his son Miran A'dil Khán. He was assassinated in A.D. 1441, and his son Mubárik Khán reigned till A.D. 1457. A'dil Khán then became king, and his reign, which lasted till A.D. 1503, was one of the most flourishing periods of Khándesh history. He neglected to pay tribute to Gujarát, but was forced to do so about the year 1499.

Independence of Ahmadnagar, A.D. 1489.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the Bahamani dominions had become greatly extended, and they were redistributed into eight provinces, of one of which Daulatábád was the head, and of another Junnar. About A.D. 1485 these provinces were placed under Malik Ahmad Beheri, who made Junnar his head-quarters, and employed himself in reducing the petty Marátha chiefs. His father, Nizám-ul-Mulk, was murdered at Bidar in A.D. 1489, and Malik Ahmad threw off his allegiance to the Bahamani kings. He defeated the first force sent against him; and when a second army was sent he retired to Junnar, and then marched to Jeur, a village near the source of the Sína river. The Bahamani troops marched by Tisgaon to Bhingár, and remained inactive there for nearly a month, till Malik Ahmad suddenly marched across from Jeur, surprised and routed them. This victory secured the independence of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and the power of the Nizám Sháh dynasty as the line of Ahmad is called; and about the same time Yusúf A'dil Sháh made himself independent at Bijápur. The history of the Dakhan for the next century and a half is the story of a succession of wars between the Muhammadan kings of Khándesh, Berar, Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Golkonda, and Bijápur; and till the completion of the Mughal conquest of Ahmadnagar in A.D. 1637, hardly a year passed in peace, and the state of the country, especially round Sholápur, must have been miserable. Khándesh was more fortunate than the Dakhan, and till the Maráthás began their depredations it enjoyed comparative rest. Under its own kings and under the Mughals it was one of the richest countries in India. Under the Mughals Burhánpur was the head-quarters of a royal viceroy, and the aqueducts and the remains of the palaces and mosques attest its former importance. The population of the country was large, irrigation was common, and districts such as Navápur Sultánpur and the Pál Tappa, now almost deserted on account of their unhealthy climate, were formerly thickly peopled and highly cultivated.

When Malik Ahmad had ensured his own safety, he endeavoured to secure the fort of Daulatábád. His first efforts were unsuccessful, and he then determined to build his capital in a central situation near the scene of his victory at Bhingár. In two years (A.D. 1493-1495) a city sprang up, which, says Farishtah, equalled in splendour Bagdad and Cairo and was called by its founder's name. There are now at

Part II.
KHÁNDESH NÁSIK AND AHMADNAGAR, A.D. 1300-1818.
The Nizám Sháh Dynasty, A.D. 1489-1600.

Ahmadnagar no buildings which can compare with those of its rival, Bijápur; a few tombs and the aqueducts and fort are almost the only memorials of the Musalmán rulers; but while Bijápur is deserted by trade Ahmadnagar is still one of the most thriving towns in the Dakhan. Ahmad built a palace and made a garden where the present fort stands, and brought water in three aqueducts from Kapurvádi, a distance of about five miles. On the capture of Daulatábád he built a mud fort which about the year A.D. 1560 was replaced by the present stone building. Ahmad is said to have built the palace of which the ruins remain at the Bhisti Bág. He and his successors were buried in the Roza Bág, close to the city, where their tombs still stand.

In A.D. 1499 Mahmúd Begada, sovereign of Gujarát, overran Khándesh; and Ahmad Nizám Sháh marched to Burhánpur to help A'dil Khán Faruki of Khándesh: their united forces drove Mahmúd back, but next year he returned and exacted tribute from A'dil Khán. When Ahmad returned from Khándesh, he again attacked Daulatábád, and at last took it. About this time the kings of the Dakhan mutually acknowledged each other and settled the boundaries of their respective kingdoms. That of Ahmadnagar comprised the present districts of Daulatábád, Ahmadnagar, the open country of Poona and Násik, and part of the Konkan. Ahmad Nizám Sháh is said to have reduced the fort of Antur and other places in the Sátmálás, and to have made the rájás of Báglán and Gálna pay him tribute. On the death of A'dil Khán of Khándesh in A.D. 1503, his brother Dáud Khán came to the throne, and reigned till A.D. 1510. His death was the signal for confusion till A'dil Khán II. was put on the throne by his grandfather Mahmúd of Gujarát.

Ahmad Nizám Sháh died in A.D. 1508, and was succeeded by his son Burhán, during whose long reign (1508-1553) Ahmadnagar was constantly at war with Bijápur. The cause of quarrel was the right to Sholápur and the adjoining five districts. These had been promised to Burhán by Ismáel A'dil Sháh as the dowry of his sister, who was married to Burhán in A.D. 1523. The districts were not given at the time; Burhán overran them in A.D. 1543, and gave them back, and finally in 1549 with the aid of the kings of Bidar and Bijánagar he took Sholápur. In A.D. 1526 Burhán took from the king of Berar the district of Pathri the home of his ancestors, overran Berar, and routed the Khándesh forces; but in A.D. 1528 Bahádur Sháh of Gujarát came to aid them, drove back the Ahmadnagar troops, and occupied Ahmadnagar, while Burhán retired to Junnar. Bahádur Sháh built the black terrace (where the present *kacheri* stands), and remained in the city forty days, when he was compelled to retire for want of provisions, and was followed by Burhán to Daulatábád, where peace was made. In that year and in A.D. 1530, when Burhán met him at Burhánpur, Bahádur Sháh's supremacy was acknowledged.

A'dil Khán II. of Khándesh died in A.D. 1520. He was succeeded by Miran Muhammad, who took part as an ally of Bahádur Sháh in the war just mentioned. When Bahádur Sháh died in A.D. 1535, his heir Mahmúd was a prisoner at Asirgad in the hands of Miran Muhammad, who took advantage of this and had himself proclaimed

The Nizám Sháh Dynasty, A.D. 1489-1600.

king of Gujarát. He died in six weeks, and his brother Mubárak, who succeeded him on the throne of Khándesh, released Mahmúd but obtained from him the provinces of Sultánpur and Nandurbár as his ransom. These provinces remained from that time part of the Khándesh kingdom, and an attempt made in A.D. 1566 by Chengiz Khán, a Gujarát general, to retake them, was defeated, after he had penetrated as far as Thálner. Mubárak reigned till 1566. He was the first of the Khándesh kings who came in contact with the Mughals. In A.D. 1561 Báz Bahádur was expelled from Málwa by Akbar; the Mughal forces followed him into Khándesh and sacked Burhánpur, but were overtaken and routed by Mubárak.

In A.D. 1553 Hussain Nizám Sha'h succeeded his father Burhán and soon became involved in war with A'li A'dil Sháh, who was aided by Rámráj of Vijayanagar, while the king of Golkonda sometimes sided with one party sometimes with the other. The allies advanced and besieged Ahmadnagar, but were forced to retire for want of supplies. Hussain then built the present stone fort, and carried the war into the districts near Sholápur; but having suffered a severe defeat near Kalyán, in which he is said to have lost 600 cannon, among them the great gun now at Bijápur, he had to retreat to Junnar, while the allies once more besieged Ahmadnagar (A.D. 1562). The rains came on, and a flood of the Sina is said to have carried away 25,000 men of Rámráj's army. The allies retreated, and the Musalmán kings, alarmed at the insolence of Rámráj, combined against him. Hussain gave his sister Chánd Bibi to A'li A'dil Sháh in A.D. 1563, with Sholápur as her dowry, and the united forces invaded the Vijayanagar territories. A decisive battle was fought at Tálikot on the Krishna in which Rámráj was killed and his army routed. Soon after this Hussain died and was succeeded by his son Mortiza, a madman. He overran Berar, defeated the Khándesh troops who opposed him, and by A.D. 1572 annexed it to the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. As he grew older he secluded himself entirely, and entrusted the management of the kingdom to Salábat Khán, a minister who has left a high reputation for ability and integrity. He is said to have begun the tank at Bhátodi near Ahmadnagar, which has lately (1877) been restored; and his tomb on the hills to the east of the city is a prominent feature in the landscape. He was dismissed and imprisoned about the year A.D. 1585, because the king considered that he was responsible for a war with Bijápur; he was released in A.D. 1588 after Mortiza's death, and died in A.D. 1589. Mortiza was killed in A.D. 1587 by his son Mirán, who reigned only a short time being assassinated by his minister Mirza Khán, and Ismáel was put on the throne in 1588. Akbar, the emperor of Delhi, seized the opportunity for interference in the affairs of the Dakhan, and favoured the claims of Burhán the brother of Mortiza. Ibráhím A'dil Sháh also took Burhán's side. He was at first unsuccessful, but in A.D. 1590 he defeated Ismáel's troops and became king.

In Khándesh Mubárak, who died in A.D. 1566, was succeeded by his son Mirán Muhammad. It was this prince who interfered unsuccessfully on behalf of Berar in 1571. He died in 1576 and was succeeded by his brother Rája A'li.

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KHÁNDESH NÁSIK AND AHMADNAGAR, A.D. 1300-1818.
The Nizám Sháh Dynasty, A.D. 1489-1600.

In A.D. 1594, Burhán Nizám Sháh died and was succeeded by Ibráhím, who was killed the same year in battle with Bijápur. The nobles of Ahmadnagar were divided into four factions, and the chief who held the city, and had in his power the infant king Bahádur Sháh, called in the Mughals. Their army drew near the city under the command of Murád, son of Akbar, but the approach of danger made the nobles unite to defend their capital. Chánd Bibi, the widow of A'li A'dil Sháh and aunt of the young king, threw herself into the fort; persuaded the king of Bijápur to march to her aid; and by her gallant defence forced the Mughals to raise the siege and retire (A.D. 1595). A temporary peace followed and Berar was surrendered to the Mughals.

Next year (A.D. 1596) fresh disturbances broke out at Ahmadnagar, and Murád again marched into the Dakhan with Rája A'li of Khándesh as his dependant and ally. The kings of Golkonda and Bijápur joined the Ahmadnagar forces, and a great battle was fought in January 1597 at Sonpat on the Godávari with no decisive results. Rája A'li was killed in the fight, and was succeeded by his son Bahádur Khán.

Akbar Conquers Khándesh, A.D. 1599.

Akbar now marched in person to carry on the war, and arrived at Burhánpur in the year A.D. 1599. Disagreements arose between him and the king of Khándesh, and Akbar overran Khándesh and blockaded Asirgad, where the king took refuge. Meanwhile Akbar's son, prince Dániál, had advanced on Ahmadnagar; the place was in utter confusion; the soldiers murdered Chánd Bibi, and a few days later the Mughals stormed the fort and took the king prisoner (July 1600). Shortly afterwards Asirgad surrendered; the king was sent a prisoner to Hindustán, and Khándesh became part of the empire of Delhi. Prince Dániál was made governor of Khándesh and Berar; his capital was at Burhánpur; and for a time Khándesh was called after him Dándis, and copper coins were struck at Burhánpur called Dánpaisa.

Sháh Jahán takes Ahmadnagar, A.D. 1617.

The Nizám Sháh dynasty did not become extinct on the fall of the capital. Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian, set up Mortiza as king, retired across the Godávari, and founded a city at Kharki near Daulatábád, to which Aurangzíb afterwards gave the name of Aurangábád. He defeated the Khán-i-Khánán the Mughal leader, and re-took Ahmadnagar and Berar. In A.D. 1612 he drove back another army and forced it to retire into Báglán, and it was not till A.D. 1617 that he was defeated by Sháh Jahán and forced to surrender Ahmadnagar, which thenceforward remained in the hands of the Mughals. He died in A.D. 1626. Malik Ambar was not more famous for his skill as a general than for his revenue administration; and the settlement made by him was preserved in Sháhji's jáhgir round Poona, though in many districts it was supplanted by Todar Mal's settlement. It was under him that the Marátha chiefs became important. The greatest family was that of the Jádhaves of Sindkhed, whose chief went over to the Mughals in A.D. 1621. The Jádhaves were descendants of the rájás of Devgad; and the villages of Hatnur, Bansendra, and Bokangaon not far from Ellora, are still held by the family. The Bhonslás of Verola or Ellora, from whom came Shiváji, were another important family.

In A.D. 1628 war broke out on account of Khán-Jahán Lodi, the

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End of the Nizám Sháh and Burhánpur Dynasties, A.D. 1631-1637.

Mughal governor of the Dakhan, who was suspected by Sháh Jahán and took refuge in Báglán. The Deshmukhs refused to surrender him to the Mughals, and drove back their forces, but Khán Jahán was at last obliged to fly, and was afterwards overtaken and killed. In A.D. 1631 Mortiza Nizám Sháh was killed by the son of Malik Ambar, and Daulatábád was taken by the Mughals in A.D. 1633. Sháhji Bhonsla, the father of Shiváji, set up another king, and overran the country south of the Chándod range and as far east as Ahmadnagar; in A.D. 1634 he drove back the Mughals from Purenda and forced them to retire to Burhánpur, but fresh forces were sent, and in A.D. 1637 he came to terms and surrendered the Nizám Sháh prince, and thus the kingdom of Ahmadnagar was extinguished.

Mughal Period.

In A.D. 1633 Khándesh was made into a *subha*, and included part of Berar and the present district of Khándesh as far south and west as Gálna. The districts of Sultánpur and Nandurbár had formerly been joined to the *subha* of Málwa. The country south of Khándesh as far as the Bhíma was made into a separate *subha*, of which Daulatábád was the head. Both governments were in 1636 united under Aurangzíb. He reduced the hilly country of Báglán, which was however soon relinquished. In the years of quiet which now succeeded Sháh Jahán introduced into his Dakhan possessions a new revenue system known as that of Todar Mal. This assessment called *tankha* was the standard assessment till the British revenue survey system was introduced. In 1616 Sir Thomas Roe passed through Khándesh and was received at Burhánpur by prince Parvis. The city had not then recovered from the ravages of the late wars, and contained few fine buildings. Forty years later it was visited by the French traveller Bernier, and about A.D. 1665 by Tavernier, who travelled up from Surat. At that time there was a considerable trade in brocades and muslins. Tavernier mentions Nandurbár as famous for its musk melons and grapes and for its careful and hardworking husbandmen. In A.D. 1670 the English factory was moved from Ahmadábád to Nandurbár.

Marátha Incursions, A.D. 1657-1673.

Before the middle of the seventeenth century Shiváji, the founder of the Marátha empire, had begun to establish himself in the western hills. In A.D. 1657 he ventured to attack the Mughal territory, and surprised the town of Ahmadnagar. He was driven off, but carried away considerable booty. Profiting by the confusion which ensued on the struggle for power between the sons of Sháh Jahán, Shiváji extended his ravages, and scarcely a year passed without incursions into the Ahmadnagar districts. The fort had gained a reputation for strength since its successful defence by Chánd Bibi, and the Maráthás never ventured to attack it. In A.D. 1664 Shiváji sacked the town and retired with his plunder. After his return from Delhi in A.D. 1666, he began hostilities on a more extended scale. In 1670, after sacking Surat, he retired through Khándesh by the pass near Sálher. A few months later he sent Pratápráo Gujar into Khándesh, and he for the first time exacted from the village officers promises to pay *chauth*. At the same time Moro Pant Trimal took the forts of Aundh and Patta in the Akola district and the important fortress of Sálher in Báglán, which

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commanded one of the great roads into Gujarát. Aundh and Patta were re-taken by the Mughals in the same year, and in A.D. 1672 Mohabat Khán besieged Salher. Shiváji sent a force to raise the siege, which was attacked by the Mughal troops; after a severe action the Mughals were completely routed, the siege was raised, and the lost forts were recovered.

Shivaji's Death, A.D. 1680.

In A.D. 1673 Khán Jahán was sent to the Dakhan, but the usual incursions continued, and finally Khán Jahán cantoned at Pedgaon on the Bhíma, and built a fort which he called Bahádurgad; and from that time Pedgaon became an important frontier post of the Mughals. Shiváji's attention was for some time directed to other quarters, but in A.D. 1679 he crossed the Bhíma and plundered the country up to Gálna; on his return he was attacked near Sangamner on his way to Patta. He drove back the first body which attacked him with considerable difficulty, and was proceeding on his way, when he found the road blocked by another body of troops, and only the superior knowledge of his guides enabled him to avoid the enemy and reach Patta in safety. Shiváji then reduced all the forts round Patta. He died in the following year (1680). In A.D. 1684 the emperor Aurangzíb left Hindustán and reached Burhánpur with the grand army of the empire. He sent on two armies, one under his son Moázim by Ahmadnagar to the Konkan, the other under his son Azim to reduce the Chándod country. Sálher was given up, but the Mughal army was completely repulsed by the *haváldár* of the fort of Rámsej near Násik, and retired. Patta and the other forts were reduced by the Mughals. Aurangzíb advanced to Ahmadnagar in A.D. 1685, and even while he was there the Marátha troops moved up from the Konkan, ravaged the whole of Khándesh, sacked Burhánpur, and returned plundering by Násik. Till A.D. 1707 Aurangzíb was detained in the Dakhan engaged in a weary and fruitless contest with the Maráthás, and in that year he retreated hard pressed to Ahmadnagar, where he died on the 21st February 1707. He was buried at Roza.

Decline of the Delhi Empire, A.D. 1708.

Owing to the dissensions between the sons of Aurangzíb the Mughal power in the Dakhan rapidly declined. In A.D. 1716 Dáud Khán, governor of the Dakhan, revolted against the Saiads, who then ruled at Delhi in the name of the emperor Farukshir; he was, however, defeated and slain in a battle in Khándesh by Hussain A'li Saiad. Hussain Ali then sent troops to open the communication between Burhánpur and Surat, which was stopped by Khanderáo Dábháde, a Marátha leader, but they were surrounded and cut to pieces by that chief. A larger force was then sent, and a battle was fought near Ahmadnagar; the result was indecisive, but the advantage remained with the Maráthás. At last after tedious negotiations, through the able management of Báláji Vishvanáth the Peshwa, the Maráthás obtained in A.D. 1720 the grant of the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the six divisions of the Dakhan including Ahmadnagar and Khándesh. Shortly after this, the withdrawal of imperial power from the Dakhan was completed by the revolt of Nizám-ul-Mulk, governor of Málwa. He crossed the Narbada in A.D. 1720: Asirgad and Burhánpur were surrendered to him, and

Recognition of Marátha Claims, A.D. 1728.

the whole of Khándesh acknowledged his authority. He then defeated one imperial army at Burhánpur and another at Bálápur in Berar, and from that time was practically independent. Ahmadnagar and the Gangthari were subject to him as well as Khándesh.

The Nizám, A.D. 1750.

Nizám-ul-Mulk died in A.D. 1748 at Burhánpur, and the Peshwa took advantage of the disturbances which followed his death to attack his successor Salábat Jang. The Peshwa had however miscalculated his power, as Salábat had as his general the Frenchman Bussy. The Nizám advanced to Ahmadnagar in A.D. 1751. Bussy repelled the attacks of the Maráthás and surprised their camp at Rájápur on the Ghod river. As it advanced the Nizám's army plundered Ránjangaon and destroyed Talegaon Dhamdhera. A severe action was fought here, and the Nizám's troops were nearly routed, but they advanced to Koregaon on the Bhíma. News then arrived that the fort of Trimbak near Násik had been surprised by the Maráthás, and Salábat Jang returned to Ahmadnagar; in A.D. 1752 he marched thence by Junnar to retake the fort, but being hard pressed by the Maráthás he agreed to an armistice. He was the more ready, as he was threatened by an attack from his eldest brother Gázi-ud-din, who advanced with a large army to Aurangábád, and promised the Maráthás to cede them the country between the Tápti and the Godávari west of Berar. Gázi-ud-dín was poisoned while at Aurangábád, but his brother Sálábat confirmed the cession, and thus the Maráthás gained the greater part of Khándesh Násik and the Gangthari.

Khándesh ceded to the Maráthás, A.D. 1752.

The Peshwa Gains Ahmadnagar, A.D. 1759.

In A.D. 1759 the Maráthás at length gained the fort of Ahmadnagar. It was betrayed to the Peshwa for a sum of money by the Nizám's commandant Kavi Jang, whose descendants still hold some *inám* villages in Karjat to the south of Ahmadnagar. War ensued between the Peshwa and the Nizám; the Maráthás began by taking the fort of Pedgaon on the Bhíma; they then attacked the Nizám at Udgir and forced him to come to terms (A.D. 1760). He surrendered the forts of Daulatábád, Sinnar, Asirgad, and Bijápur; confirmed the surrender of Ahmadnagar, and gave up the greater part of the provinces of Bijápur Bidar and Aurangábád. By this treaty the whole of the present district of Ahmadnagar and part of that of Násik were gained by the Maráthás. Next year they suffered the disastrous defeat of Pánipat, and the Nizám, taking advantage of their distress, advanced, burned the temples of Toka at the meeting of the Pravara with the Godávari, marched on Poona, and forced the Peshwa to restore some of the districts lately ceded.

Cession of Ahmadnagar and Násik, A.D. 1760.

Quarrels among the Maráthás.

In A.D. 1762 quarrels arose between the Peshwa Mádhav Ráo and his uncle Raghunáth; and the latter, in order to gain the help of the Nizám, agreed to restore the remainder of the districts ceded in A.D. 1760. A treaty was made to that effect at Pedgaon, but as the quarrels in the Peshwa's family were adjusted, the treaty was not carried out. Consequently in A.D. 1763 the Nizám marched on Poona and burnt it. As he retired he was overtaken by the Maráthás; and part of his army was attacked by them at Rákshasbhuvan on the Godávari and cut to pieces. After this defeat the Nizám came to terms and confirmed the former cessions.

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Raghunáth Peshwa in Khándesh, A.D. 1774.

In A.D. 1767 fresh quarrels broke out between Mádhav Ráo and his uncle. Raghunáth levied troops in the Gangthari and encamped near the fort of Dhodap in the Chándod range; but his forces were defeated by Mádhav Ráo, and he was taken prisoner. In A.D. 1774, after Raghunáth had defeated the army of the Bráhman ministers at Pandharpur, he marched to Burhánpur and thence to Málwa; and then hoping to gain followers in Gujarát, he moved to Thálner in Khándesh, garrisoned it, and proceeded to Surat. Thálner was soon reduced by the Ministers' troops.

The English now took part in the quarrels among the Maráthás. In 1778 the first English force marched across India under Colonel Goddard, who, after reaching Burhánpur, pursued the route through Khándesh to Surat. The war was finished in A.D. 1782 by the treaty of Sálbái, and Raghunáth retired to Kopargaon on the Godávari in the Ahmadnagar district, where he soon after died. His family remained there till A.D. 1792, when they were removed to Anandveli near Násik.

The Peshwa and the Nizám, A.D. 1795.

In A.D. 1795, in consequence of the Peshwa's exorbitant demands, war broke out between him and the Nizám. The Nizám marched as far as Kharda in the south of the present district of Ahmadnagar and was met there by the Maráthás. The issue of the engagement which ensued was for some time doubtful, till the Nizám took fright and retired into the fort of Kharda, where he was shut up and forced to sign a treaty surrendering districts along the frontier from Purinda to Daulatábád. This was the last occasion on which all the great Marátha chiefs acted together.

Cession of Ahmadnagar to Sindia, A.D. 1797.

With the death of Mádhav Ráo II. in A.D. 1796, a time of confusion and trouble, unparalleled even in Indian history, began, and quiet was not restored until the conquest of the country by the English in A.D. 1818. In A.D. 1797 Sindia, who had already obtained large grants of land in the Ahmadnagar districts, received the fort of Ahmadnagar and other lands in the neighbourhood as the price of his support of the claims of Báji Ráo to be Peshwa. At the end of the same year he seized and imprisoned in the fort the great minister Nána Phadnavis. In A.D. 1798 disputes between Daulatráo Sindia and the two elder widows of his adoptive father Mahádaji Sindia resulted in the war known as the war of the Báis; their troops ravaged the parts of the Dakhan subject to Sindia, and the country round Ahmadnagar suffered severely. Nána Phadnavis was released, and at last in A.D. 1800 Sindia obtained the help of Yashvant Ráo Holkar, who attacked the Báis in Khándesh and drove them into Burhánpur, whence they managed to escape to Mewár.

Holkar Wastes Khándesh, A.D. 1802.

Soon after this war broke out between Holkar and Sindia. From A.D. 1802 when Holkar devastated Sindia's possessions in Khándesh may be reckoned the ruin of this once flourishing province. Holkar marched on plundering through the Gangthari; he routed Narsinh Vinchurkar, who opposed him, and advanced to Poona; then followed the battle of Poona, which left the Peshwa at the mercy of Holkar. As his only resource Báji Ráo signed the treaty of Bassein with the English, and the English forces marched on Poona. Colonel

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Advance of the English on Poona, A.D. 1803.

Stephenson with the Haidarábád army took up a position at Purenda, while Sir A. Wellesley advanced to save Poona from Amrut Ráo the adopted brother of Báji Ráo (April 1803). Amrut Ráo retired to Sangamner, ravaging the country, and then turned off to Násik, sacked it, and remained in that neighbourhood till the end of the war, when he made terms with the English. The common danger made the Marátha chiefs unite against the English. During the negotiations previous to the outbreak of the war Sir A. Wellesley marched to Válki, eight miles south of Ahmadnagar. On the 8th of August he stormed the town, on the 10th his guns opened on the fort, and on the 12th it was surrendered. Wellesley then crossed the Godávari, and on the 23rd of October fought the battle of Assaye. In October Colonel Stephenson took Burhánpur and the fort of Asirgad, and Sindia was forced to make peace. By the treaty of Sirji-Anjangaon, Burhanpur Asirgad and his Khándesh possessions were restored to Sindia, while Ahmadnagar and its districts were given to the Peshwa. The war against Holkar still continued, and his districts in the Dakhan were taken by the English. Chándod, Gálna, and other forts were surrendered and in A.D. 1805 he came to terms. His possessions with the exception of Chándod Ambar and Shevgaon were at once restored, and these districts also were given up within two years.

Ahmadnagar Restored to the Peshwa.

The Famine of 1803.

To add to the miseries of the country, which had been ravaged by several armies, the rains failed in 1803, and a fearful famine ensued. Whole districts were depopulated; the survivors took refuge in the forts built in the larger villages; the Bhíls and other wild tribes took advantage of the confusion, collected in large bands, and completed the ruin of the land; they pillaged and murdered without mercy, and none was shown to them in turn.

Báji Ráo, A.D. 1803-1818.

Under Báji Ráo districts were farmed to the highest bidder; the farmer had not only the right to collect the revenue, but to administer civil and criminal justice; as long as he paid the sum required and bribed the favourites at court, no complaints were heard; justice was openly bought and sold; and the mámlatdár of a district was often a worse enemy to the people than the Bhíls. Under the former Peshwás Khándesh had been treated as a separate province and placed under a sarsubhedár, whose power sometimes extended over Báglán. Báláji Ráo added a second sarsubhedár named Báloba Mandavagani over the country between the Godávari and the Nira, but on his death no successor was appointed. Báji Ráo appointed one Báláji Lakshman as sarsubhedár of Khándesh and Báglán with full powers to put down the Bhil disturbances. At the instigation of Manohirgir Gosávi, who commanded some troops under him, Báláji invited a large body of Bhíls to a meeting at Kopargaon on the Godávári. He there treacherously seized them, and threw them down wells. He cleared the country south of the Chándod range for a time, but in Khándesh the Bhíls became desperate, and plundered more than ever. In A.D. 1806 a second massacre of Bhíls by the Peshwa's troops took place at Ghevri Chandgaon in the Shevgaon táluka of Ahmadnagar. In Khándesh the villages of Chálisgaon and Dharangaon and the fort of Antur were the scenes of other atrocities.

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When Trimbakji Dengle was in power he was ordered to put down the disturbances which had again risen to a great height. He commissioned Nároba Takti, pátil of Karrambha, to clear the Gangthari and 5000 or 6000 horse and a large body of infantry were given him. The pátil butchered the Bhíls wherever found, and all who had any connection with them without any distinction of caste. During fifteen months it is said that 15,000 human beings were massacred.

The Pendhári Freebooters, A.D. 1816.

In 1816 Trimbakji, who had been imprisoned at Thána in the Konkan for the murder of Gangádhar Shástri, escaped and wandered about the hilly country of Khándesh Báglán Násik and Sangamner, rousing the wild tribes, and making preparations for war in concert with his master. The Pendháris who had not hitherto ravaged Khándesh or the Dakhan also began to make inroads. In A.D. 1817 Godáji Dengle, Trimbakji's brother, rose in Khándesh: his force was dispersed by Lieutenant Davies with some of the Nizám's cavalry, but they re-assembled and took a fort. The British armies were now collecting to crush the Pendháris, and in October 1817 General Smith, who was in command at Sirur, marched to guard the Chándod passes; but early in November, hearing that affairs were threatening at Poona, he concentrated his troops at Puntámba on the Godávari. On the 5th of November Bájiráo's power was overthrown at Kirki. While General Smith marched on Poona, Báji Ráo fled north, past Junnar to Bráhmanváda in the hills south of Akola. General Smith then marched to Ahmadnagar, which had surrendered, and thence over the Nimbdhera pass to Sangamner; the Peshwa hearing of his movements fled south, and was followed by the British army over the Vashira pass and south towards Poona. After a long pursuit the Peshwa was overtaken in February 1818 at Ashti in Sholápur. A skirmish ensued, and in March 1818 he again fled to Kopargaon, his old home on the Godávari. After a time he went on to Chándod, but hearing that a British force was approaching from the north, he returned to Kopargaon, and thence fled east, and finally surrendered in May at Dholkot near Asirgad. In the meantime Holkar and the Pendháris had been defeated, and by the treaty of Mandesar in January 1818, Holkar surrendered to the English all his possessions south of the Sátpudás. Sir T. Hislop marched into Khándesh and summoned the fort of Thálner belonging to Holkar. The commandant at first refused to surrender, but, as the troops were preparing to storm the place, he came out and gave himself up; a few of the troops entered, when some mistake arose, and the Arab garrison cut them down and with them two officers; the fort was at once stormed, the garrison put to the sword, and the commandant hanged. This example told, and the other forts were rapidly surrendered. At the end of A.D. 1817, a Bráhman named Dáji Gopál collected a few followers and drove the mámlatdár out of the fort of Betávad, south of the Tápti; he held the place and levied contributions till he heard of the fall of Thálner, when he evacuated the fort. The strongholds in the Ahmadnagar hills were reduced by Major Eldridge and those in the Chándod range by Lieut.-Colonel McDowall. The Arab mercenaries of the Peshwa collected in the strong fort of Málegaon,

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Establishment of Peace, A.D. 1819.

built fifty years before by Náro Shankar Rája Bahádur, to make a last stand, and defended themselves with such obstinacy that the place was not taken till the 13th of June 1818. With the fall of Asirgad on the 9th of April 1819 the war ended. The whole of the Peshwa's dominions and those of Holkar in the Dakhan were taken by the British Government. In Khándesh Sindia held the districts of Ráver, Varangaon, Edlábád, and Páchora, and in Ahmadnagar half of Shevgaon and the Shrigonda pargana. Ráver and Páchora were finally made over to the English Government in 1843-4, and the other districts were taken in exchange in 1860 for territory given to Sindia. The greater part of the Korti district was under Ráo Rambha Nimbálkar till 1821, when it was given over to the English. Khándesh was placed under Captain Briggs, and Ahmadnagar with the country between the Chándod hills and the Bhima under Captain Pottinger. Little difficulty was experienced in restoring order in Ahmadnagar; the country was exhausted and the people willingly obeyed any power that could protect them; the Peshwa's disbanded soldiers settled in their villages; the hill forts were dismantled, and their garrisons gradually reduced. Near the Sahyádris the country was in the hands of the Koli Náiks; they and the Bhíl Náiks were sent for, and the allowances and villages which they already held were confirmed to them on the understanding that they should keep the adjoining country quiet. In a short time the Ahmadnagar districts enjoyed a peace to which they had long been strangers.

In Khándesh the pacification of the country was more difficult. The Bhíls formed a large portion of the population, and though the open country was soon cleared, it was not so easy to reduce the mountainous tracts of the Sátpudás and the unhealthy wilds of the west. A considerable force was kept up, which had its head-quarters at Málegaon: the hills were guarded and outbreaks were severely punished. On the other hand inducements were held out to the Bhíls to cultivate land; two agencies were established, one for the western Bhíls and one for those in the eastern and southern districts called the Kanar agency; advances were made and land given free to all who would settle; allowances were made to the Náiks who held the hill passes; and finally attempts were made to give the Bhíls employment by forming them into an irregular force. Owing to the lazy habits of the men and their dislike of discipline, the first efforts failed. It was not till A.D. 1825 that Lieutenant (afterwards Sir James) Outram was successful in forming the Bhíl Corps. His patience and firmness, combined with his thorough knowledge of their character, gave him a great influence over his men; they soon did good service against bands of plunderers, and Khándesh by degrees grew quiet.

The Country at the British Conquest.

When the British Government took possession of the country much of it was almost ruined. Of Khándesh the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his report on the territory conquered from the Peshwa, says: Some parts of the province are still in high cultivation, and others, more recently abandoned, convey a strong notion of their former richness and prosperity; but the greater

Part II.
KHÁNDESH NÁSIK AND AHMADNAGAR, A.D. 1300-1818.

British Management.

part of Khándesh is covered with thick jungles, full of tigers and other wild beasts and scattered with the ruins of villages. The districts north of the Tápti in particular, which were formerly very populous, and yielded a large revenue, are now almost an uninhabited forest. Further on he says: The east of Gangthari, though open and fertile, is almost entirely uninhabited since the famine of 1803; the country between that and Ahmadnagar is better, and the plains south of Ahmadnagar are for many marches in all directions one sheet of the richest cultivation.

As examples of the condition of the country it will be enough to notice that in A.D. 1803 only twenty-one out of 180 villages were inhabited in the Nevása táluka of Ahmadnagar, a district of the Gangthari. In other parts of the same collectorate, in A.D. 1819, more than half the land was waste and all the country round Sirur was unpeopled. In the Chopda táluka of Khándesh, north of the Tápti, only four per cent of the land was cultivated in A.D. 1818. The city of Ahmadnagar contained in 1818 a population of 13,000, and in three years this number was almost doubled. In Khándesh new towns, such as Dhulia Párola and Jalgaon, sprang up. Land was taken for cultivation on easy terms, and when, after some years of experience, the Revenue Survey was introduced, the progress of the country towards prosperity was steady.

Bhíl Rising in 1857.

Since the country came under British management the only notable disturbances are those caused by the outbreak of the Bhíls in 1857. The Bhíls were excited by the mutiny in Hindustán, and rose in the Ahmadnagar district in October 1857. A skirmish took place in that month between a body of Bhíls under Bhágoji Náik and the police under Captain Henry, in which Captain Henry was killed. Other risings occurred in Khándesh in the Sátpuda Hills under one Kajar Singh, and in other parts and also in the Nizám's territory in the country to the north and west of Aurangábád. Detachments were sent out, and levies made, and after several skirmishes and some loss of life the greater number of the bands were broken up; but it was not till November 1859 that the disturbances were finally put down by the total destruction of Bhágoji Náik's band by Mr. (the late Sir) Frank Souter, and a force of police, and the dispersal of one or two other bands at the same time in the Nizám's territories. In Khándesh the town and fort of Párola, which belonged to a member of the Jhánsi family, were confiscated by Government and the fort dismantled.

Chiefs and Jahgirdárs.

The number of important chiefs or jahgirdárs connected with these districts is small. In the wild west of Khándesh thirteen petty states are under the charge of the Collector as Political Agent. Of these six are known by the name of Mewas and seven by the name of Dángs; the former are situated north of the Tápti about the Sátpuda hills, and the latter south of the Tápti and below the Gháts. The chiefs are the descendants of the Bhíl Náiks who held the western districts when the British power was established; the districts are unhealthy and thinly peopled; the revenue of the chiefs is derived principally from timber dues; they are allowed to settle all petty disputes themselves, and serious cases

go before the Collector. One of the principal states in the Sátpudás was the Akráni pargana held by a Rájput. Its early history is unknown. After the decline of Musalmán power, Chaoji, rána of Dharwai, north of the Narbada, established himself in the hilly part of the country. He was succeeded by his son Gaman Singh, who built the Akráni fort; and he in turn by his son Hanmant Singh; his son and successor Gaman Singh died without heirs, and great disturbances ensued till Bháu Singh, rána of Maltwar, a district on the west, annexed the country and built the fort of Roshmal. He was succeeded by his son Bhikáji, who murdered Jangar, the Bhíl Náik of Chikli, below the hills; and in revenge Jangar's son Deváji surprised Roshmal and killed Bhikáji. On this the Peshwa's troops occupied the country, and when a year later the British forces conquered Khándesh, Akráni submitted to them. The present rána has an *inám* village, Pratáppur, and an annual allowance in lieu of the Akráni pargana. To the south of the Dángs is the small state of Surgána, which belongs to the deshmukh of the district; it is also under the supervision of the Collector of Khándesh. Further south, and also below the Gháts, the Musalmán state of Peint remained under the care of the Collector of Násik until on the death without heirs of the Begam in 1878 it lapsed and became a subdivision of the district of Násik. The most important jáhgirdár is the Vinchurkar, a Bráhman whose ancestors rose into note under the Peshwás; he holds a number of villages in the Gangthari and lives at the town of Vinchur in the Násik collectorate. The family rose to importance in the middle of the eighteenth century when Vithal Shivdev was at its head; he distinguished himself at the siege of Ahmadábád in 1755, and accompanied the Marátha army in the fatal expedition which ended in the defeat of Pánipat (A.D. 1761), of which he was one of the few survivors. He was raised to high rank by Ragunáth Ráo. The family acquired large possessions in Hindustán, but these were forfeited on account of their adherence to Báji Ráo.

The most noteworthy of the Khándesh jáhgirdárs are the Dikshits of Shendurni, the descendants of Paltankar Dikshit, the priest or *guru* of Báji Ráo, the last Peshwa. The grant of this jáhgir was confirmed by the British Government at the special request of Báji Ráo.

HISTORY

OF THE

BOMBAY KARNÁTAK:

MUSALMÁN AND MARÁTHA,

A.D. 1300-1818.

BY THE LATE

MAJOR E. W. WEST,

JOINT ADMINISTRATOR OF SÁNGLI,

1878.

[*Contributed 1877.*]

Historical Sketch of the Southern Mara'tha Country or Bombay Karna'tak, that is the territory included in the districts of Belgaum, Dha'rwa'r, and Bija'pur, from the Musalma'n Conquest till it became British territory: A.D. 1300-1818.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Musalmán Conquests.

THE raid into the southern part of the Peninsula made by Káfúr and the various Musalmán leaders who followed him (A.D. 1310-1327), effectually broke up the existing Hindu dynasties. To effect the conquest of the country thus overrun, more was required than isolated expeditions, and as each wave of invasion retired the Hindus seem to have made head again. The Pálegár chiefs regained their fortresses, and new dynasties replaced those which had been subverted. In considerably less than half a century after the Bellál rájás had been overthrown, new Hindu kingdoms were formed in the south, which for many a day were destined to be thorns in the sides of the Musalmáns. One leading kingdom was founded by an officer formerly in the service of the Bellál kings, at Vijayanagar on the Tungbhadra river opposite to Anigundi, which had been the capital of a more ancient but less important principality. Within the limits of the new kingdom was included the whole of the Southern Marátha Country as far north as Belgaum; the district immediately to the north of the last-named place being evidently in the hands of the Musalmáns, as Farishtah mentions an Amir of Hukeri. From this and other territorial titles incidentally referred to, we gather that in A.D. 1347, when the Bahamani dynasty was founded the districts of Bijápur Athni and Chikodi, in the tract of country which is the subject of the present sketch, formed part of its dominions.[1] The Musalmáns were by no means complete masters of all the country nominally subject to them. The effect of the terrible famine known as the Durga Devi, which began in A.D. 1396 and lasted twelve years, was to throw into the hands of pálegárs and robbers many strongholds previously conquered by the Muhammadans,[2] and so late as the reign of Máhmúd Sháh Bahamani II. (A.D. 1493), we read of a Hindu zamindár at Miraj.[3]

Vijayanagar.

The Bahámanis, A.D. 1347.

From an early period the Bahamani kings devoted their principal attention to attacks on Vijayanagar; but from Golkonda or Bidar as a base of operations, it was easier to overrun the districts of Raichur

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[1] See an Historical Account of the Belgaum District by H. Stokes Esq. Madras C.S., Selections from the Records of the Government of Bombay, New Series, CXV. 12.

[2] Grant Duff's Maráthás, I. 43 (Indian Reprint).

[3] Briggs' Farishtah, III. 346.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

The Bahamanis attack the Southern Marátha Country.

and Mudgal, which lay between the two capitals, than to attempt the conquest of a tract like the Bombay Karnátak or Southern Marátha Country, less conveniently situated, and which is described by the Musalmán historian as full of fastnesses and woods, almost impenetrable to troops.[1] When the Muhammadans, after repeatedly taking and losing the forts of Raichur and Mudgal, at last established themselves in the districts commanded by these forts, they, after being baffled by the strength of the fortress of Adoni or Adwáni, turned their attention to the Southern Marátha Country, which their new conquests gave them the means of attacking from the south-east. In 1406 Firoz Sháh, the grandson of Alla-ud-dín Bahamani, besieged and took Bankápur, described by Farishtah as the most important fortress in the Karnátak; and this success placed at his mercy the southern part of what is now the Dhárwár collectorate. From Bankápur the Musalmáns gradually extended their arms in a northerly direction, though they seem to have advanced but slowly. Fifty years later Navalgund is mentioned as the seat of a *sarkár* or province; and it was there that Jalál Khán, governor of the province and brother-in-law of Ala-ud-dín Bahamani II., raised the standard of revolt (A.D. 1454) in the hope of seating his son Sikandar Khán on the throne, a step which led to the death of his son and his own imprisonment for life.

Take Bankápur, A.D. 1406.

Navalgund.

One of the chief leaders in the campaign against Jalál Khán was Máhmúd Gawán, who held the office of prime minister as well as the government of Bijápur. This able man distinguished himself highly in the reigns of Alla-ud-dín II. and Humáyún Shah Bahamani, but the greatest of his exploits was reserved for the reign of Muhammad Sháh II. In the historical sketch of Kolhápur an account is given of Máhmúd Gawán's campaign in Kolhápur and Vishálgad; after which he proceeded to attack the maritime possessions of the rája of Vijayanagar, and with such success that he took Goa in A.D. 1470. This led to the siege and capture of Belgaum; for, at the instigation of the Vijayanagar king Birkána Ray, that is Vikram Ray, rája of the fortress of Belgaum, marched or sent troops in 1472, together with the Hindu chief of Bankápur, to retake Goa. On this Muhammad Sháh collected his forces and moved against Belgaum, "a fortress of great strength, surrounded by a deep wet ditch, and near it a pass, the only approach to which was fortified by redoubts."[2] According to the Musalmán historian, Birkana Ray, who commanded the fort in person, at first asked for terms, which were refused. The Hindu chief then defended himself with great vigour, and effectually prevented the enemy from filling the wet ditch, in which lay the principal strength of the fort. The besiegers on this changed their tactics and tried the effect of mining, a mode of operation not hitherto used in the Dakhan. The new plan proved successful, three mines being sprung which made practicable breaches: these were immediately stormed; and notwithstanding the gallant defence made by the garrison and the severe

And Belgaum, A.D. 1472.

[1] Briggs' Farishtah, II. 337.
[2] Briggs' Farishtah, II. 491. The account in the text of the siege of Belgaum is taken from this historian.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

The Bahamanis, A.D. 1347-1489.

losses inflicted on the besiegers, the latter succeeded in gaining the ramparts. The inner citadel had yet to be carried, but Birkana Ray, despairing of being able to offer an effectual resistance, disguised himself and was admitted to the presence of the king as a messenger from the Hindu chief. He then drew the rim of his turban round his neck and discovered himself, saying that he had come with his family to kiss the foot of the throne. The king, pleased with this exhibition of confidence, admitted him into the order of nobility.

Famine of A.D. 1472.

The capture of Belgaum and the conquest of its dependencies brought the whole of the Southern Marátha Country under the Musalmáns, and for the time completely crushed the efforts of Hindu independence. The acquisitions were added to the estates of Khwája Máhmúd Gawán, who had taken a prominent part in the siege. Subsequently they were transferred by the minister to Fakhr-ul-Mulk.[1] In the year of the capture of Belgaum (A.D. 1472) and in the following year, a drought led to a terrible famine. No rain fell for two years; and, to use Farishtah's words: "The towns became almost depopulated; many of the inhabitants died of famine; and numbers emigrated for food to Málwa, Jájnagar in Katak, and Gujarát. In Telingana, Marhut that is Maháráshtra, and throughout the Bahamani dominions, no grain was sown for two years; and in the third, when the Almighty showered his mercy upon the earth, scarcely any farmer remained in the country to cultivate the land."[2]

Decline of the Bahamanis, A.D. 1481.

The unjust execution of the prime minister in A.D. 1481 on a false charge of treason precipitated the fall of the Bahamani dynasty. The great chiefs placed in charge of provinces had for some time been strengthening their own power at the expense of their sovereign, but as long as Máhmúd Gawán lived they were kept in check: his death relieved them from all restraints, and before long the chief provinces of the Bahamani kings became separate kingdoms. Of these the present sketch deals with Bijápur alone, which Yúsuf A'dil Khán Savái carved into a kingdom.

Yúsuf A'dil Khán.

Yúsuf A'dil Khán, who, after he had achieved greatness was declared to have been born to greatness,[3] had entered the service of the Bahamani king Máhmúd Sháh II., and had risen from rank to rank till he was made governor of the province of Daulatábád, a post which he held at the time of the minister's death. Immediately after that event the king sent for Yúsuf A'dil Khán, being compelled to do so by the attitude assumed by the other chiefs, and conferred on him the

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[1] This leader was placed in charge of one of the eight provinces into which the prime minister at this time divided the Bahamani kingdom. His charge was "a tract from Junnar, including several dependent districts in the south, such as Indápur Wái and Mán, as well as the forts of Goa and Belgaum." The province of Bijápur was reserved by the minister for himself. Farishtah, II. 502.

[2] Briggs' Farishtah, II. 493.

[3] He was said to be a son of an emperor of Rúm (Turkey). After his father's death his brother, on succeeding to the throne, thought it would save future trouble if possible claimants were put out of the way. He accordingly demanded the child Yúsuf from his mother for execution. The mother managed to substitute a slave boy, who was strangled, and sent her son to Persia, whence he made his way to India. See Briggs' Farishtah, III. 4-8.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Yúsuf declares himself King of Bijápur, A.D. 1489.

province of Bijápur. This and the other provinces seem to have been bestowed under pressure; and the leaders, who in this way gained power and place retained but a slender tie of allegiance to the sovereign to whose weakness and not to whose favour they were indebted. The Bahamani kingdom was distracted by the rivalry between the Dakhanis or born subjects, and the foreigners, who had introduced themselves in great numbers: and Yúsuf A'dil Khán was the leader of the latter party. It is needless to recapitulate the details of the struggles of the opposing parties. Ere long Yúsuf A'dil Khán followed the example of Malik Ahmad Beheri, who had declared himself king of Ahmadnagar, by having the public prayer read in his own name as king of Bijápur (A.D. 1489) and by assuming the canopy of royalty. He soon drove out the royal garrisons that were in the forts in his district and made himself complete master of the territory under Bijápur. Notwithstanding this he appears for some time to have kept up friendly relations with his former sovereign. He assisted Máhmúd Sháh to put down the rebellion of Bahádur Gilání, and afterwards entertained him royally at Bijápur.[1] He subsequently joined Máhmúd Sháh in his expedition against Kásim Barid, another chief who had assumed sovereignty; and it is especially noted that after the victory obtained on this occasion the king treated his former vassal as an equal, and made Yúsuf sit in his presence. The alliance was further cemented by the betrothal of Yúsuf's daughter to Ahmad, the king's son. Some years later Máhmúd Sháh got up a league against the Bijápur prince, the ostensible ground of action being that the latter had not only revolted against his sovereign but had also introduced Shia tenets into the country. The confederation failed to secure their object, and by their defeat Yúsuf A'dil Khán was able to establish his kingdom on a secure basis.[2]

The Limits of Bijápur.

The new dynasty succeeded to the southern territory of the Bahamani monarchy, but at first the limits of their dominions were more circumscribed than those of their predecessors, as, during the feeble sway and troubled reigns of the later Bahamani kings, the Vijayanagar rájás had recovered much of the country of which they had been dispossessed. In the reign of Yúsuf's son, Ismail A'dil Sháh, we find that Kittur was apparently the most southerly position occupied by the Musalmáns, Dhárwár having fallen into the hands of the Hindus, who had also possession of Torgal, so that the eastern and southern parts of the Southern Marátha Country had reverted to their old rulers. Afterwards the Bijápur kingdom extended from the Níra on the north to the Tungbhadra on the south, and from the

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[1] Farishtah mentions at this period that Bijápur (apparently the fort) had recently been surrounded with a stone wall. When narrating the rebellion against Humáyún Sháh Bahamani that had taken place some thirty years previously (II. 467), he particularly noted that the fort was then (A.D. 1459) only built of mud. The stone wall round the city does not appear to have been finished till A.D. 1566. See Farishtah, III. 14 and 132.

[2] Yúsuf assumed and his successors retained the title of Sháh. The dynasty however was generally known by the title of A'dil Khán, which the old European travellers turned into Idalcam, Idalcan, and Dialkan. See Purchas's Pilgrimage and Van Linschoten's Travels.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Contact with the Portuguese and French, A.D. 1510 and A.D. 1674.

sea on the west to the Bhíma and Krishna on the east.[1] Later on its victorious arms were carried beyond the Tungbhadra, and to the south-east as far as the Bay of Bengal; and it is interesting to note that the Bijápur kings were brought in contact with two European nations destined to play a prominent part in Southern India. Thus Goa was taken from them on the west coast by Albuquerque, the Portuguese general, in A.D. 1510; while on the other side of the peninsula the French, in A.D. 1674, obtained a grant of the site of Pondicherry from the Bijápur viceroy[2]. The most noteworthy point connected with the A'dil Khán dynasty is the fact that Shiváji, the founder of the Marátha empire, was its subject, and that his first successful efforts towards the great aim of his life were made in its dominions. This is not the place for a detailed history of the Bijápur kings; but the most important events connected with them will be briefly noted, special prominence being given to such as relate to the Southern Marátha Country.

Yúsuf Succeeded by Ismail, A.D. 1510.

In A.D. 1510 Yúsuf A'dil Khán died, leaving a son, Ismail, who at the time of his father's death was too young to assume the reins of government. Kámál Khán Dakhani was appointed protector, but soon aspired to supplant his master. His arrangements for deposing Ismail A'dil Khán and proclaiming himself king were completed, when he was assassinated by an emissary from the queen-mother.[3] Though Kamál Khán's mother and his son Safdar Jang concealed the fact of his death and attempted to carry out the plot as had been planned, their efforts resulted in the death of Safdar Jang and the complete dispersion of their party.

Asad Khán of Belgaum.

Among those most prominent in the defence of their master was Khúsráo Túrk, who was rewarded with the title of Asad Khán, by which he was always afterwards known, and who received Belgaum as a jáhgir, a town which he did much to strengthen and beautify.[4]

Defeat of Ahmadnagar and Berar.

No sooner had the young king triumphed over his internal foes than he had to meet a formidable confederacy of the kings of Ahmadnagar Golkonda and Berar, who brought with them the unfortunate Bahamani king, once their sovereign, and his son A'hmad. The confederates were signally defeated near Bijápur, and Máhmúd Sháh, together with his son, fell into the hands of the victor. They were treated with the greatest courtesy, and by the Bahamani king's desire the marriage of Ismail A'dil Khán's sister to prince A'hmad, to whom, as noted above, she had been betrothed was celebrated with great magnificence.

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[1] Mountstuart Elphinstone in his History of India (4th Edition page 667) seems to have imagined these to be the permanent limits of the kingdom. The wonder he expressed (page 514 note) that so small a state could have maintained so large a capital would have been diminished had he known the size to which the kingdom attained when at its zenith.

[2] Strictly speaking the land was not granted to the French but purchased by them from Shir Khán Lodi, the governor of the Bijápur king's possessions in those parts. See Malleson's French in India, 20 and 26. Shiváji, when subsequently in the neighbourhood, acknowledged the validity of the transaction and, for a consideration, refrained from harrying Pondicherry. Malleson, 25; Wilks' History of Mysor (Indian Reprint), 25.

[3] This lady, Bubuji Khánam, was the sister of Mukund Ráo, a Marátha chief who had opposed Yúsuf A'dil Khán and was defeated.

[4] Stokes' Account of Belgaum, 24-26; Briggs' Farishtha, III. 45.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Bijápur Defeated by Vijayanagar, A.D. 1523.

The Bijápur king's next campaign was less successful. He marched to recover Mudgal and Raichur from the Vijayanagar rája. When encamped on the banks of the Krishna, under the influence of intoxication, he made an attempt to cross the river without due precautions in the face of the hostile force. The result was a defeat with great loss, the king himself narrowly escaping, and the army having to return to Bijápur. The Musalmán commander-in-chief having fallen in this expedition his place was conferred on Asad Khán, who received the title of Sipáh Sálár and had many districts added to his estates. The new commander soon proved himself worthy of the honours conferred on him, for in A.D. 1524 he defeated, near Sholápur, the confederate kings of Ahmadnagar and Berar and the regent of Bidar. The confederates were subsequently defeated in detail; and the campaign against Amir Baríd, the regent of Bidar, resulted in the capture of the latter by Asad Khán, who, with consummate daring and address, penetrated the hostile camp at night and carried away Amir Baríd on the bed on which he was lying intoxicated. The result was the capture of Bidar, and the regent became practically the vassal of the Bijápur king. Afterwards he, together with the king of Berar, joined the Bijápur army in an expedition against Vijayanagar, in which the forts of Mudgal and Raichur fell again into the hands of the Musalmáns.

Takes Bidar, A.D. 1524.

Mallu Succeeds Ismáil, A.D. 1534.

Not long after this (A.D. 1534) Ismail Ádil Sháh died, leaving Asad Khán guardian to his son and successor, Mallu. The conduct of this young king soon disgusted his guardian, who retired to Belgaum, and alienated all his friends, his own grandmother Bubuji Khánam even taking part against him. After an inglorious reign of six months he was deposed and blinded, and his brother Ibráhim placed on the throne in his stead. The new king inaugurated his reign by adjuring the Shia tenets of his father and grandfather. Still more important was the radical alteration he effected in the government and in the army by getting rid of foreigners and employing only Dakhanis, this change being further marked by the substitution of Maráthi the language of the country for Persian in the state accounts.

Is Deposed and Succeeded by Ibráhim I.

Helps Vijayanagar.

The first expedition of importance undertaken by Ibráhim Ádil Sháh was to Vijáyanagar, where various intrigues and revolutions had been going on which ended in Bhoj Tirmal Rai seizing the throne. The usurper finding his position precarious invited the aid of the Bijápur king, to whom he offered allegiance and large sums of money. The offer was accepted, and Ibráhim in person seated the Hindu prince on the throne of Vijayanagar as his feudatory. This aid proved of little use to Bhoj Tirmal Rai, who, after the departure of his new allies, was attacked by his rebellious subjects and committed suicide to avoid falling into their hands. Shortly after this Asad Khán was sent to attack the fort of Adoni, but concluded peace with Vijayanagar without taking it.[1] Asad Khán in addition to his other offices was now made prime minister. When in the very height of favour he nearly fell, owing to an intrigue, but afterwards the confidence of the king was restored. It was fortunate for Ibráhim that this was the case, as

[1] Briggs' Farishtah, III. 80-86.

a formidable confederacy against him was formed by the kings of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda, and Rám Ráj, the new king of Vijayanagar, who simultaneously attacked him on the north, east, and south. In these critical circumstances the king sent for Asad Khán, who managed to buy off for a time the kings of Ahmadnagar and Vijayanagar, and then marched against and defeated the Golkonda prince, who was thus isolated from his allies. Shortly after war again broke out with Ahmadnagar, and the Bijápur troops under Asad Khán were once more victorious.[1]

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Defeats Golkonda, A.D. 1536.

Abdulla's Rebellion.

Elated by victory Ibráhim behaved in such a way as to alienate his friends and leave openings for his enemies to attack him. The Ahmadnagar king took advantage of the prevalent disaffection to renew hostilities; and as Ibráhim only went on to further acts of frantic folly a conspiracy was set on foot to depose him and place his brother Abdulla on the throne. The plot was discovered and Abdulla had to fly to Goa. The king's suspicions were then directed against Asad Khán, who had to betake himself to Belgaum. Notwithstanding the treatment he had received at the hands of his king Asad Khán rejected the offers made to him by Abdulla, who was advancing, supported by the Portuguese from Goa and by Burhán Nizám of Ahmadnagar, who had halted at Miráj on his way to Bijápur. Feeling death approaching the faithful minister invited Ibráhim to visit Belgaum. The invitation was accepted, but before the king's arrival Asad Khán expired (A.D. 1540), having the satisfaction of knowing on his deathbed, that his loyalty and advice had saved his sovereign, for Abdulla's rebellion collapsed and the Ahmadnagar king had to retreat.[2] The rebel prince again took refuge with the Portuguese and thereby brought on hostilities between them and Bijápur, but was killed in A.D. 1554. Ibráhim Ádil Khán did not long enjoy peace. An alliance was made between Burhán Nizám Sháh of Ahmadnagar and the rája of Vijayanagar and hostilities broke out against the Bijápur king and his ally, Ali Baríd of Bidar. Kalyán, belonging to the latter, was besieged by the Ahmadnagar troops, and Ibráhim marched to relieve it. At first he met with some success, but he was taken by surprise by a sudden attack on his camp and had to fly for his life, narrowly escaping capture. In the following year he lost Sholápur, Mudgal, and Raichur, the two last places falling into the hands of their old possessors, the rájás of Vijayanagar.

Asad Khán Dies, A.D. 1540.

Bijápur Reverses.

Shortly after this the belligerent sovereigns changed parts. On the death of Burhán Nizám Sháh, his successor Hussain made peace with Ibráhim, but the latter, in the hope of recovering Sholápur, espoused the cause of Hussain Sháh's brother and rival, Ali, and further concluded a treaty with Vijayanagar. The Bijápur king trusted much to the aid to be derived from Seif-ain-ul-Mulk, the commander-in-chief of the late king of Ahmadnagar, who had entered his service. A battle.

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[1] Briggs' Farishtah, III. 93 - 94.

[2] Briggs' Farishtah, 100 - 101. Mr. Stokes in his Account of Belgaum gives all the details narrated by Farishtah and also (page 34) some traditions about Asad Khán.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300 - 1818.

Defeat by Sholápur, A.D. 1556.

ensued near Sholápur, which would have been won by Bijápur had Seif-ain-ul-Mulk been properly supported by Ibráhim Ádil Sháh. The latter fancying himself betrayed, fled from the field; and when the gallant commander-in-chief, after cutting his way through the enemy, arrived at Bijápur, he met with such a reception from the king that he retired to his estates, where he made himself master of the tract watered by the river Mán, and of Válva, Miraj, and other districts. So powerful did Seif-ain-ul-Mulk become, that after he had defeated a royal force sent against him, the king marched against him in person to meet with the same fate, and to be pursued to his capital.

Saved by Vijayanagar.

Nothing would now have saved Bijápur from capture had not the brother of the rája of Vijayanagar, to whom Ibráhim had applied for aid, opportunely arrived and put the besiegers to flight.[1] Not long after this (A.D. 1557) Ibráhim Ádil Sháh died.

Ibráhim Dies, A.D. 1557.

At the time of Ibráhim's death, as they had incurred their father's displeasure by their devotion to the Shia tenets, his two sons were in confinement; the elder, Áli, in the fort of Miraj, and the second, Támásp, in Belgaum. When Ibráhim's life was despaired of Muhammad Kishwar Khán, son of Asad Khán and governor of the districts of Hukkeri, Ráybág, and Belgaum, a man of great influence, moved towards Miraj to secure the succession to prince Áli. This step enabled the latter, on his father's death, to mount the throne without opposition; and he rewarded the services of Kishwar Khán by making him commander-in-chief. His first object was to get Sholápur out of the hands of the Ahmadnagar king, and he sent an embassy to endeavour to effect this purpose, Kishwar Khán being sent at the same time to Vijayanagar to negotiate a treaty of alliance with Rám Ráj. The latter embassy was more successful than the other; and so close became the alliance between Bijápur and Vijáyanagar, that Áli Ádil Khán paid a visit to Rám Ráj, whose wife adopted him as her son. In the following year the two kings invaded Ahmadnagar, where they met with complete success. Hussain Nizám Sháh managed after a time to buy off the Bijápur king, but immediately afterwards, relying on the aid of the Golkonda king, renewed hostilities. The result was that he was again attacked by the Bijápur and Vijayanagar forces, which were joined by the Golkonda king who threw over his ally, and the town of Ahmadnagar was besieged by the three kings. Owing to various causes, one of the principal being the disgust of the Musalmáns at the conduct of the Hindu prince and his forces, the siege was raised and Rám Ráj returned to his own dominions, which he had considerably augmented at the cost of his allies.[2]

Succeeded by Áli I.

Bijápur and Vijayanagar Allied.

Musalmán Confederation against Vijayanagar, A.D. 1564.

The insolent conduct of the Vijáyanagar king on this occasion and the outrages which his followers had offered to all that the Musalmáns held most sacred, led to his fall, just when his kingdom seemed to have attained the highest pitch of aggrandisement. His late allies, whom he had insulted and despoiled, formed an alliance with their recent enemy the Ahmadnagar king, which was joined by Ali Barid Sháh of

[1] Farishtah, III. 105 - 111.

[2] Farishtah, III. 123.

Bidar. The bonds between Bijápur and Ahmadnagar were drawn close by the marriage of A'li A'dil Sháh to Chánd Bibi, daughter of Hussain Nizám Sháh, who brought the fort of Sholápur as her dowry; and the four Musalmán sovereigns agreed to combine their forces and attack Rám Ráj, the common enemy of themselves and their religion. The result of the expedition was the complete defeat, at the battle of Tálikot (A.D. 1565) of Rám Ráj, who lost his life, and the eventual subversion of the Vijayanagar kingdom. The territory did not at once fall completely into the hands of the Musalmáns, as Rám Ráj's brother was allowed to retain much territory, and for a considerable time many feudatory chiefs were able to maintain their independence in their provinces. Some districts, such as Terdál, Yádvád, and Torgal, now forming part of the Southern Marátha Country, seem to have been added about this time to the territories of Bijápur.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Battle of Tálikot: Overthrow of Vijayanagar, A.D. 1565.

On the death not long afterwards of Hussain Nizám Sháh, who left a successor still in his minority, A'li A'dil Sháh, in the hope of gaining a further slice of Vijayanagar, interfered in the intestine disputes of that state and espoused the cause of Tim Ráj, the son of Rám Ráj, against Venkatadri, the latter's brother.[1] Venkatadri, however, by an adroit appeal to the jealousy of Ahmadnagar, procured an invasion of Bijápur territory from that quarter, which made A'li A'dil Sháh return with precipitation. Hostilities then ensued between Bijápur and Ahmadnagar in the course of which Kishwar Khán was killed and the Bijápur troops met with great reverses. The same bad fortune attended an expedition to recover Goa from the Portuguese; but A'li A'dil Sháh retrieved his military reputation by taking the famous fort of Adoni, which had been considered impregnable.

A'li meets with Defeats.

But Takes Adoni.

The Bijápur king proceeded at once to make good use of the strong position thus obtained in the south. Having secured himself by an agreement with Mortaza Nizám Sháh against intervention on the side of Ahmadnagar, he set to work (A.D. 1573) to recover the conquests that had been made by Firoz Sháh Bahamani some sixty-seven years before. The first place taken was Torgal,[2] which was in the hands of Venkati Yesav Rai, an officer of the Bijápur government who had revolted. Thence the king moved to Dhárwár, which was held by an officer of the late Rám Ráj who had assumed practical independence. Dhárwár fell after a siege of six months; and then the Bijápur troops moved against Bankápur, then the capital of Velápa Rai, who had formerly been a servant of the Vijayanagar king but was now independent. After vain applications for aid to Venkatadri, the brother of his former master, Velápa Rai defended himself with such vigour that he nearly forced his enemy to raise the siege. The Musalmáns were especially annoyed by night attacks, which are thus described by

Invades the Southern Marátha Country, A.D. 1573.

Takes Dhárwár.

[1] Penkonda was now the capital of what remained of the kingdom, Vijáyanagar having been destroyed after the battle of Tálikot. Briggs' Farishtah, III. 131; Wilks' Mysor, 12-31.

[2] Farishtah (Briggs, III. 135) writes the name Toorkul, but it is more than probable that the place named in the text is indicated. Torgal is to the south of Kaládgi, a little off the road from Bijápur to Dhárwár.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Ali takes Bankápur, A.D. 1575.

Farishtah: "The infantry of the Karnátak, who value their lives but little, were quite naked, and had their bodies anointed with oil to prevent their being easily seized: thus prepared they entered the tents at night and stabbed the soldiers while sleeping without mercy." These attacks occasioned a panic, which would have led to disastrous results, especially as the supplies of the besieging force were also cut off by the activity of the enemy. Mustápha Khán, the Bijápur general, however, by a judicious use of his Bárgirs or Marátha cavalry, re-opened his lines of communication, and by a strong cordon of sentries round the camp effectually checked the night attacks. The result was that after a siege of one year and three months Bankápur was surrendered; and thus nine or ten years after the battle of Tálikot, the whole of the Southern Marátha Country was absorbed into Bijápur.

Conquest South of the Tungbhadra.

Ali Adil Sháh remained for some time at Bankápur, and from there made successive attacks on the Hindus of the south, in which Mustápha Khán, who was made the head of all departments of the state, greatly distinguished himself. The Hindu chiefs of Malabár and Kánara seem to have submitted generally and to have become tributaries.[1] The Musalmáns were much assisted in these campaigns by their Marátha allies or feudatories, but events proved that the latter were not always to be relied on. After overrunning much country south of the Tungbhadra the Bijápur king turned his arms against Venkatadri, whose capital was blockaded. The city was on the point of falling when Venkatadri managed to gain over Hundiatum Náik, the chief of the Bárgirs, whom he induced by large bribes to desert the king and harass his camp. This was done so effectually that Ali Adil Sháh had to raise the siege and retire to his own dominions. The conduct of the Maráthás on this occasion was not forgotten or forgiven. Shortly after the Bárgirs committed excesses in their jáhgirs about Vijáyanagar, and a force had to be sent against them, which they resisted successfully for a year. Artifice at last effected what force had failed to accomplish. The insurgents were invited to court, and notwithstanding the warnings of the more prudent among them the greater number accepted the invitation. The result is concisely told by Farishtah: For some time the king treated the Bárgirs with kindness, but at length put most of them to death.[2]

According to the Portuguese historian, epitomised in Briggs' Farishtah,[3] the kings of Ahmadnagar and Bijápur were not very successful in an attack which they made on Goa in conjunction with the ruler of Kálikat in A.D. 1570. Ali Adil Sháh, it is stated, descended the Phonda pass with a large army and invested Goa, but after ten months was obliged to raise the siege, having lost twelve thousand men besides numbers of elephants and horses. Not long after this a Bijápur vessel having been taken by the Portuguese, the ambassador from that nation to Bijápur was confined in Belgaum till reparation was made.

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[1] Briggs' Farishtah, III. 138-140. See also Wilks' Mysor, 39.
[2] Briggs' Farishtah, III. 141.
[3] Farishtah, III. 520.

In A.D. 1580 A'li met with his death under circumstances most disgraceful to himself, and was succeeded by his nephew Ibráhim. During A'li's reign he did much for the adornment of the capital, the Juma Masjid, the Hauz-i-Shápur, the city wall, and various aqueducts having been constructed by his orders.[1]

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Ibráhim II. A.D. 1580.

Plots and Counterplots.

Ibráhim A'dil Sháh II. being but nine years of age when his uncle died, the management of the state devolved on Kámil Khán Dakhani and the famous Chánd Bibi, the widow of the late king. As usual under such circumstances a series of palace intrigues and revolutions ensued. Kámil Khán made himself obnoxious and was deposed and killed by Háji Kishwar Khán, who succeeded to his place. The change however was found to be one from King Log to King Stork. The new regent aimed at sole and uncontrolled authority and shrank from no steps to attain his object. Learning that there was some talk of getting Mustápha Khán from Bankápur to oppose him he had the latter assassinated. He next proceeded to rid himself of Chánd Bibi, which he did by getting her confined in the fort of Sátára on the pretence that she had instigated her brother the king of Ahmadnagar to invade Bijápur. His power was but short-lived. A confederacy of the Abyssinian officers of the army was formed and Kishwar Khán had to fly. Chánd Bibi was released, and Yeklás Khán, the head of the Abyssinian party, was associated with her in the regency.

Bijápur Besieged.

The successful party was too unpopular to maintain their position. A formidable confederacy was formed against Bijápur by Ahmadnagar Golkonda and Berar, and the capital was besieged by their forces. Two influential nobles of the Bijápur court joined the besiegers, and the Abyssinians finding their tenure of power insecure consented to an addition to the ministry. Chánd Bibi accordingly called to her council Sháh Abul Hassan, who set to work with marvellous energy and success to free the state from its difficulties. The Marátha chiefs of the Karnátak who had revolted were recalled to their allegiance and summoned to Bijápur, where they did good service by hanging on the rear of the besiegers and cutting off their supplies. The Musalmán leaders who had deserted returned; and so successful were the efforts of the new minister that ere long the invaders found their position untenable. After having sat for twelve months before Bijápur and made a large breach the confederate armies had to raise the siege.

Siege Raised.

The Nizám Sháh army returned to Ahmadnagar, plundering on the way the districts of Kolhár, Hukkeri, Ráybág, Miraj, and Panhála,[2] while some of the Golkonda troops remained in Bijápur territory. The latter were defeated by a Bijápur force under Diláwar Khán, who pursued them to the very gates of their capital.

Diláwar Khán Dictator.

The successful general returned to Bijápur to grasp at supreme power. He seized and blinded Yeklás Khán and Sháh Abul Hassan,

[1] Briggs' Farishtah, III. 143. [2] Briggs' Farishtah, III. 154 and 443.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

the latter of whom was afterwards put to death; and all obstacles having been removed and the Abyssinians banished, Diláwar Khán became regent, a position which he held for eight years.

Diláwar Khán in Power, A.D. 1583-1591.

Bad as were the means by which Diláwar Khán attained this position he unquestionably made good use of his power, and his strong hand was soon felt in all parts. The dissensions at the capital had encouraged the recently subdued tributaries in the Karnátak to resume their independence, and operations against them were now begun without delay. A treaty was concluded with Ahmadnagar, which was cemented by the marriage of Ibráhim A'dil Sháh's sister to Hussain, the son of Murtaza Nizám Sháh,[1] and the young Bijápur king was afterwards married to the sister of the Golkonda sovereign.

His Yoke Thrown Off.

The thraldom in which Ibráhim A'dil Sháh was kept by the imperious minister soon became intolerable, and Diláwar Khán's conduct to the king during a subsequent campaign against Ahmadnagar made the latter resolve to gain his independence. Accordingly he suddenly left the minister's camp one morning and repaired to that of certain malcontent nobles; and Diláwar Khán, after a vain attempt to get the king again into his power, had to fly to Ahmadnagar. Peace was made with the latter state for a time, but war soon broke out again owing to the instigation of Diláwar Khán; and Burhán Nizám Sháh invaded Bijápur territory and repaired a ruined fort on the Bhíma where he established himself. Ibráhim A'dil Sháh at first temporised and treated with Diláwar Khán till he got him into his power, when he blinded him and sent him for life to the fort of Sátára.

Invasion from Ahmadnagar Repelled, A.D. 1592.

The king then marched against the invader, whose supplies he cut off by a judicious use of his Marátha cavalry. Finally, harassed by attacks from without and conspiracies from within, Burhán Nizám Sháh was obliged to sue for peace and had to undergo the humiliation of himself dismantling the fort he had re-built in Bijápur territory (A.D. 1592.)

Rebellion of the King's Brother.

Ibráhim A'dil Sháh next turned his arms to the south and made a most successful campaign into the Karnátak and Malabár,[2] when he was recalled by a revolt raised by his brother Ismail, who had been confined as a state-prisoner in the fort of Belgaum. The king at first offered a pardon to the rebel, but as his offers were rejected he sent a force to attack him. Disaffection had spread widely. Some of the leading nobles turned traitors, and the garrison of Miraj revolted and declared for Ismail. To add to the difficulty of the situation, at the instigation of the rebels Burhán Nizám Sháh of Ahmadnagar invaded Bijápur from the north, while the Hindus of Malabár attacked the districts about Bankápur on the south. The army sent against Belgaum returned to Bijápur without orders, and Ain-ul-Mulk, the chief partizan of prince Ismail, joined the latter with an army of thirty thousand men and advanced towards the capital. Hámid Khán, who was sent against the insurgents, pre-

[1] Chánd Bibi accompanied her niece to Ahmadnagar, where she afterwards immortalised herself by her heroic defence of the place against the Mughals.

[2] The fort of Mysor was taken on this occasion. Briggs' Farishtah, III. 17.

tended at first to be ready to join their cause, and having thus put them off their guard attacked and defeated them. Ain-ul-Mulk was killed in the action, and Ismail was taken and shortly after was put to death. Ibráhim A'dil Sháh, freed from internal foes, was able to turn his attention towards his foreign enemies. In a campaign against Ahmadnagar Ibráhim Nizám Sháh, the son and successor of Burhán Nizám Sháh, was defeated and killed, and the expedition against the Hindu invaders of the south having been equally successful, Ibrahim A'dil Sháh entered Bijápur in triumph (A.D. 1596).

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Ismail's Rebellion Crushed, A.D. 1596.

About this time the king sent a force to Ahmadnagar to aid his aunt Chánd Bibi in her defence of that city against the Mughals under Murád, son of the emperor Akbar, who had been invited by one of the factions that convulsed that unhappy kingdom; but the Bijápur troops did not come into collision with the Mughals, who had raised the siege three days before their arrival. Ibráhim A'dil Sháh then arbitrated on the claims of various pretenders to the throne of Ahmadnagar, and for a time peace was restored to that distracted kingdom. The intervention of the Bijápur king was soon again called for and on this occasion his troops came into collision with the Mughals and were defeated. The victors did not follow up their advantage; but afterwards Ibráhim A'dil Sháh sent an embassy to Akbar, and his daughter was married to prince Dániál, the emperor's son, who had succeeded Murád in command of the army of the Dakhan. A secret partition treaty[1] is said to have been executed between Akbar and the Bijápur king, by which the latter was to gain a considerable slice of Ahmadnagar territory. It was probably in consequence of this that Ibráhim A'dil Sháh resisted with short-sighted policy the consolidation of Ahmadnagar under Malik Amber.[2] The rivalry between the two ended only with their deaths, which took place within a year of each other. Ibráhim A'dil Sháh died in A.D. 1626, leaving to his son and successor Muhammad a full treasury and a powerful army. Every one who has seen Bijápur will remember his exquisite mausoleum, the Ibráhim Roza, which stands on a raised stone platform outside the town faced by a mosque of corresponding style and dimensions.

Interference with Ahmadnagar.

Ibráhim Dies, A.D. 1626.

When Muhammad A'dil Sháh succeeded his father, Sháh Jahán was on the throne of the Mughals, and the Bijápur king at first avoided anything that might bring him into collision with the great northern power. He soon changed his policy. Notwithstanding the terrible famine which was devastating the country, owing to a failure of the periodical rains in A.D. 1629 and the following year, A'zam Khán, Sháh Jahán's general, carried on operations against Ahmadnagar, which was brought to the brink of ruin. The position of the rival state

Muhammad A'dil Sháh, A.D. 1626.

[1] Grant Duff, I. 77.

[2] At this point we lose the invaluable guidance of the historian Farishtah. The loss, however, is of the less importance that the historical interest at this period is concentrated not so much on the internal history of Bijápur as on the gradual approach of the Mughals and on the rise of the Maráthás, which jointly brought about the destruction of the A'dil Khán dynasty and kingdom.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Alliance with Ahmadnagar, A.D. 1629.

was at first not unpleasing to Muhammad A'dil Sháh, but afterwards he began to perceive what would be the probable consequence to himself of the subversion of the Nizám Sháh kingdom by the Mughals. He accordingly made an alliance with Murtaza Nizám Sháh, and sent an army under his general, Randullah Khán, which engaged the Mughals and was defeated. At the same time the Ahmadnagar king was assassinated and his state placed at the mercy of the Mughals by the traitor Fatih Khán, so that Sháh Jahán was enabled to direct his whole attention to Bijápur.

Bijápur Invaded by the Mughals.

The territory was invaded by an army under Asaf Khán, but the general found it no easy task to take his capital, as the Bijápur king displayed considerable talents both as a soldier and as a diplomatist. While amusing Asaf Khán with pretended negotiations and feigned offers, he arranged so that his supplies were cut off, and finally the Mughal leader had to raise the siege. He accordingly retired, but in revenge plundered and destroyed the country as far west as Miraj. The Bijápur troops then took the aggressive and attacked the Mughal forces which were besieging Daulatábád, but met with a defeat.

Muhammad A'dil Sháh then made some attempts at negotiation which were not favourably received. Some time after an ambassador was sent from Sháh Jahán[1] calling on the Bijápur king to give up forts belonging to Ahmadnagar which had fallen into his hands, to surrender his guns and military stores, and to cease affording countenance to the famous partizan leader, Sháhji Bhonsle,[2] who had done so much to avert the ruin of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. The rejection of these demands brought on war. Sháhji, driven out of the Ahmadnagar territory, fled into that of Bijápur, in consequence of which the country about Kolhápur, Miraj, and Ráybág was utterly wasted by the Mughals. Another force attacked the capital of Bijápur, but found that in anticipation of its arrival all the forage and grain within a circuit of twenty miles round the fort had been destroyed and the wells filled up. As a regular siege was impracticable, the invading forces marched through the country in two bodies, plundering and devastating. In these operations they met with some loss from attacks by the Bijápur troops; but Muhammad A'dil Sháh was at last compelled to sue for peace. He received more favourable terms than might have been expected, the harshest condition being the imposition of a tribute of twenty lákhs a year. Peace was concluded in A.D. 1636. In the following year, on the complete subversion of the Ahmadnagar kingdom, Sháhji Bhonsle entered the service of Bijápur.

Country Devastated.

Peace with the Mughals, A.D. 1636.

The services of the new adherent were soon utilised. Sháhji having been confirmed in the jáhgir of Poona, which he had received

[1] The great gun at Bijápur called the Malak-i-Maidán or Monarch of the Plain was specifically demanded on this occasion. It weighs 40 tons, but is only 15 feet long; the muzzle is 4 feet 8 inches in diameter and the calibre 2 feet 4 inches. It was cast at Ahmadnagar in A.D. 1549, and is supposed to have been taken by A'li Adil Shah in A.D. 1562. See Briggs' Farishtah, III. 239 Note and 243 Note: also Grant Duff's Maráthás, I. 83 Note.

[2] The father of the great Shiváji.

from his late masters, was sent, under Randullah Khán, on an expedition into what is now the Madras Presidency, where he was promised a large jáhgir, which he afterwards received. He was completely successful and extended the limits of the Bijápur kingdom to the Bay of Bengal.[1]

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Sháhji Arrested as a Traitor.

While Sháhji was thus engaged, his son Shiváji, who had been left at Poona, laid the foundations of his future power by getting into his possession several forts belonging to Bijápur. His proceedings at first were little noticed, but when fort after fort fell into his hands the rebellion was too serious to be overlooked. Persuaded that Shiváji was carrying out instructions received from Sháhji, the king sent orders to Báji Ghorpadé, jáhgirdár of Mudhol, who was serving with the latter in the Karnátak, to seize the rebel's father. This was effected by treachery, and Sháhji was sent a prisoner to Bijápur. Here he was desired to suppress his son's rebellion; and his assurances that Shiváji had been acting in contravention of his wishes and that he was unable to restrain him were disbelieved. He was accordingly shut in a stone dungeon the door of which was built up, leaving only a small opening, and he was assured that this also would be closed if his son did not submit.

But Finally Released.

On hearing of his father's precarious situation Shiváji applied for aid to the emperor Sháh Jahán, who agreed to admit him into the imperial service and brought such influence to bear on Bija'pur that Sháhji was released from his dungeon. He was however kept a prisoner at large for four years until the growing disturbances in the Karnátak rendered it necessary to send him there. Before dismissing him Muhammad A'dil Sháh bound him over to refrain from molesting the Mudholkar, and a nominal reconciliation was brought about. Sháhji however, so far from being reconciled, charged his son by his filial duty to punish Báji Ghorpadé, an injunction not neglected by Shiváji, who some years afterwards made a sudden descent on Mudhol, which he burnt, killing at the same time his father's enemy.

Muhammad Dies. Succeeded by A'li II. A.D. 1656.

Ever since the peace of A.D. 1636, Muhammad A'dil Sháh had kept on good terms with the Mughal emperor. Unfortunately for his successor he cultivated the favour of Sháh Jahan's eldest son Dára Shekoh, a fact which spurred on to fiercer zeal Aurangzíb, who had, on other grounds, resolved to reduce Bijápur to the condition of a province of the empire. The storm however did not burst during the life-time of Muhammad A'dil Sháh, who died quietly at his capital in A.D. 1656. His tomb, surmounted by one of the largest domes in the world, is the most prominent object seen when approaching or leaving Bijápur.

Bija'pur Besieged.

A'li A'dil Sháh II., son of the late king, succeeded to a troubled heritage at the age of nineteen. His claim to the throne was disputed by the Mughals without any valid grounds; and an army under

1 In 1638 Randullah Kha'n besieged Saringapatan, but was repulsed. He subsequently took Bangalor, which Sháhji afterwards made his head-quarters. For the Bijápur conquests in the south of this period see Wilks' Mysor, I. 41, 42, and 49. About this time Tánjor was taken either by Sháhji or his son Venka'ji.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Bijápur Saved for the time, A.D. 1657.

Aurangzíb marched against his capital. Khán Muhammad the prime minister, who was sent against the invaders, allowed himself to be bought over, and aided instead of resisting the approach of the Mughals. The siege was at once formed and carried on with vigour, and nothing could have saved the city, when Aurangzíb heard of the supposed mortal illness of his father Sháh Jahán. Feeling it necessary for the prosecution of his designs to be present at the death-bed, he hastily made peace with the young king, and evacuated the Bijápur territory.

Campaign against Shiváji.

Left to itself the city became a prey to factions, and the position of the youthful prince, surrounded by intriguing adherents, many of whom were also traitors, was most difficult.[1] Khán Muhammad was assassinated, and an army was sent under Afzúl Khán against Shiváji, who, after treacherously killing the leader, destroyed the force in the jungles under Mahábaleshvar. A more detailed account of the proceedings of Shiváji at this period will be found in the historical account of the state of Kolhápur. Suffice it to say here, that aided probably by the treachery of Rustum Zamán, an officer of the Bijápur government in charge of the Miraj and Panhála districts, the Marátha leader was enabled to plunder to the gates of Bijápur; and when the approach of the Bijápur troops forced him to take refuge in the fort of Panhála, he escaped. The king then took the field in person, and after capturing Panhála and Pávangad proceeded south to restore order in the Karnátak. On the way he had to take the forts of Raichur and Torgal, and when encamped on the Tungbhadra he was attacked by the rebel Sidi Johár, formerly an officer in his service. He remained two years in the Karnátak with his army, leaving the northern part of his kingdom at the mercy of Shiváji, who did not fail to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded. Such was the condition of the once proud Bijápur monarchy that A'li A'dil Sháh was obliged to consent to a peace which left Shiváji in possession of the Konkan from Kalyán to Goa, and of a strip of country above the Sahyádris extending from the north of Poona to the south of Miraj (A.D. 1662).

Campaign in the Karnátak.

Humiliating Peace with Shiváji, A.D. 1662.

Renewed Hostilities, A.D. 1664.

The peace thus purchased was of short duration. Two years later the Bijápur generals at Panhála made an attempt to recover the Konkan and were defeated by Shiváji, who further revenged himself by sending his horse to plunder the Bijápur territory. He afterwards entered into an offensive alliance with the Mughals against A'li A'dil Sháh, and joined the army of Jaisingh, Aurangzíb's general, in an invasion of the Bijápur dominions. Shiváji after a time left Jaisingh to pay a visit to Delhi, while the Mughals, who advanced to Bijápur, were so harassed by the Dakhan horse and suffered so much from sickness and from want of water and supplies that they had to raise the siege. Not long after A'li A'dil Sháh concluded a treaty with Aurangzíb to the advantage of the latter; and the pretensions and

Bijápur again Besieged.

Peace with the Mughals.

[1] A graphic account of the condition of Bijápur at this time will be found in the late Colonel Meadows Taylor's Tara. Though avowedly a work of fiction the historical details in the book are correct and the local colouring perfect.

attacks of Shiváji were bought off by agreeing to pay him three lákhs of rupees annually. At the end of A.D. 1672 the Bijápur king died, leaving a son, Sultán Sikandar, then only in his fifth year. On his death-bed A'li A'dil Sháh appointed as regent Kháwas Khán, son of the traitorous prime minister whose assassination has been noted above, and suggested that the leading nobles should be put in charge of the several districts, the Southern Marátha Country being assigned to Abdul Karim the ancestor of the Sávanur nawábs. The regent, however, though he assented to these arrangements, refrained from giving them effect for fear of his subordinates making their own terms with the Mughals when at a distance from the capital.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

A'li Dies, Succeeded by Sikandar a Minor, A.D. 1672.

Shiváji was not likely to neglect the opportunity offered to him by the infancy of the king and the factions at Bijápur. He at once declared war, retook Panhála, and sent an expedition which sacked the rich town of Húbli, on its way plundering Belgaum.[1] These and other attacks led to an army being sent against the Maráthás under Abdul Karim, who regained possession of the open country about Panhála. While he was thus employed a Marátha force appeared in the neighbourhood of Bijápur and plundered with impunity. Abdul Karim was recalled to the defence of the capital, and between Miraj and Bijápur was attacked by the Maráthás and obliged to come to terms. Shortly afterwards, thinking he saw an opportunity of retaking Panhála, he again advanced with an army in that direction. He defeated the Maráthás under Prataáp Ráo near Panhála, but while his troops were dispersed in pursuit he was attacked by a fresh body and routed, after which he retired in disgrace to Bijápur.

Marátha Attacks.

In this year (A.D.1674), Shiváji, who had long previously assumed royal titles and struck coins in his name, was formally enthroned with great ceremony.

Shiváji Enthroned, A.D. 1674.

In the following year the regent Kháwas Khán opened negotiations with the Mughals and agreed to hold Bijápur as a dependent province of the empire. He also arranged to give the young king's sister in marriage to one of the sons of Aurangzíb. The proposed measures however were most unpalatable to the nobles and people of Bijápur, and when the regent's negotiations became known a conspiracy was formed against him and he was assassinated. The chief authority then fell into the hands of Abdul Karim, who acted with such vigour, that when the Mughals appeared to receive the surrender of Bijápur they were attacked and worsted in several actions; and finally a treaty was made on terms honourable to Bijápur.[2]

Mughal Attack.

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[1] Grant Duff's Maráthás, I. 188; Stokes' Belgaum, 42. This is the first occasion on which we hear of Shiváji or his troops operating much to the south of Kolhápur; yet according to tradition he had twelve years previously built, among others, the forts of Rámdurg and Nargund. See A Memoir of the State of the Southern Marátha Country by Captain E. W. West. Selection from Bombay Government Records, CXIII, New Series, 173. Had, however, these forts been in existence and in Marátha hands at the time of A'li A'dil Sháh's expedition to the Karnátak, just noted, we should have heard of their being besieged by him.

[2] Grant Duff's Maráthás, I. 195.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Shiváji in the Karnátak, A.D. 1676.

In the next year (A.D. 1676) Shiváji made his famous expedition into the Karnátak. He first went to Golkonda, where he concluded a treaty hostile to Bijápur and the new regent. He then proceeded to the south, where he recovered the jáhgir that had been granted to his father and plundered or took the other districts belonging to Bijápur in that quarter. In the meantime Abdul Karim, with the Mughals, proceeded to attack Golkonda in revenge for the treaty made with Shiváji. The expedition was unsuccessful, and to add to the difficulties of the situation Abdul Karim died. He was succeeded by Musáud Khán, an Abyssinian, who owed his appointment to Dilír Khán the Mughal general, and who consequently favoured the Mughal faction. The new regent did not display much generalship or statesmanlike ability. He dismissed a large portion of the cavalry who took service with the enemies of Bijápur, and before long he had the mortification of seeing the whole Southern Marátha Country overrun by Shiváji's troops. He was further pressed by the Mughals under Sultán Múazzim, Aurangzíb's son, who demanded Pádsháh Bibi the king's sister. The demand was refused, but as one of the factions in the city was prepared to support it by force, the princess of herself went to the Mughal camp in the hope of saving her brother and country. The sacrifice was of no avail. The siege of Bijápur was pressed, and in his despair the regent applied to Shiváji for aid. The latter at once made a diversion by a vigorous attack on the Mughal possessions in the Dakhan. On a further application from Musáud Khán the Maráthás hovered around the besieging army and cut off its supplies, so that Dilír Khán had to raise the siege. He accordingly marched to the west, plundered Athni, and was laying waste the country to the south of the Krishna when he was again attacked by the Maráthás and forced to retreat. Shiváji, in return for the assistance rendered to Bijápur on this occasion, received a grant of most of the Bijápur possessions in what is now the Madras Presidency. He died shortly afterwards (A.D. 1680) and was succeeded by his son Sambháji.

Bijápur again Besieged.

Siege Raised by Shiváji.

Final Siege by Aurangzíb.

The death of Shiváji and the succession of a prince of a very different type removed a formidable obstacle from the path of Aurangzíb, who was now left free to pursue his designs against Bijápur. His envoy there intrigued and gained over many of the principal officers, and owing to his influence Musáud Khán had to retire. The new administration attempted to recover some of the rich districts on the Krishna that had fallen into Shiváji's possession, and Miraj was re-taken, which occasioned an irreparable breach between Bijápur and Sambháji. Aurangzíb in person now came into the Dakhan and sent his son Sultán Múazzim into the Konkan. The latter afterwards ascended the Gháts, and making Válva his head-quarters for the time, subdued the country round, and then marched to the south, successively taking Gokák, Hubli, and Dhárwár. Prince Azím, another son of Aurangzíb's, had meanwhile advanced against Bijápur, but had been compelled to retire; and a force sent against Sultán Múazzim found his troops so weakened by disease and reduced in numbers by the drafts required to garrison the new acquisitions that he too had to retreat. Another attempt was then made by prince Azím, which was near being as unsuccessful

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Fall of Bijápur, A.D. 1686.

as the first. The last days of the Bijápur monarchy had now come. Aurangzíb having crippled Golkonda, turned his whole efforts against Bijápur, whither he proceeded in person, and after a gallant defence the city was taken (A.D. 1686). The young prince fell into the hands of the conqueror and died in captivity.

The subversion of the Bijápur kingdom removes the connecting link which rendered it feasible to give a continuous historical account of the tract of country forming the subject of this sketch. The tide of war too, before long, rolled northwards; and until the latter part of the eighteenth century the Southern Marátha Country was the scene of but few events of sufficient historical importance to be recorded.

Aurangzíb Takes Possession.

After the capture of Bijápur Aurangzíb lost no time in securing possession of the territories that had thus become a portion of his empire. His armies marched to the furthest southern districts belonging to the extinct kingdom—those situated in what was termed the Bijápur Karnátak—driving the Maráthás everywhere into their forts. The Mughal tenure of the country, however, was purely military and did not last long. Abdul Ráuf Khán, son of the deceased Abdul Karim, who has often been referred to in these pages, entered the service of the emperor and received charge of a large portion of the Southern Marátha Country. He first made Bankápur his head-quarters, but eventually carved out for himself a principality the capital of which was Sávanur. Aurangzíb's hands were too fully occupied elsewhere to enable him to look closely after his new acquisitions in the south, which soon ceased to belong to him even in name. In the northern part of the Southern Marátha Country his hold at first seemed to be firm. Miraj and Panhála were taken by the Mughals, but the latter place was almost immediately re-taken by the Maráthás. It fell again into Aurangzíb's hands, but the emperor had to move towards the north, leaving behind an enemy whose power increased daily as that of the Mughal waned. The inevitable end was delayed by the dissensions among the Marátha leaders and the absence from the scene of action of their rája, but at Aurangzíb's death his power in the south was very circumscribed. His son Kám Baksh was at Bijápur when his father died, and tried to revive the Mughal empire there, but was soon defeated and killed.

Sháhu, A.D. 1719.

When Sháhu, the grandson of the great Shiváji, was released by the Mughals, he found the Southern Marátha Country partly overrun by the adherents of his cousin the rája of Kolhápur and partly in the hands of the Sávanur nawáb. He promised to clear his country of plunderers and practically to bring it again under the Mughal emperor if the latter would bestow on him the *chauth* and *sar-deshmukhi* of the six subhás of the Dakhan. His application was at first refused, but in A.D. 1719 he obtained from Delhi the grants above noted, and in addition the *svaráj* or personal sovereignty of a number of districts extending from Poona to a considerable distance south of the Tungbhadra river and comprising the greater part of the dominions of the extinct Bijápur kingdom.[1] Various officers were appointed to

[1] Grant Duff's Maráthás, I. 324-5.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

The Nizám, A.D. 1730.

the several provinces, and the tract of country of which this sketch has to deal was placed under Fateh Sing Bhonsle. Some years later (A.D. 1730) in the treaty between the rájás of Sátára and Kolhápur, the territory lying between the rivers Várna and Krishna on the north and the Tungbhadra on the south was assigned to Kolhápur. Miraj Tásgaon and Athni thus remained with Sháhu; but he and the Peshwás exercised sovereignty over a considerable portion of the tract assigned to Kolhápur by the treaty. The Nizám too divided the revenue with the Maráthás in such parts of the Southern Marátha Country as were not included in the *svaráj* or had not been wholly ceded in jáhgir, and long held Bijápur and the adjacent country. In his capacity of viceroy of the Dakhan he interfered to suppress disturbances in the Bijápur Karnátak,[1] and appointed a new subhedár to that district. He is said to have taken the fort of Belgaum into his own hands about this time and to have kept it for ten years, after which it passed into the hands of the Sávanur nawáb as his deputy.[2]

The Sávanur Nawáb, A.D. 1746.

The great power and extensive territory that the Sávanur nawáb acquired during the various changes noted above is shown by the cessions which Nawáb Majid Khán had to make by treaty to the Peshwa some years after. The *chauth* and *sar-deshmukhi* of the country between the Krishna and Tungbhadra had been farmed out to a well-known banker, Bápu Náik Báramatikar, and, as the latter's authority was resisted, an expedition was sent into the Southern Marátha Country in A.D. 1746 under Sadáshiv Chimnáji Bháu the Peshwa's cousin. It is probable that the obstruction had in a great measure been occasioned by the nawáb, who not long before had thrown off his dependence on the Mughals. Majid Khán, however, was not strong enough to resist the Marátha force and had to agree to a treaty by which he yielded up the whole of the country comprised in the tálukás of Bágalkot, Bádámi, Pádshápur, Kittur, Dhárwár, Navalgund, Parasgad, Dambal, part of Ránebennur and Kod, Gokák, Yádvád, Torgal, Haliyál, and others, thirty-six districts in all. He was allowed to retain Mishrikot, Hubli, Bankápur, Hángal, and other districts, to the number of twenty-two, together with the forts of Bankápur, Torgal, and Azamnagar or Belgaum.[3] The ceded districts seem not to have passed at once into the hands of the Maráthás, as Gokák was taken by the Peshwa on his return from his expedition into the southern Karnátak in A.D. 1754; and later on Bágalkot is mentioned as having been similarly taken.

Has to yield Territory to the Peshwa.

On this last occasion Abdul Khán, the Sávanur nawáb, brought on a conflict which resulted in his losing several more districts. Báláji Báji Ráo, in the year that Gokák was taken, sent another expedition into the Karnátak which he himself accompanied part of the way. In the course of the campaign a Musalmán officer

[1] An account of the territory comprised under the name Bijápur Karnátak is given in Wilks' Mysor, I. 136.

[2] Stokes' Belgaum, 47.

[3] Memoir of the Chiefs of the Southern Marátha Country, 208. Belgaum is said to have received the name of Azamnagar from prince Azam, Aurangzib's second son, who lived there for some time after the fall of Bijápur. Stokes' Belgaum, 45. But the name seems older. See Bombay Gazetteer, XXI. 376 note 8.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Báji Ráo's Campaign against Sávanur, A.D. 1756.

who had formerly been in the service of the famous French leader Bussy and had subsequently entered that of the Peshwa, took offence and again changed masters, this time taking service with Abdul Khán. The latter refused the demand for his surrender made by Báláji Báji Rao, and consequently the Peshwa assembled an army and marched against Sávanur. As this movement was regarded with suspicion by the Nizám, who claimed the Sávanur chief as his subject, the co-operation of Salábat Jang was asked by the Peshwa, who represented that Abdul Khán was hostile to both parties. Accordingly, a force from Haidarábád, under Bussy, joined the Maráthás who were besieging Sávanur. The power of the European artillery was soon felt and the nawáb was obliged to submit. By the treaty then made (A.D. 1756) he ceded Mishrikot Hubli and Kundgol and other districts, eleven in all, receiving in compensation the Parasgad táluka and some districts in Ránebennur. To meet the pecuniary fine levied the nawáb had to pledge Bankápur; and it is probable that about this time the fort of Belgaum was given to the Peshwa.[1] The latter seems not to have taken the territory thus acquired under his direct management, but to have left it, for the most part, to the *desáis*, who were held responsible for the revenue.

Bijápur ceded to the Peshwa, A.D. 1760.

Not long afterwards the Peshwa made another valuable acquisition. In A.D. 1760 the fort and province of Bijápur were ceded to him by Nizám Ali. He thus became the master of the whole of the Southern Marátha Country except the portions which belonged to Kolhápur. To check the latter state the fort of Miraj and a *saranjám* were bestowed in 1761 on Govind Hari Patvardhan, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Sávanur. Two years later, when the attacks of Haidar Ali of Saringapatan had to be provided against, territory yielding a revenue of upwards of twenty-five lákhs of rupees was granted in *saranjám* to the Patvardhan. The grant comprised not only the territory occupied by the existing Patvardhan states of Sángli, Miraj, Kurundvád, and Jamkhandi, but also several districts now included in the collectorates of Sátára Belgaum and Dhárwár, which during the last half century have passed into the hands of the British Government by cession or lapse.[2] Besides the territory assigned in *saranjám* the Peshwa subsequently granted to the Patvardhan family the districts of Chikodi and Mánoli, which belonged to, or at all events were claimed by the rája of Kolhápur. During the next fifty years these districts seldom or never remained ten years continuously in the hands of one master, but went backwards and forwards between Kolhápur and the Patvardhan and the Nipáni chief till, in the early part of the present century, they passed into the hands of the British Government under the circumstances narrated in the historical sketch of Kolhápur.

Patvardhan Grant, A.D. 1761.

[1] Stokes' Belgaum, 51; Memoir of the States of the Southern Marátha Country, 209; Grant Duff's Maráthás, II. 67.

[2] Some districts to the south of the Tungbhadra, such as Baswa Pattan and Harihar, were included. It was noted in the *Táinát Zábita* or grant-deed that Haidar Ali had brought the first-named district under his rule, the *naïve* remark being added, "If he has not got the máháls then they are with the *sarkár*."

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Between A.D. 1763 and the close of the eighteenth century the most prominent events of which the Southern Marátha Country was the scene were repeated raids by the Patvardhans and the Kolhápur rája on one another's territories; an invasion of the country by the Nizám of Haidarábád; the constant attacks by Haidar Ali and his son Tipu of Mysor on the districts south of the Krishna; and the consequent campaigns against those princes. As far as is necessary, the mutual attacks of the Patvardhans and Kolhápur have been noted in the account of Kolhápur. Of the Nizám's invasion it need only be observed that it was made in A.D. 1774 from Adoni by Basálat Jang, who levied contributions as far as Athni and Miraj but was soon obliged to retire. The invasions of the Mysor princes were much more formidable and call for more detailed notice.

Haidar Ali, A.D. 1759.

The rise of the Mysor "Mayor of the Palace," Haidar Ali, who was to play towards the rájás of that country the part which the Peshwa played towards the rája of Sátára, had been watched jealously by the Maráthás.[1] In A.D. 1759 his expulsion of their troops from some districts which had been pledged to Bálájí Báji Ráo brought about a conflict between them in which the Maráthás had the worst of it and were obliged to conclude a treaty on terms not very favourable to themselves.[2] In 1761 Haidar got Basálat Khán to invest him with the title of Nawáb of Sira, a district to the south of the Túngbhadra which was in the possession of the Maráthás. The position of Sávanur rendered the alliance or subjection of that state a matter of importance; and as the nawáb Abdul Hakim Khán remained staunch to his engagements with the Maráthás, hostilities ensued. The nawáb was defeated in 1764 and had to submit to the terms imposed on him; and Haidar, having to return to the south, left an army under Fazl Ullah Khán to spread his conquests northward. As no preparations had been made for resistance the general had an easy task. Dhárwár was taken, and as a result of this conquest a large tract of country to the north of Dhárwár was occupied by Haidar's troops.[3] Great preparations were made at Poona to repel this invasion, and an army marched under the Peshwa Mahádev Ráo towards the scene of action. Gopál Ráo Patvardhan was sent on in advance but was defeated by Fazl Ullah Khán. On the Peshwa's approach the latter had to fall back on Haidar's army, which had advanced to his support, leaving a strong garrison in Dhárwár. The two armies came face to face not far from Sávanur, but Mahádev Ráo declined a general action and occupied himself with driving out Haidar's garrisons from the town and villages north of the Varda. An attempt by Haidar to bring on a battle resulted in his discomfiture, and he had to retreat to his entrenched camp at Anavati. The approach of the rains put a stop to further hostilities

Invades the Southern Marátha Country.

Takes Dhárwár.

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[1] Haidar himself drew the parallel on an occasion when the Peshwa's envoy tried to pose as the champion of the legitimate sovereign. An account of this curious conversation is given in Wilks' Mysor, I. 304.

[2] Wilks' Mysor, I. 228-29.

[3] As the line of least resistance was naturally followed, the districts taken were mostly in the present collectorate of Bijápur. The strength of the Belgaum fort seems to have saved the districts covered by it. Stokes' Belgaum, 52.

for the time. The Peshwa cantoned his troops at a place called Narnedra; and as soon as the season admitted of active operations, took Dhárwár, and thus completed the recovery of all the country north of the Varda. He then made over the command to his uncle Raghunáth Ráo, who pursued Haidar across the Tungbhadra, and finally made a treaty at Bednur, by which Haidar, among other stipulations, agreed to relinquish all claims on Sávanur.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Haidar Driven Back, A. D. 1766.

The peace did not last long, as in 1767 the Peshwa invaded Mysor and Haidar was obliged to buy off his attack, having other formidable enemies to deal with. The breach of the new treaty led to another attack on Haidar a few years later. The Maráthás were successful, but as all the operations were carried on to the south of the Tungbhadra they need not be detailed here. The death of the Peshwa Mahádev Ráo in A.D. 1772, followed by that of his brother Náráyan Ráo in the next year, and the question of the disputed succession to the Peshwa's throne, afforded Haidar an opportunity of regaining the territory which he had been forced to disgorge. He recovered the districts south of the Tungbhadra which had fallen into the hands of the Maráthás and entered into intimate relations with Raghunáth Ráo, the uncle of the late Peshwa and the claimant to the throne, whom he acknowledged as the head of the Maráthás and agreed to support. In A.D. 1776 he was invited by his new ally to take possession of the Southern Marátha Country up to the Krishna, and Haidar understood that he was to retain these districts.[1] Accordingly he crossed the Tungbhadra, took Bankápur and Sávanur, and would doubtless have pushed his arms further north had not the rains put a stop to active operations. He then returned to the south leaving a force to protect his acquisitions. Konhér Ráo Patvardhan was sent against this force, but was defeated, and his relation, Pándurang Ráo, the grandfather of the present chief of Sángli, was taken prisoner. The allied forces of the Maráthás and the Nizám then marched against Haidar, the former under Parsharám Bháu, the most distinguished member of the Patvardhan family, moving towards Sávanur. The Nizám's forces were however bought off, and the Maráthás, after having suffered a repulse, retired. This left the field open to Haidar, who soon took Kopál, Dhárwár, Gajendragad, Bádámi, and other places, the fall of which made him master of the country as far as the Krishna.[2] Many strong places such as Nargund and Kittur he left in the hands of their chiefs, on the latter acknowledging his supremacy and agreeing to pay tribute an arrangement which much facilitated his conquest of the country. Circumstances prevented the Maráthás making an attempt to recover the country thus taken, and so Haidar remained for a time in undisturbed possession. Indeed, his right was acknowledged by the Maráthás not long after, when they wished to secure his aid against the English, and he strengthened his hold of the territory by a close alliance with the nawáb of Sávanur, whose eldest son was married to his eldest daughter, Haidar's second son being at the same time married to Abdul Hakim's daughter (A.D. 1779).

Again Invades the Southern Marátha Country, A. D. 1776.

Takes the country as far North as the Krishna.

[1] Wilks' Mysor, I. 397. Grant Duff (Maráthás, I. 239) doubts that this invitation was given.
[2] Wilks' Mysor, I. 419.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

The Treaty of Sálbái, A.D. 1782.

At the time when the treaty of Sálbái was being negotiated between the English and the Maráthás, Nána Phadnávis the Peshwa's minister endeavoured to persuade Haidar to restore the territory north of the Tungbhadra, and unless his demand was complied with, threatened to join the English against Haidar. But Haidar taking advantage of the rivalry between Nána and Mahádji Sindia was able to protract negotiations, till his death on the 20th of December 1782.

The Poona minister did not lose sight of his cherished design. He called on Tipu for arrears of tribute which the latter acknowledged to be due but evaded paying. Nána then endeavoured to get the Nizám to join him in recovering from the Mysor prince the territory which both states had lost by the encroachments of the latter. Nizám A'li, however, set too high a value on his assistance; and though he was promised Bijápur after the recovery from Tipu of the country north of the Tungbhadra, he refused to co-operate unless Bijápur and Ahmadnagar were made over to him at once. Tipu, on hearing what had taken place, showed his contempt for the Nizám by sending an insulting message in which he claimed to be the sovereign of Bijápur.

War beween Tipu and the Maráthás, A.D. 1784.

The disagreement between the Maráthás and the Nizám for the time prevented any attack on Tipu, but the inevitable conflict was not long delayed. It has been noted above how the chief of Nargund became a tributary of Haidar and was allowed to retain his state on those terms. After Haidar's death Tipu demanded an increased tribute, a demand with which Venkat Ráo, the Nargund chief, was unwilling to comply. As he was unable to resist unless supported, he first made overtures to the Bombay Government, and when these failed, to the court of Poona, where he had interest through the Patvardhans. The result of the latter application was that Nána Phadnávis interposed, and while acknowledging Tipu's right to levy tribute from the Nargundkar denied his right to claim more than the amount previously paid. Tipu's reply to this was the despatch of two bodies of troops to enforce his demands and if they were not complied with to besiege Nargund. A Marátha force despatched to the assistance of the Nargund chief found that, owing to want of water, the Mysor force had been obliged to raise the siege, but was still in the neighbourhood. Skirmishing ensued in which the Maráthás had the worst; and Tipu's troops attacked and took the fort of Rámdurg, not far from Nargund, and then resumed the siege of the latter place. On the assurances of Tipu that only the former tribute would be exacted from the Nargund chief the Marátha force withdrew, after which the siege was pressed with redoubled vigour. Terms were promised to the unfortunate chief on the strength of which he capitulated; but no sooner had he evacuated his fort than, in violation of the agreement, he was seized and sent into captivity with his family, and his daughter was taken into Tipu's harem (A.D. 1785). The fort of Kittur was seized at the same time and garrisoned by Mysor troops. Having thus secured his hold of the country, Tipu, to gratify his bigotry and insult the Hindus, forcibly circumcised large numbers of the inhabitants. In the following year the Maráthás and the Nizám formed an offensive alliance against the Mysor prince, and agreed to open operations by

Forced Circumcision of Hindus by Tipu.

Maráthás and Nizám against Tipu.

taking from him the country between the Krishna and Tungbhadra. Accordingly a force was sent against Tipu's general at Kittur, while the main body of the combined army advanced against Bádámi, which they besieged. The town was taken by assault and the garrison of the fort submitted.[1] The force sent to Kittur was less successful. It succeeded in driving the Mysor troops from the adjacent district, but failed in taking the fort. Holkar, who was in charge of the force, suddenly left Kittur and marched to Sávanur, where he was joined by the nawáb, who, though closely related by marriage to Tipu, had been so badly treated that he willingly espoused the cause of the Maráthás. The combined force repulsed an attack made by Tipu's general and were presently joined by Hari Pant, the Marátha commander-in-chief, who had taken the forts of Gajendragad and Bahádur Benda, and now came to Sávanur to find himself opposed by an army under Tipu in person. Hostilities went on languidly for some time with varying success. Hari Pant took the fortified town of Sirhatti, while the Mysor troops recovered Bahádur Benda. At last a treaty was made (A.D. 1787) by which Bádámi, Kittur, and Nargund were ceded to the Maráthás, who agreed to restore to Tipu the other towns and districts taken by them. Tipu also agreed to pay a tribute and to restore to the nawáb of Sávanur such territory as the latter possessed prior to his son's marriage with Haidar's daughter. The nawáb, however, did not care to trust himself to the tender mercies of his relative by marriage, and accompanied the Maráthás to Poona.[2]

Treaty, A.D. 1787.

Broken by Tipu.

Tipu had seemed anxious to conclude this treaty and had submitted to hard terms, apparently with the determination not to be bound by them, for no sooner had Hari Pant crossed the Krishna than the Mysor troops re-took Kittur. This conduct made the Maráthás eager to make common cause with the other states that had suffered by Tipu's violence and perfidy; and in A.D. 1789 an offensive alliance against him was concluded between the English, the Nizám, and the Peshwa. The Marátha force was placed under the charge of Parsharám Bháu Patvardhan, who went to his jáhgir at Tásgaon to make arrangements. He was joined here by two British battalions under Captain Little, which had landed at Sangameshvar and marched up the Amba pass; and after some vexatious delay the combined English and Marátha force crossed the Krishna. As they proceeded they had little difficulty in expelling Tipu's soldiery, but their progress was checked when they arrived before Dhárwár, the garrison of which had been reinforced. The siege began on the 18th of September, and the British portion of the force soon attacked and took the town, but little further progress was made. The English had no battering train, and the Marátha artillery was poor, badly served, and ill-supplied with ammunition. The besieging force was reinforced by a battalion of Europeans and a native corps under Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick, but as no additional artillery was sent the siege languished, until, at last, a lodgment having been effected by the English and Maráthás

Combined English and Marátha Force, A.D. 1789.

[1] It seems to have been retaken immediately. Wilks' Mysor, II. 112.
[2] Grant Duff's Maráthás, III. 12, 13; Wilks' Mysor, II. 117.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 300-1818.

Dhárwár Taken, A.D. 1790.

on the crest of the glacis, the garrison capitulated on the 4th of April 1790. Shortly afterwards Kopal was taken by the Nizám's troops; Kushgal and other places also fell into the hands of the confederates, so that the whole of the Southern Marátha Country was taken from Tipu. By the treaty made at Saringapatan in 1792 the Maráthás were confirmed in their possession of this territory, and Dhondo Pant Gokhalé was made sar-subhedár of the southern portion, most of the districts however falling into the hands of Parsharám Bháu, who had been obliged to raise troops largely in excess of the number for which the Patvardhans' *saranjám* had been assigned.

Disturbances, A.D. 1795-1800.

The Southern Marátha Country was henceforward free from the incursions of Tipu, but the suicide of the Peshwa in 1795 gave rise to a series of intrigues which led to its peace being not a little disturbed. Nána Phadnavis, having broken with the Patvardhan family, incited the rája of Kolhápur to attack their possessions. This the rája did with great effect, and then turned his arms towards the Karnátak which he laid under contribution, repeatedly defeating Dhondo Pant Gokhalé, taking all the strong places between the Ghatprabha and Malprabha rivers, and levying tribute as far south as Kittur. The Kolhápur forces were on one occasion defeated by the sar-subhedár near Sávanur, but on being reinforced recovered their lost ground.[1] The rája's hold of the country however was but short-lived. Parsharám Bháu, having been reconciled to Nána, was sent with the force which it had been intended to employ in the campaign of A.D. 1799 against Tipu to recover the lost territory, and the rája was obliged to retire to Panhála, leaving his capital to be besieged. The death of Nána Phadnavis at this juncture caused new disturbances. Sindia was incited by the new Peshwa Báji Ráo to attack the Patvardhans' jáhgir, and was joined by the Nipáni chief, who wasted the whole country between Miraj and Bijápur.

Dhundia Wágh, A.D. 1790-1800.

Further south, too, there were troubles. On the fall of Saringapatan one Dhundia Wágh, who had been in Tipu's service, managed to make his escape and took service with the rája of Kolhápur. When the latter was besieged, Dhundia set up on his own account as a freebooter, and plundered both the districts which the English had lately acquired from Tipu and those in the south of the Peshwa's dominions. His success drew numerous adherents to his standard, and he assumed the title of King of the Two Worlds. Dhondo Pant Gokhalé, who had been engaged at Kolhápur, returned to the south to put down this formidable marauder, but fell into an ambush and was killed, Chintáman Ráo, the father of the present (1877) chief of Sángli, being wounded on the occasion. Dhundia Wágh did not long enjoy his success. Permission having been granted to the English to follow him into the Peshwa's territory, a force was sent after him under Major-General Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington), by whom the king of the Two Worlds was followed up vigorously, and at last brought to bay on the 10th of

[1] Stokes' Belgaum, 61.

September 1800 at Konagal, where he was defeated and killed.[1] The territories wrested from Dhundia Wágh were made over to the Patvardhan family; but as the Peshwa Báji Ráo was determined to ruin that family, Bápu Pant Gokhalé, the nephew and successor of the deceased sar-subhedár, was instructed to throw every obstacle in their way.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Condition of the Southern Marátha Country, A. D. 1803.

The following extract from a letter written by General Wellesley in April 1803[2] gives a succinct but graphic account of the state of the Southern Marátha Country during the two and a half years that had elapsed since the battle of Konagal: "Since the year 1800, when I was in this country before, it has been one continued contest for power and plunder between the different chiefs who have armies under their command; between the Patvardhans (Parsharám Bháu's family) and Gokhalé in the countries bordering on the Tungbhadra Varda and Malprabha; between the Patvardhans and the rája of Kolhápur in those bordering on the Ghatprabha and Krishna; between Bápuji Sindia the killedár of Dhárwár and the rája of Kittur; between Gokhalé and the rája of Kittur, and Gokhalé and Bápuji Sindia; besides various others of inferior note either immediately employed under these or for themselves under their protection." When General Wellesley wrote this letter he was passing through the country on his way to Poona to aid the Peshwa, who had lately concluded the treaty of Bassein. During the campaign against Sindia and the Berar rája, the Southern Marátha Country remained pretty quiet, as the English leader had given it to be clearly understood that he would not have his communications with the south disturbed, and on one occasion ordered up Major-Genera. Campbell from Mysor to keep the peace.

The desái of Nipáni, the only one of the southern chiefs except Bápu Pant Gokhalé who took part in the campaign under General Wellesley, was rewarded on his return with the title of sar-lashkar and a considerable saranjám. He devoted a good deal of his attention to fights with Kolhápur and Sávantvádi, which are noted in the account of Kolhápur.

The other chiefs in the south though not so actively turbulent as the Nipáni chief, maintained an attitude of semi-independence of the Peshwa, who was bent on their ruin. Had it not been for the British resident at Poona and the subsidiary force under his orders, doubtless an internecine war would have broken out. Independently of the distrust which Báji Ráo's character and known aims excited, the power placed in the hand of the notorious Trimbakji Denglé caused general disgust. The temper of the country was shown by the refusal of the commandant of Dhárwár to give up that fort to the favourite in accordance with the orders of the Peshwa, who had to send a force to invest the place.[3]

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[1] Detailed accounts are given in the Wellington Despatches. In Gleig's Life of Sir T. Munro (page 138 of the Condensed Edition) a letter from General Wellesley to Munro is printed, giving a succinct account of the operations against Dhundia Wágh.
[2] Quoted in Stokes' Belgaum, 69. [3] Grant Duff's Maráthás, 255.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

Dhárwár Ceded to the British, A.D. 1817.

The end of the Peshwa's "robber-government"[1] was at hand. By the treaty of Poona, made in June 1817, he agreed to cede to the English territory in lieu of the contingent he was bound by the treaty of Bassein to maintain; and Dhárwár and Kushgal, together with the districts south of the Varda, were among the cessions. Colonel T. Munro was appointed Commissioner of the ceded districts and made Dhárwár his head-quarters. He was there when the war with the Peshwa broke out at the end of 1817, and thence he started to perform one of the most amazing exploits that have ever been performed, even in India. With five companies of regulars and two field-pieces he calmly proceeded to wrest the Southern Marátha Country from the Peshwa, and to settle it as he went on. Having augmented his scanty force with some *sibandi* or revenue messengers, he began by raising the siege of Navalgund near Dhárwár, which enabled him to get some more troops and a small battering train from the south; after which he took the various strong places in the vicinity of Dhárwár and garrisoned them with peons. He then moved north, taking Bádámi and Bágalkot, and advanced to Gokák. After the battle of Koregaon Báji Ráo had fled to this place with the intention of invading the ceded districts and opening communications with the rája of Mysor.[2] He found that Munro's exertions, popularity, and skilful military arrangements had rendered an attack on the country south of the Ghatprabha hopeless and was forced to retrace his steps. From Gokák, Munro, who had been made Brigadier-General when the war broke out, marched south to Belgaum, where he arrived on the 14th of March 1818. Owing to the smallness of his force and the inefficiency of his battering train,[3] the garison felt themselves secure; and after the siege began, on the 22nd of March, various accidents to the besiegers, the blowing up of a magazine and the bursting of a gun, seemed to render the latter's chances of success even less than before. The besieged however soon found, to their dismay, that notwithstanding all obstacles the enemy made rapid progress; and on the 9th of April the garrison sent out a flag of truce to propose terms, which were refused. The siege went on, a practicable breach was made, and on the 11th of April the garrison gave up the fort and marched out with their arms and private property.[4] After resting a few days General Munro advanced towards Bijápur. As he advanced, to use the words of the historian of the Maráthás, he sent his irregulars to the right and left of his column of march, who occupied the villages, fought with spirit on several occasions, stormed fortified places, and took possession in the name of "Thomas Munro Bahádur." The Peshwa's troops in the vicinity retreated as Munro advanced, and finally took refuge in the

Munro Settles the Southern Marátha Country, A.D. 1817.

Takes Bádámi and Bágalkot, A.D. 1817;

Belgaum, A.D. 1818.

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[1] General Wellesley in a letter to Colonel Close, the resident at Poona, declared that the Peshwa's "only system of government was that of a robber."

[2] See Prinsep's Transactions in India, 1813-1823, II. 168.

[3] The force consisted of three troops of British dragoons, three artillerymen, eleven companies of Native infantry, four companies of Mysor infantry, and the same number of pioneers. The battering train was composed of one 8-inch mortar, one 3½-inch howitzer, two iron 18-pounders, two iron 12 pounders, and four brass 12-pounders.

[4] In Stokes' Belgaum, 74-77, will be found a more detailed account of the siege.

Historical Sketch, A.D. 1300-1818.

fort of Sholápur. The capture of the fortress formed a fitting close to Munro's campaign and completed the conquest of the Southern Marátha Country.

Southern Marátha Country Annexed, A.D. 1818.

By the proclamation issued at Sátára on the 10th of February 1818 annexing to the British dominions the territories of the Peshwa, with certain specified exceptions, the tract of country in question had become British territory. As soon as military operations ceased it was placed in charge of Mr. Chaplin, a Madras Civil Servant, who was appointed, under Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, principal Collector of the Marátha Country south of the Krishna and Political Agent with the Rája of Kolhápur and the Southern jághirdárs. The intention of Government at the time was that the Southern Marátha Country should eventually form part of the Madras Presidency; but it was finally decided by the Court of Directors that it should continue to form part of the territory subject to the Government of Bombay.

The history of Sávanur the only state of importance in the Southern Marátha districts may with advantage be separately summarised.

Sávanur.

Sávanur Nawábs, A.D. 1630.

The Nawábs of Sávanur are by origin Patháns of the Miána tribe. One of their ancestors is said to have entered Hindustán with Timúr's army (A.D. 1300). His descendants seem to have enjoyed some position at the court of Delhi.[1] Bahlol Khán, the founder of the family in the Dakhan, entered the service of Murtaza Nizám Sháh, king of Ahmadnagar, whence he passed into that of Muhammad A'dil Sháh of Bijápur (A.D. 1626-1656). His son Abdul Rahim appears to have done good service under A'li A'dil Sháh II.; but the most distinguished member of the family was Abdul Rahim's son, Abdul Karim, who, by his marriage with the daughter of Masáud Khán, jáhgirdár of Adoni, gained as his wife's dowry the fort of Bágalkot, and, what was of still greater value, the support of the Abyssinian faction at the court, of which his father-in-law was the head. On several occasions Abdul Karim commanded the Bijápur armies during campaigns against the Maráthás, and sometimes with success. On the death of Ali A'dil Sháh in A.D. 1672, Abdul Karim Khán was named for the governorship of the Southern Marátha Country and other territory, but owing to the jealousy of the regent, Khawás Khán, he was not allowed to take up the appointment. On the assassination of the regent Abdul Karim succeeded to supreme power, and under his guidance the Mughals, who came to secure the surrender of Bijápur, were repulsed, and had to make a treaty. On the fall of Bijápur in A.D. 1686, Abdul Ráuf Khán, then the representative of the family, entered the service of the emperor, receiving the title of Diler Khán Bahádur Diler Jang, and an assignment of the twenty-two máháls of Bankápur, Azamnagar

Ancestor takes service in Bijápur, A.D. 1630-1640.

Abdul Ráuf Khán enters Aurangzíb's Service, A.D. 1686.

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[1] In the account of the family by Mr. (now Sir W.) Elliot, printed in the Memoir of the States of the Southern Marátha Country by Captain West (Selections from Bombay Government Records, New Series, CXIII. 205), the title of nawáb is said to have been assumed at Delhi. It does not seem to have been recognized at Bijápur.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

SÁVANUR.

Abdul Ráuf Khán Founds Sávanur, A.D. 1700.

that is Belgaum, and Torgal. At first he made Bankápur his head-quarters, but afterwards taking a fancy to the site of a small village named Janmaranhalli, he there founded the town of Sávanur or Shráwanur, as the place is called to this day by the Kánarese, probably, it has been suggested, from the new town having been begun in the month of Shráwan.[1] Abdul Ráuf Khán at first acted directly under the emperor and then under the imperial viceroy the Nizám. He did good service in reducing the various half-independent desáis and his son Abdul Gháfar Khán followed the same course. Though the latter met with some checks he must have been generally successful, as at his death nearly the whole of the country between the Krishna and Tungbhadra was subject to him.

Majid Khán Succeeds.

His successor Majid Khán was less fortunate. He began by incurring the hostility of the Nizám by neglecting to apply to the latter for investiture on his succession. The consequence was that a Mughal force marched against Sávanur and the nawáb had to submit. The next treaty was with the Peshwa, in A.D. 1747, to whom Majid Khán had to yield the whole of the country comprised in the present tálukás of Bágalkot, Bádámi, Pádshápur, Kittur, Dhárwár, Navalgund, Parasgad, Dambal, and others, thirty-six in all, and was permitted to retain Mishrikot, Hubli, Bankápur, Hángal, part of Kod and Ránebennur, and Kundgol, in all twenty-two districts. Besides these the nawáb retained the forts of Bankápur, Torgal, and Belgaum; and he seems to have had other territory south of the present Dhárwár collectorate.

Cessions to the Peshwa, A.D. 1747.

Killed in Action, A.D. 1751.

Majid Khán, in concert with the other Pathán nawábs of Kaddapa and Karnul, took a prominent part in the contests between the rival candidates for the Nizám's throne. He intrigued with the French; and in pursuance of a conspiracy in favour of Muzaffar Jang held aloof from Násir Jang, with whose army he was serving on the occasion when the latter met his death. He afterwards conspired against Muzaffar Jang and was killed in the action in which the latter also met with the same fate (A.D. 1751).[2]

Abdul Hakim Khán Succeeds, A.D. 1751.

His son Abdul Hakim Khán had not long succeeded when he had to face a formidable confederation and to give up much of his possessions. He imprudently received into his service an officer who had first been in that of the Nizám and then in that of the Peshwa, and when the surrender of the man was demanded by the Peshwa the nawáb refused to comply with the request. He had incurred the enmity also of the Nizám Salábat Jang, whose supremacy he had declined to acknowledge; so the two princes combined against him. An army under Báláji Báji Ráo marched against Sávanur and was joined there by a force under the famous French leader Bussy, with a splendid train of artillery. The nawáb was assisted by the well-known Morári Ráo of Guti, but the besieging force was too strong for him and he had to submit to a treaty

Besieged by the Nizám and Peshwa, A.D. 1756.

[1] Memoir of the States of the Southern Marátha Country, 207.
[2] Malleson's History of the French in India, 251, 263, and 272-73.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

SÁVANUR.

(A.D. 1756), by which he agreed to pay eleven lákhs in cash and to cede to the Peshwa the districts of Mishrikot, Hubli, and Kundgol, receiving in compensation part of Ránebennur and Parasgad. The estimated revenue of the districts left in the nawáb's possession was nearly eight lákhs of rupees yearly.

Attacked by Haidar Ali, A.D. 1764.

The connection of Sávanur and the Nizám seems to have ceased from this date, and the nawáb henceforward had to deal only with the Maráthás and with Haidar Ali and his son Tipu. Abdul Hakim Khán was first brought into contact with the Mysor princes in 1764, when Haidar endeavoured to induce him to turn against the Maráthás, and on his refusal attacked and defeated him. The invasion was repelled by the Peshwa in the following year, and Haidar was obliged to give up all claims on Sávanur. He soon renewed his attacks, and succeeded in getting possession of the country between the Krishna and Tungbhadra. Instead of crushing the nawáb he entered into a negotiation with him which ended in a double marriage, the eldest son of Abdul Hakim Khán being married to Haidar's daughter, the most notorious scold in the South of India according to Colonel Wilks, while the nawáb's daughter was married to Haidar's second son Karim Sáheb. The double wedding was celebrated with great magnificence at Saringapatan; and such of the nawáb's possessions as had been taken from him by Haidar were restored, the tribute of four lákhs that had been imposed being, at the same time, reduced by one-half, on condition of a contingent of 2000 horse being maintained for Haidar's service.[1]

Connection by Marriage with Haidar.

Sávanur taken by Tipu.

On the death of Haidar, Tipu took offence at the nawáb's neglect in not sending messages of condolence, and made a demand for a large sum of money, on the ground that the contingent had not been properly maintained. Abdul Hakim Khán applied to the Maráthás for aid, which was granted. In the course of the hostilities that ensued Sávanur was taken by Tipu, and all the nawáb's property seized and destroyed. By the treaty that was subsequently made Tipu agreed to restore to the nawáb such territory as the latter had possessed prior to his son's marriage with Haidar's daughter, but the nawáb did not venture to remain at Sávanur, and went to Poona, where he subsisted on a monthly pension of £1000 (Rs. 10,000) allowed him by the Maráthás. By the treaty of Saringapatan all the territory north of the Tungbhadra was ceded to the Peshwa, and Sávanur seems to have been practically annexed. Abdul Hakim Khán died in A.D. 1795, and his adopted son Abdul Kheir Khán returned to Sávanur, while Hussain Mia, his second son, succeeded to the allowance.[2] When General Wellesley, after the fall of Saringapatan, marched through the country he found the family in great distress, as they had no territorial possessions and their allowance was most irregularly paid. By the General's influence the pension was commuted, and the revenue of twenty-five villages, assessed at £4800 (Rs. 48,000) a year was assigned

Practically annexed by the Peshwa.

Assignment of Twenty-five Villages.

[1] Wilks' Mysor (Indian Reprint), I. 417.
[2] The eldest son, Tipu's brother-in-law, had gone to Saringapatan some years before. It does not appear that he ever returned.

Historical Sketch, A.D. 1300-1818.
Sávanur.

to the nawáb. This arrangement was afterwards continued by the British Government. At first the nawáb was not allowed to exercise jurisdiction, but afterwards his name was entered in the list of first class sardárs, and he was allowed to exercise certain powers. Full powers were allowed to Nawáb Abdul Dalél Khán, who, in 1862, was made a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. On his death in the same year, Abdul Kheir Khán succeeded. He died in 1868, leaving a son, Abdul Dalél Khán, then six years of age, who was installed as his successor, and who is at present (1877) being educated under the superintendence of the Collector and Political Agent at Dhárwár.

Lapsed States.

Lapsed States.

In the foregoing sketch it has been mentioned how certain states forming part of the great Patvardhan grants lapsed to the British owing to the last holders' death without heirs. The following statement gives the chief details of these lapses:

Lapsed States.

State.	Lapse.	Estimated Revenue at time of Lapse.	Brought under the Regulations by
	A.D.	Rs.	
1. Chinchni	1836	1,82,979	Act VIII. of 1839.
2. Gopál Ráo's Share in the Miraj State...	1842	77,658	Bombay Act III. of 1863.
3. Váman Ráv Sonikar's Share in ditto.	1845	85,850	Ditto.
4. Tásgaon	1848	1,76,000	Ditto.
5. Sherbál or Kágvád.	1857	1,12,000	Ditto.
6. Nargund	1858	49,363	Ditto.

The lands comprised in these states now form part of the collectorates of Sátára, Sholápur, Belgaum, and Dhárwár.

The forfeiture of the Nargund state for the treason of the last chief has also been noted. It did not, however, come within the scope of that sketch to give any account of the states of Kittur and Nipáni, which also lapsed under circumstances which will now be narrated.

Kittur.

The Kittur state was held by Lingáyat desáis. The founders of the family are said to have been two brothers, both bearing the name of Malla, to which one prefixed the epithet Hiré or elder, and the other that of Chikka or younger. They were originally merchants, but are said to have distinguished themselves in the Bijápur army; and eventually the family obtained a grant from the Bijápur kings of the sar deshmukhi of the Hubli district, after which they settled at Kittur. On the fall of Bijápur the Kittur desáis became vassals of the Sávanur nawáb, and when the power of that chief was circumscribed they became tributaries to the Peshwa. Kittur suffered much during the campaigns between Mysor and the Maráthás, and for a time had to transfer its allegiance to the former power. Tipu

twice took the place, and on one of these occasions carried off the desái Mallapa. Mallapa made his escape and joined the Maráthás, who recovered his territory but appropriated it to themselves, putting the desái on an allowance. During the confusion consequent on the death of the Peshwa Mahádév Ráo, the desái managed to drive out the Marátha mámlatdár and resume possession; subsequently, in the war of 1803, he assisted General Wellesley with a small contingent and thereby obtained the powerful mediation of the latter, who brought about a settlement of his affairs. In 1809 the desái succeeded in obtaining a sanad from the Peshwa confirming him in possession of the táluka of Kittur, on condition of the yearly payment of £17,500 (Rs. 1,75,000) and of maintaining a contingent. There is little doubt that this grant would have been ere long resumed had it not been for the fall of the Peshwa not many years after. When the war with Báji Ráo broke out the desái showed himself well disposed towards the English, and was confirmed in the possession of his state on favourable terms by General Munro.

Historical Sketch, A.D. 1300-1818.

Lapsed States.

Kittur Taken by Tipu.

The Desái gets a Sanad from the Peshwa, A.D. 1809.

Confirmed by General Munro, A.D. 1817.

In September 1824 Mr. Thackeray, the principal Collector, received a letter at Dhárwár purporting to be from the desái, and dated the 10th July, in which the adoption of a son was announced, the servant who brought the letter stating, at the same time, that his master was dying. The civil surgeon was immediately sent to Kittur and found that the desái had been dead several hours. No application for permission to adopt had previously been made, and when Mr. Thackeray had last seen the desái the latter had never expressed any wish to adopt. The signature of the letter, also, was not like the desái's handwriting. These suspicious circumstances led to an enquiry by which it was ascertained that the desái had actually died without making an adoption, and that his kárbháris had invested a child with the insignia, and had put a pen in the dead man's hand with which they signed the letter announcing the adoption. It was further ascertained that no descendant of the desái who held the state before its conquest by Tipu was alive, and that no near connection of the deceased desái, in the female line, was to be found. The boy alleged to have been adopted was, if connected with the family at all, descended from a collateral branch so remote that its descent from the common ancestor could not be traced.

Fictitious Adoption, A.D. 1824.

While the question as to the course to be adopted was under consideration by Government, Mr. Thackeray found it necessary to take steps for the security of the state treasury, and proceeded to Kittur accompanied by a troop of golandáz. He at first attempted persuasion; but finding that there were signs of an approaching outbreak he considered it advisable to take two guns into the outer fort, which were posted at the gateways. The next morning (the 23rd of October) the gates were found locked and the inner fort full of armed men. Preparations were being made, after milder measures had failed, to blow open the gate with the other two guns, when a sudden sally was made from the fort, and three officers who were with the guns were cut down. Mr. Thackeray, who came up at this juncture, was shot and cut to pieces, and his assistants, Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot[1]

Revolt of Kittur.

Mr. Thackeray Killed.

[1] The late Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, A.D. 1300-1818.

LAPSED STATES.

Revolt of Kittur, 1824.

Fort Taken.

were taken into the fort as prisoners. It was some time before a force could be assembled sufficiently strong to capture Kittur, and it was not till the 30th of November that the fort was invested. The insurgents attempted to obtain terms, but were referred to the proclamation that had been issued by Government, and were warned of the terrible punishment that would follow if any harm was done to the prisoners. At last, on the 2nd of December, Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot were released; but as the fort was not given up, it was attacked, and a practicable breach having been made, it was surrendered on the 4th of December 1824 by the garrison.

State Lapses.

The yearly revenue of the Kittur state that thus lapsed to Government was £33,365 (Rs. 3,33,647) exclusive of alienations amounting to upwards of £4000 (Rs. 40,000) more. The territory was brought under the regulations by Regulation VII. of 1830, and now forms part of the collectorates of Dhárwár and Belgaum.

Nipáni.

The Nipáni state is of recent origin. The chief was a desái who distinguished himself in the Peshwa's service. In the campaign against Sindia and the Berar rája in 1803, he accompanied General Wellesley as commandant of a contingent of the Peshwa's troops. For the good service he did on this and other occasions he was rewarded by Báji Ráo with the title of Sar-Lashkar and with the grant of a very considerable saranjam. During the war of 1817 Sidoji Ráo sar-lashkar joined the Peshwa late, and never acted cordially against the British. He was accordingly, on the dethronement of Báji Ráv, confirmed in the possession of his saranjam.

Supposititious Heir, A.D. 1831.

The Nipáni chief, though he had six wives, had no son. As there was no genuine heir it was determined to introduce a supposititious one, and accordingly in 1831, Tái Bái, one of the chief's wives, left the fort and went to reside in a house in the town, giving out that she was with child and wished to be delivered there. A widow, who was really in this condition, was introduced into the house and there gave birth to a male child which was immediately passed off by Tái Bái as her son, the unfortunate mother being made away with for fear of her subsequently claiming the child or divulging the imposture. These facts were brought to the notice of Government, which, taking into consideration the chief's age and former services, waived their right to resume the saranjám at once, but informed him that in consequence of the fraud that had been proved against him the saranjám would lapse on his death whether he left male heirs or not. Accordingly, on the death of the chief in 1839, the saranjámi estate was at once resumed[1] and the districts and villages composing it were divided between the collectorates of Dhárwár Belgaum and Sholápur. The net revenue was estimated at £18,369 (Rs. 1,83,690) but much of the land was waste, so that the revenue under proper management would have been far larger. The territory was brought under the regulations by Act VI. of 1842.

Saranjám Lapses, A.D. 1839.

[1] The deshgat property passed to the adopted son of the late chief.

INDEX.

[1] References to the Early Chálukyas from Dr. Bhándárkar's Early History of the Dekkan are shown under this head, as the Chalukyas of Bádámi and the Early Chálukyas are identical with each other.

[1] References to the late Chálukyas from Dr. Bhándárkar's Early History of the Dekkan are shown under this head, as Chálukyas of Kalyána and late Chálukyas are identical with each other.

[1] References to the Goa Kadambas from Dr. Bhándárkar's Early History of the Dekkan are shown under this head, as the Kadambas of Goa and the Kádambas of Goa are identical with each other.

[1] References to the Kalachuris of Kalyána from Dr. Bhándárkar's Early History of the Dekkan are shown under this head, as the Kalachuris of Kalyána and the Kalachuryas of Kalyáni are identical with each other.